

R. 12. 10.

State = worthies.

OR, THE

S T A T E S - M E N

And

F A V O U R I T E S

O F

E N G L A N D

Since the

Reformation

Their

PRUDENCE and POLICIES,  
SUCCESES and MISCARRIAGES,  
ADVANCEMENTS and FALLS;

During the Reigns of

King HENRY VIII. } Queen ELIZABETH  
King EDWARD VI. } King JAMES.  
Queen MARY. } King CHARLES I.

The Second Edition with Additions.

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Speed, in Thread-needle-street near the Royal-  
Exchange, 1670.





T O

The HOPE of *ENGLAND*,

Its

Young Gentry,

Is most humbly Dedicated

The HONOUR of it,

Its

ANCIENT STATESMEN;

A Renowned Ancestry

T O

An Honourable Posterity.

# Whitehall.

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Right Honourable Mr. Secretary *Morice* ; This Book may be  
Printed and Published.

Jo: Cook.



# TO THE R E A D E R.

Courteous Reader,

**F**Or bestowing some vacant hours  
(by that excellent Personages  
direction, to whom I am equally  
obliged for my Employment and my  
Leasure) in an attempt so agree-  
able to the Lord Verulam's judg-  
ment, which may be seen in the next  
page; and so pursuant of Sir Ro-  
bert Naunton's designe, which may be  
traced in the following Book; Ano-  
ther person's abilities might have  
gained applause, and my weakness  
may deserve an excuse, notwithstand-

## The Epistle.

ing my years, (if yet any man be too young to read and observe) or my profession (if yet a Divine should not (as times go) be as well read in Men, as Books:) Especially since I gratifie no man's fondness, writing not a Panegyrick, but an History: Nor pleasure any persons malice; designing Observations, rather than Invectives: Nor tyre any man's patience; setting down rather the remarks of mens publick capacities, than the minute passages of their private lives: but innocently discourse the most choice instances our ENGLISH Histories afford for the three great Qualifications of men (1. Noblenesse in behaviour: 2. Dexterity in business; and 3. Wisdome in Government) among which are twenty eight Secretaries of State, eight Chancellours, eighteen Lord Treasurers, sixteen Chamberlains, who en-  
ertain

## to the Reader.

ertain Gentlemen with Observations  
becoming their Extraction, and their  
hopes, touching,

1. The rise of States-men.
2. The beginning of Families.
3. The method of Greatness.
4. The conduct of Courtiers.
5. The miscarriages of Favon-  
rites, and what-ever may make them  
either wise or wary.

The Chancellour of France had a  
Picture, that to a common eye shew-  
ed many little heads, and they were  
his Ancestors; but to the more cu-  
rious represented onely one great one,  
and that was his own.

It's intended that this Book should  
to the vulgar Reader express several  
particulars, i. e. all this last Ages  
Heroes; but to every Gentleman it  
should intimate onely one, and that  
is himself.

## The Epistle, &c.

*It's easily imaginable how unconcerned I am in the fate of this Book, either in the History, or the Observation; since I have been so faithful in the first, that is not my own, but the Historians; and so careful in the second, that they are not mine, but the Histories.*

DAVID LLOYD.

---

**THE**



*The Lord Bacon's Judgment of  
a Work of this nature.*

**H**ISTORY, which may be called just and perfect History, is of three kinds, according to the object it propoundeth, or pretendeth to represent; for it either representeth a Time, a Person, or an Action. The first we call Chronicles, the second Lives, and the third Narrations, or Relations.

Of these; although the first be the most compleat and absolute kind of History, and hath most estimation and glory; yet the second excelleth it in profit and use; and the third in verity and sincerity. For history of Times representeth the magnitude of Actions, and the publick faces or deportments of persons, and passeth over in silence the smaller passages and



## *The Lord Bacon's Judgment*

motions of Men and Matters.

But such being the workmanship of God, as he doth hang the greatest weight upon the smallest wyars, *Maxima e minimis suspendens*; it comes therefore to pass, that such Histories do rather set forth the pomp of business, than the true and inward resorts thereof. But Lives, if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent, in whom actions both greater and smaller, publick and private, have a commixture, must of necessity contain a more true, native, and lively representation.

I do much admire that these times have so little esteemed the vertues of the Times, as that the writing of *Lives* should be no more frequent. For although there be not many Sovereign Princes, or absolute Commanders, and that States are most collected into Monarchies; yet are there

*of a Work of this nature.*

there many worthy personages that deserve better than dispersed Reports or barren Elogies : For herein the invention of one of the late Poets is proper, and doth well enrich the ancient fiction. For he feigneth, that at the end of the thread or web of every mans Life, there was a little Medal containing the person's name; and that *Time* waiteth upon the *Sheers*, and as soon as the Thread was cut, caught the Medals and carried them to the River *Lethe* ; and about the bank there were many Birds flying up and down, that would get the Medals, and carry them in their beak a little while, and then let them fall into the River. Onely there were a few Swans, which if they got a Name, would carry it to a Temple where it was consecrate.

THE





# The TABLE.

|                              |      |                              |          |
|------------------------------|------|------------------------------|----------|
| Sir James Crofts             | 569  | Doctor Dale                  | 564      |
| Cliffords Earls of Cumber-   |      | Sir James Dier               | 595      |
| land                         | 721  | Secretary Davison            | 624      |
| Sir R. Cecil E. of Salisbury |      | Sir G. Hume, E. of Dunb      | 740      |
|                              | 730  | Sir Robert Dudley            | 761      |
| Sir George Calvert           | 750  | John L. Digby, E. of Bristol | 838      |
| Sir Arthur Chichester        | 753  |                              | 921      |
| L. Cranfield E. of Mid.      | 778  | The Digges                   | 948      |
| Sir Robert Cary              | 794  | Earl of Danby.               |          |
| Doctor Richard Cosin         | 817  |                              |          |
| Lord Chief Justice Cook      | 820  | E.                           |          |
| Lord Cottington              | 906  | Thomas Cromwel, Earl         |          |
| Sir Dudley Carleton          | 910  | of Essex                     | 57       |
| Lord Conway                  | 919  | W. Howard, L. Effingh        |          |
| Sir Julius Cæsar             | 934  | Sir Ralph Ewers              | 458      |
| Earl of Carnarvan            | 1014 | W. D. Earl of Essex          | 486      |
| The Cary's Lords Viscounts   |      | D. Devereux E. of Essex      | 624      |
| Faulklands                   | 938  | Sir Thomas Edmonds           | 962      |
| Lord Capel                   | 1021 | L. Chancellour Egerton       | 755      |
| Sir John Culpepper           | 1042 | Sir Clement Edmonds          | 772      |
| Sir George Crook             | 949  | Sir T. Ereskin, E. of Kelly. | 782      |
| James Hay E. of Carlisle     | 774  |                              |          |
| Sir Thomas Coventry          | 978  | F.                           |          |
| Sir John Cook                | 944  | Sir Jeffery Fenton           | 626, 661 |
| L. Herbert of Cherbury       | 1017 | Sir John Fineux              | 81       |
|                              |      | Doctor E. Fox, Secretary     | 86       |
| D.                           |      | Sir Edward Fines             | 408      |
| Sir Thomas Darcy             | 130  | Sir John Fortescue           | 556      |
| St. Grey, Marquess of        |      | Doctor Giles Fletcher        | 662      |
| Dorset                       | 152  | The Carys, Lords Viscounts   |          |
| Dudly D. of Northumber-      |      | Faulkland                    | 938      |
| land                         | 420  | Sir John Finch               | 971      |
| W. Devereux E. of Essex      | 486  |                              |          |
| Edward Earl of Derby         | 547  |                              |          |
| Sir William Drury            | 558  |                              |          |
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| John Grey of Pyrgo                           | 569 | L. Herbert of Cherbury   | 1017 |
| Lord Grey of Wilton                          | 571 | Arch-Bishop Heath.       | 526  |
| Sir Henry Gates                              | 569 |                          |      |
| Arthur Gray, <i>Baron of Wil-</i>            | 588 | I.                       |      |
| ton  | 626 | Sir John Fitz-James      | 114  |
| Sir Humphrey Gilbert                         | 727 | Sir William Fitz-James   | 123  |
| Sir Fulk Grevil, L. Brook                    |     | Sir John Jefferies       | 821  |
| Oliver Saint John Grandison                  | 767 | Sir Arthur Ingram        | 798  |
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H.

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| <b>S</b> Ir William Herbert | 457 | K.                          |     |
| D. Walter Haddon            | 627 | Sir William Kingston        | 462 |
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L.

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| James Hay, E. of Carlisle | 774       | Earl of Lindsey          | 975       |
| Henry Howard Earl of Nor- |           | Arch-Bishop Laud         | 991       |
| thampton                  | 780       | Lord-Keeper Littleton    | 1003      |
| Sir John Ramsey, Earl of  |           |                          |           |
| Holdernefs                | 782       |                          |           |

M.

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| Sir Nicholas Hyde         | 931 |                      |     |
| Christopher Lord Hatton   | 521 | Sir Thomas Moor      | 43  |
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# THE TABLE.

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| Sir Walter Mildmay         | 554  | Sir John Portman             | 397  |
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| Lord Mountjoy              | 664  | Sir William Pelham           | 599  |
| L. Cranfield E. of M.      | 778  | Sir Barn. Fitz-Patrick       | 412  |
| Bishop Mountague           | 800  | Sir William Peter            | 430  |
| Sir Henry Martin           | 925  | Cardinal Pool                | 435  |
| Sir Ja. Ley E. of Marlb.   | 943  | Sir John Perrot              | 510  |
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|                            |      | William Lord Pawlet          | 593  |
| N.                         |      | Sir John Puckering           | 607  |
| Dudley D. of Northum-      | 420  | Sir John Packington          | 616  |
| berland                    |      | L. Chief-Justice Popham      | 759  |
| Duke of Norfolk            | 540  | Westons, Earls of Portland   | 914  |
| Lord North                 | 564  | Will. E. of Pembroke         | 917  |
| The Norrices               | 617  | Sir Paul Pinder.             | 964  |
| H. Howard, E. of Northamp- |      |                              |      |
| ton                        | 780  | R.                           |      |
| Lord Howard, Earl of Not-  |      | L. Ord. Rich                 | 204  |
| tingham                    | 735  | Sir Tho. Randolph            | 564  |
| Sir Robert Naunton         | 795  | Sir John Russel 1. E. of B.  | 442  |
| Sir Francis Netherfole     | 795  | Tho. Ratcliffe, E. of Suffex | 490  |
| W. Noy, Atturney - General |      | Sir William Russel           | 629  |
|                            | 892  | Sir Thomas Roper             | 630  |
| Sir Augustine Nichols      | 929  | Sir Walter Rawleigh          | 670  |
|                            |      | Sir Joh. Ramsey, E. of Hold  | 782  |
| O.                         |      | Sir Thomas Ridley            | 923  |
| Sir Thomas Overbury        | 796  | Esme Duke of Richmond        | 957  |
| H. Vere Earl of Oxford     | 810  | Edw. E. of Rutland           | 667  |
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| Emund Plowden              | 573  | S.                           |      |
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# THE TABLE.

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| bury                                  | 730                          | Sir H. Vane <i>Senior</i>            | 965  |
| Sir Ralp Sadler                       | 95                           | G. V. D. of Buckingham               | 843  |
| Sir Tho. Wriothesly <i>I. E. of</i>   | <i>W.</i>                    |                                      |      |
| Southampton                           | 111                          | <b>C</b> ardinal Wolsey              | 1    |
| Sir Edw. Stanly                       | 136                          | Sir Thomas Wyat                      | 76   |
| Sir Ch. Somersfet                     | 150                          | Doct <sup>r</sup> Nich. Wotton       | 107  |
| Sir Thomas Smith                      | 560                          | Sir Tho. Wriothesly, <i>I. E. of</i> |      |
| R. Earl of Somersfet                  | 742                          | Southampton                          | 111  |
| Ed. Stafford <i>D. of Bucks</i>       | 159                          | Sir Robert Wingfield                 | 157  |
| The Seymours                          | 172                          | Sir Thomas Wentworth                 | 197  |
| Sir Will. Stamford                    | 216                          | Doct <sup>r</sup> Tho. Wilson        | 390  |
| T. Ratcliff, <i>E. of Suffex</i>      | 490                          | Ste. Gardiner <i>Bishop of Win-</i>  |      |
| Sir Philip Sidney                     | 501                          | ton                                  | 451  |
| Sir Henry Sidney                      | 602                          | Lord Willoughby                      | 497  |
| Sir Th. Howard 131                    | } of Surrey<br>&<br>Norfolk. | Sir Francis Walsingham               | 513  |
| Sir Ed. Howard 141                    |                              | Sir Edward Waterhouse                | 536  |
| Sir Th. Howard 142                    |                              | Sir Will. Fitz-Williams              | 549  |
| Fr. Talbot <i>E. of Shrewsb.</i>      | 533                          | L. Gray of Wilton                    | 571  |
| Sir John Smith                        | 668                          | Sir Christopher Wray                 | 578  |
| Th. Sackvil, <i>L. Buckhurst</i>      | 677                          | <i>E. of Worcester</i>               | 581  |
| <i>E. of Suffolk</i>                  | 792                          | Arth. Gray <i>Baron of Wilton</i>    | 588  |
| Sir Thomas Smith                      | 724                          | Sir William Waad                     | 601  |
| Lord Spencer                          | 841                          | Sir Ralph Winwood                    | 826  |
| Oliver Saint-John, <i>L. Gran-</i>    |                              | <i>Bishop Williams</i>               | 897  |
| dison                                 | 767                          | Sir Isaac Wake                       | 904  |
| Sir John Savil                        | 895                          | Westons <i>Earls of Portland</i>     | 914  |
| Lord Say                              | 972                          | Sir Henry Wotton                     | 1029 |
| Sir T. W. <i>E. of Strafford</i>      | 980                          | Lord Wilmot                          | 1035 |
| T.                                    |                              | Sir T. Wentworth, <i>Earl of</i>     |      |
| <b>B</b> ishop Tonstal                | 531                          | Strafford                            | 980  |
| Fr. Talbot <i>E. of Shrews-</i>       |                              | Robert <i>Earl of Warwick</i>        | 987  |
| bury                                  | 533                          |                                      |      |
| Sir Nich. Throgmorton                 | 543                          |                                      |      |
| V.                                    |                              |                                      |      |
| Sir Henry Umpton                      | 632                          | Sir Henry Yelverton                  | 799  |
| H. Vere <i>E. of Oxford</i>           | 810                          |                                      |      |







1  
Henry  
8.

STATE - WORTHIES,  
OR, THE  
STATES-MEN and FAVOURITES  
OF  
*ENGLAND,*  
IN  
The Reign of King Henry the VIII.

---

*Observations on the Life of Cardinal*  
WOLSEY.



Cardinal *Wolsey* was not so great in his Fortune, as he was mean in his Original: his honest and industrious Parents helped him to a good Constitution, and a large Spirit; (two hopeful steps to greatness;) though one hath said of him,

*Brave Priest, whoever was thy Sire by kind,  
Wolsey of Ipswich nere begat thy mind.*

B

His

Henry

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His Ambition gave him the opportunity to encrease his parts; he was as pregnant at *Ipswich-School*, as he was promising in *Magdalen Colledge*; where he was Batchelour of Arts at 15 years of Age, and therefore called the Boy-Bachelour; His Industry and parts advanced him to a command over Noble men of the Marquess of *Dorset's* Family, as School-master; as his Policy promoted him to an Imperiousness over Kings in the quality of Statesmen. *The first step to Greatness in a Scholar, is Relation to a Nobleman*: The best Education for the Court, is in the Palace. Nature made him capable, the School and University made him a *Scholar*; but his Noble Employment made him a *Man*. At *Oxford* he read *Books*, at my Lord's he read *Men*, and observed *Things*: His Patrons two Parsonages bestowed upon him, was not so great a Favour as the excellent principles instilled into him; he being not more careful to *Instruct* and *Educate* the young Men, then their Father was to *Tutor* him: his Bounty makes him *Rich*, and his Recommendation *Powerful*: His *Interest* went far, his *Money* farther. Bishop *Fox* was Secretary to *K. Henry* the seventh, and he to Bishop *Fox*; the one was not a greater Favourite of the King's, than the other was his; as one that brought him a *Head* capable of all Observations, and a *Spirit* above all Difficulties. Others *Managed* the *Affairs* of *England*, *Walsley* understood its *Interest*: His Correspondence was good *abroad*; his observations close, deep, and continued at *home*: He improved what he knew, and bought what he knew not. Being a Master of so happy a reservedness, as to what he understood not, that in all those variety of things that tried his

*the Life of Cardinal Wolsey.*

3

his parts, he never came under the reproofe of *Henry*  
*Megabyes*, to whom *Apelles* said. Whilst thou wast  
fluent, thou seem'dst to be some body, but now there  
is not the meanest Boy that grinde to Oaker, but  
he laugheth at thee. And as he was received in his  
speech, so he was moderate in his carriage, till the  
success of lesser actions fleshed him for greater.

8.

He could make any thing he read or heard,  
his own; and could improve any thing that was his  
own to the uttermost.

One Christmas retirement to the Marquess of  
Dorset from *Magdalen College*, where he was fel-  
low and School-Master, was like to have undone  
him, at the same time that it made him; for that  
debonairness whereby he hoped to open the way to  
Honour as a Courtier, occasioned his disgrace as  
a Minister.

Sir *James Pawlet*, (who for six days Imprisonment of him in *Somersetshire*, suffered six years Confinement by him in the *Middle-Temple* and the *Gate-House*, untill he was glad to adorne one Prison at a great Charge, with the badge and Cognizance of the Cardinals greatness, to abate his displeasure, as he said, he had disgraced another with a School-Masters meanness to provoke it,) thought fit to Commit him for that activity, for which others advanced him; and that to a Capacity, (see the instability of humane affairs; the Greatest should not presume, the meanest should not despond) of having the Knight as much at the School-Masters pleasure, as the School-Master was at his humor. For having lost the *Marquess*,  
B 2 through

Henry

8



through whom he hoped to shew himself with advantage at Court, *by death*, and his fellowship at *Magdalen*, where he might have appeared with applause in the University, *by Resignation*, he Travelled himself into the old Treasurer of *Callis* favour and service, first as his Chaplain, then as his Deputy, and by him to *K. H.* 7<sup>th</sup>s. notice: to whom he became, by dextrous addressees to the two then great Favourites Bishop *Fox* and Sir *Thomas Lovel*, known as well by his sharpe and solid discourses in the Closet, as by his discreet and modest behaviour in the Chappel, to be capable of two things, *Business* by his diligence, and *Trust* by his *Reservedness*, both tryed in an Ambassage to *Maxamilian* the Emperour; his first employment performed so quickly, that the King checked him for not being gone, when he presented himself to signify that he was returned; and so prudently and effectually, that according to his duty he fulfilled all those Instructions given with him, and out of his discretion those likewise too late sent after him; answering the wise King, who asked him whether he met the Pursivant he sent after him? that he met him and read his Letters, the matter whereof he had dispatcht, conceiving it necessary, for which he craved pardon, confessing it a presumption; the sage King vouchsafing him not only pardon, but applause, promising himself the greatest Services from one that had given so good an earnest. And indeed he had better success in serving others, than his dependents had in serving him; for it was Mr. *Cromwells* great complaint to him, and his great trouble within himself, that he had not taken all the opportunities offered him, to advance his Servants while

*the Life of Cardinal Wolsey.*

5  
Henry  
8.

while he stood, that they might have had abilities to assist him when he was fallen; for when he was reduced to a Pension of 4000. markes at *Winchester*, and had his Lands belonging to his Colledges at *Oxford* and *Ipswich* seized on by the Præmunire to the Kings use, and the Abbey at *St. Albons* divided among the Courtiers, he was forced to borrow 200. l. of *John Higdon* his first Dean of *Christ-Church*, to pay and reward some of his poorest Servants, on this condition, that they should not *suscipere gradum Simonis*, and having served a Cardinal, wait on any other below the King. Indeed his Estate in his prosperity was little enough for his Magnificence, which performed great things, and designed greater; and in his adversity little enough, for his Charity, which he dispensed in all places between the *Charterhouse* at *Richmond*, where he began to dye Religiously, and the Abbey at *Leicester* where he dyed naturally: a Charity, which added to his reading Divine Service, and Preaching in some Church every Sunday, his open house all the week days, the familiarity and sweetness of his converse, and the humility of his life, gained him as great a Respect in the *North* as he had lost in the *South*.

No sooner was he in with the Bishop of *Winchester*, but the Bishop was out with the Earl of *Surrey*; to whom he must have stooped, as he did unto Nature and Age, had not he raised his Servant equal to himself in the Kings Favour, and above *Howard*. He was forbid by the Canon, Heirs of his Body; he was enjoined by his Prudence to make an Heir of his Favour, equally to support and comfort his old Age, and maintain his Interell. Chil-

Henry dren in point of Policy, as in Nature, are  
 8. a Blessing, and as Arrows in the hand of a mighty  
 man; and nappy is that old Courtier that hath his  
 Quiver full of them, he shall not be amazed when he  
 speaks with his Enemies in the gate. The old man  
 commends *Wolsey* to Henry the Seventh for one fit  
 to serve a King, and command Others. Foreign  
 Employment is the Statesmans first School; to  
*France* therefore he is sent, to poise his English  
 Gravity with French Debonairness: A well-poised  
 Quickness is the excellent temper. From Foreign  
 Employment, under an old King, he is called home  
 to some Domestick Services under the Young One.  
 He as quickly found the length of *His Foot*, as he  
 fitted him with an easie Shoo; the King followed  
 his Pleasures, and the Cardinal enjoyeth *His Po-*  
*wer*; The One pursued his sports while *Youth*, the  
 other his Business while *Time* served him. (*Give*  
*me to Day, and take thou to Morrow, is both the Cour-*  
*tier and the Christian's Language*;) The Favourite  
 took in the Council-Table Debates, & other State-  
 affaires in the Mass and whole Bulk of them by  
 Day, and the King had the Quintessence of them  
 extracted, and the sum of them represented to him  
 at Night. All State-Business was disposed of by  
 him, and most Church-Preferments bestowed up-  
 on him; the Deanery of *Lincolne*, the Kings *Almo-*  
*nership*, a house near *Bridewell*, *Durham*, *Winchester*,  
*Bath*, *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Tourney*, *Lincolne*, *St. Al-*  
*bons* and *York*, were in his possession; and all other  
 Promotions in his Gift: He was installed in the  
 Kingdom (during King Henry's youthfulness) and  
 had the Church in *Commendam*. His great Ser-  
 vices indeed could not be managed without a great  
 Revenue

Revenue, nor his greater Power supported, but by an able Purse, which may buy off Expedients as readily as his Greatness may command them.

His pithy and his witty sentences at the *Starr-Chamber* made him Speaker there, and his fluent Tongue the most forward every where else; his clear Head and smooth Tongue engrossed all the Kings Favour, and most persons addressees, which advanced his Estate much, and his Reputation more: in so much that the management of, and Provision for the great Voyage to *France*, 5. H. 8. by Sea and Land was trusted to his sole Care; and ordered to very good effect by his sole Discretion: not neglecting his own affairs while he provided for the King's, being the most dextrous by his correspondents at discovering Preferments, the closest at attaining of them; the quickest at Possessing them, and the most skilfull for Improving them of any man living; Punctual in keeping up the honour of his Place, witness his advancing of his Crosses as Primate of *England*, above those of *Canterbury* as Primate of all *England* (pitty saith one, that they who should contend *de pascendis ovibus* should fall out *de lanâ caprinâ*) and what Jurisdiction he wanted as Arch-Bishop, he made up as Cardinal, Legate *de latere* and Chancellour. In which capacity, he kept 500 Servants, among whom 9 or 10 Lords, 15 Knights, and 40 Esquires: in which respect he was sent upon two Embassies of State to the Emperour *Charles* the 5th. in *Flanders* to the great honour of the English Nation. He entertained all Ambassadors, to the great satisfaction of all Forein Princes, and the King often to his great content, administering to his Majesties Plea-



Henry sure, that he might enjoy his power ; discovering  
 8. as great skill in his *Treats* as in his *Government*,  
 especially careful of three things.

1. His Pomp, to keep his place from contempt, it being not enough for a man in Authority to have a power that may awe the Judgment of the wise to subjection, unless he have a pomp too, that may dazzle the eyes of the vulgar into Veneration : though *Envy* is the most dangerous thing that can happen to a private man, yet contempt is the worst thing that can befall a publick person ; this weakning the being of the later which consists in his power, as the other doth the comfort of the first, which consisteth in his Peace.

2. His Devotion, neglecting not one Collect of his Prayers for all the cumbrances of his place, wherein he deceived many of the people, thinking he had no time for his Devotion from his business, and his Servants wondering how he could gain time for his business from his Devotion ; he made *Conscience* of Religion, because in his experience of affaires he met with many providences of God that made him really believe it ; he made no shew of it, because the world believed such men as he did but pretend it.

3. His Health, never going out without a perfumed Orange into the great Croud that always awaited him, to whom all persons came first before they went to the King : that he wanted such things, was to sober men argument of the Frailty of the greatest man; that he used them, was to envious men an argument of the pride of a poor man. Which puteth me in mind of *Plinyes* description of a man, than whom he saith, there is not a living Creature more wretched

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or more Proud: For the last of which qualities, it was that our *Icarus*, though a man of great capacity, large experience, and comparative moderation, moultered his wing so soon in the beams of Royal Majesty. But as our *Laureate* hath it, God help the man so wrapped in *Errours endless train*, one *Anticyra*, hath not *Hellebore* enough to cure him.

Two Corrivalls he had, *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*: *Brandon* he despised, as rather besides, saith my Author, than against him; he being the Kings Companion in pleasure, & *Wolsey* his Councellour in Policy; the Duke great with young *Henry*, the Bishop with the King: *Buckingham* he feared, as popular; and undermined, as proud: (that *Tower* must fall, whole Foundation is hollow) *Buckingham* was high in Birth, Honour, and Estate, *Wolsey* higher in Prudence, whose Malice did the brave Duke much mischief, and his own folly more: (Vain-glory (writes my Friend) ever lieth at open guard, and gives much advantage of play to her Enemies:) A deboyft King is jealous, and a weak Nobleman ambitious. In fine, he is attainted of High Treason, (though rather Corrivall to the King in his Cloaths than his Crown, in his Vanities than his Authority:) but a cunning Upstart quickly blows off a young Nobleman's Cap and Feather, and his Head too, when it stands in his way. *Tarquin* instructed more than his own Son, by striking off the heads of the Poppies.

His power against *Buckingham* was his Shield against all others: One defense well managed, one Adversary thoroughly suppressed, is a Security at Court, where two men seldom fall the same way.

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Many envied the Archbishop, the Cardinal, the Legate *de latere*, the Lord Chancellour; but all feared the Favourite: most were discontented, but none durst shake their Heads, lest they fell off with *Buckingham's*: the Bishops displeasure was more fatal than the Kings, whose wrath was *violent*, but not *lasting*; as the Others anger was of less fury, but more malice, real, and more secret, he having set up as indiscernible way of Intelligence, as Angels do of Communication; he and his correspondents understanding one another, not by discourse, but by the present state of things; as those Intelligences understand one another, not by speech, but by *Ideas*. His Power was great, and his Justice equal; for he was too proud to be bribed, and too powerful to be overborn. But *England* was too narrow a Theatre for this great Spirit, and he aspires to *Rome*; and having been these many years Pope of this other world, would have been of that beyond the waters: his leap was great, from *York* to *Rome*, and his rise as good: *Charles* the Fifth was his Client, and his Masters Servant; the Cardinals were his Pensioners; and when they failed (as he is no Fox whose Den hath but one hole, and he no Statesman who when one way is stopped, cuts not out another) he falls off from the German Emperour to the French King: where, if he could not carry his own Design, he would hinder the Emperours; (and Revenge is an Advancement) (so great was he, that his Friendship balanced *Europe*, over-awed Emperours, threatned Kings, and was fatal to Queens) if he cannot be Pope of *Rome*, he will shew he is as good as King of *England*; for finding that the King wanted a meet Yoak-Fellow for his Bed, and a law-ful



ful Heir-Male to his Crown, and observing Queen *Katharines* Age above her Husbands, and her Gravity above her Age, being more Pious than pleasant, a better Woman than Wife, and a better Wife for any Prince than King *Henry*; he promotes a Divorce (upon some Scruples intimated by the Spaniard some years before in a Treaty about the Princess *Mary's* Marriage, which others had forgot, but the Cardinal laid up) between the King and Queen: but that was not all; but knowing that King *Henry* could not have a Wife to his minde, until he had a Pope of his own choosing, he would help him to a young Wife, but he must raise him to a new Power; *Wolsey* must be Pope, or King *Henry* could not be divorced: and to make all sure, he was no sooner to be parted from a Daughter of *Spain*, than he was to be joyned to a Princess of *France*; whose Nuptial Ring should wed King *Henry* to Her, and King *Francis* to Himself.

Two ways did he disoblige Queen *Anne Bullen* that was his deadly enemy, 1. by dissolving the Contract between her and the Lord *Piercy*, the Earle of *Northumberlands* Eldest Son, to please the King, 2. by endeavouring to hinder, or at least delay the Marriage between her and the King, to gratifie himself; whom in vain afterwards, by Inventions unheard of, he endeavoured to please as well as the King; when he saw the Contrivances of a great Wit, the Allurements of a Famous Beauty, and the malice of a disappointed Woman, joyned to the envy of the greatest Lord, whom he had ordered as irrespectively as the meanest subject. When it is once past Noon with a Court-Favourite, it is presently

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sently Night with him: for knowing that the Cardinal was *cunning*, and the King not yet *cruel*, they longed to have him at *York* while at *London*; and again they contrive to bring him to *London* while at *York*; the first upon pretense that he might do good, the last with design that he might do no harme. *Sed nulla sunt occultiores insidie quam hæ quæ latent in simulatione officij*: as he observed the method of some old cunning Parliament-men, who when they had a mind to cross a Bill, were always highest for it in the House (as the Eagle carried the shell up in the skye to break it) and would insert so many, and so great inconveniences into the Act, that they were sure it could never pass.

*Tuta frequensque via est per amici fallere nomen.*

Missing of Power, he meditates Honour; and instead of lavishing his infinite Treasure upon airy Expectations, he bestoweth it on real Monuments; witness the great work at *Callice*, &c. which makes his Memory as Renowned as his Life. That Statesman lives to small purpose, whose Actions are as short as his Life, and his Exploits of no longer duration than his Age.

At this time, though King *Henry* bore the Sword, yet Cardinal *Wolsey* (as I am told) bore the stroue all over the Land, being Legate *a latere*, by vertue whereof he visited all Churches and Religion, Houses, even the *Friers Observants* themselves, notwithstanding the stoutness and stubbornness that first opposed him. Papal and Royal Power met in him, being the Chancellour of the Land, and keeping so many Bishopricks in *Commendam*, that his yearly Income is said to equal, if not exceed the Revenues of the Crown. He gave the first

first blow to Religious Houses, by making one great Cardinal Colledge, now *Christ-Church*, (of which one comparing his project with his performance, said, *Instituit Collegium, absolvit Popinam.* And another being asked what he thought of the ampleness of the Foundation, answered, *Fundatione nihil amplius*; to which I may add his Colledge at *Ipswich*, ) of forty small Monasteries; to make way, as some thought, upon the Popes consent, procured by him, to the overthrow of all.

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He called all Captains and Officers to an account, who bought off their own small corruption with his great one, and paid him the penalties of their Cheats with the Gains of it; the Richest of them escaping, and the poorest only made exemplary. Several Courts of pretended Equity he erected; to redress the poor, that was the Colour; to enrich himself, that was the Reality: at whose constitution the Law-Courts were unfrequented, so specious was their seeming Integrity; at the last they are deserted, so manifest was their real Grievances; the people not flocking so fast after the Novelty, as they ran away from the Cheat: though his pretense was fair, *that the Kingdome should not be a Common-Wealth of Fish*, where the greater devoured the Less.

What he did to reform the Courtiers, as a Favourite, he did to reform the Clergy as Legate; erecting a Court Legantine (not without danger of a *Præsumptio*) wherein all Clergy were visited; the Rich in their Purfes, that excused them; the Poor in their Reputation, that compounded for them. Neither did his profits arise from the Living onely, but the Dead; he engrossing the Probation

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tion of all Wills and Testaments within his own Court: he had petty projects, *viz.* that Children should follow their Fathers Profession, saying that he observed, that the Fathers Eminency in any art, begat in the Child a propension to the same; and where two or three successive Generations happily insist in the steps one of another, they raise an art to great perfection, and liked well the prudence of our Parliaments in permitting the Eldest Son of Barons to be present at their Consultations to fit them by degrees, for the person they are to sustain.

And not long after, he hath a Patent under the Great Seal of *England*, to do what he pleased in the French Court, in order to the Kings Progress thither; as he hath likewise after, with his Masters leave, under the great seal of *France*: After which honour, he was with the Kings Order, by English Subjects, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, &c. honoured at no less rate than that of a Prince; and by the Clergy (who kept close to the publick temper) with Processions, &c. at the same rate with a Pope. Great he was in *England*; greater in *Germany*, where all the Nobility attended him, the Great Seal of *England* was carried before him; and the Emperour observing his Commission and Honour, met him with his whole Train, and harangued it with him no less than two days. He that over-ruled Empires might well presume on Subjects; and no sooner therefore doth he return, than by his own Authority he levieth four shillings in the pound of every man that was worth fifty pound *per annum*; and when that would not do (pretending to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that he had been upon his Knees to revoke those

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Commissions ) other Letters for a Benevolence, which lost him as much in the Countrey, as his Reformation of the Household did him at Court. But the King employeth him to *France*, as his Second, and takes his leave of him as his intimate Friend; 1200 Horse attended him: *Callice, Bullein, Amiens* honour him with the name of *The Peaceable Cardinal*; and the Statue of a Cardinal Rescuing a Church and a Pope from danger, whom yet underhand he brought into danger, making the Duke of *Bourbon* General against the King of *France* to Revenge himself; and yet making an underhand Peace with *France* [which the Duke knew not of, till he took the Instrument of Peace Sealed at the Castle of *Pavia*] to please others; for which last exploit, carried on privately by receiving the French Ambassadour as an Italian Jester, the Duke of *Bourbon* resolved to goe and Sack *Rome*, and punish all the Cardinals he could come at for the fault of one he could not. But though his Armes reached him not, the Court Wits did; perswading his Ambition to goe upon a splendid Embassie, to Reconcile all the Christian Princes abroad, that they might have the better advantage to withdraw from him the Favour of his own Prince at home; contriving likewise, that all the Friends he had at Court should be of his Retinue in the Ambassie, both to increase the envy of his train, and to weaken the strength of his Interell: It was observed that he gave three Rules to his Company the morning he went from *Callis*; 1. That they should take care of the Sovereigns Honour that Employed him. 2. That they should observe the natural Civility and Sobriety of the Nation they came



Henry 8. came from. 3. That they should retain as much reservedness as became the Affair he went about; giving them a Caution of the French in these words, viz. that at their first meeting, they would be as familiar as if they had known them by long acquaintance; and of themselves in these that they should not speak of any matter of Importance, but in their own Language, lest they should discover that for want of words which they should hide with them.

Very exact he was in the honourable circumstances of address, abating the French King not to step in their approaches one to another, but most exact in the particulars of the Treaty, yielding not a point to the whole Council of France; for knowing that their own conveniency, not their Love brought the Treaty about, he would often fling away, and make the King and Queen Regent Court him to renew the Consultation, which otherwise he must have caressed them to. Fear, not Love is the passion of Common-Wealths. But his entertainment from the King his Master at home, was not answerable to his Service abroad; nor the applause from the Noble-men, Judges, and Justices of the Peace of each shire in England (cited from the Countrey to hear an account of his great League, that they might report it to the Countrey) suitable either to his Eloquence or Action at Star-Chamber, or his great expectation. The first Court design upon him, after his return, was an entertainment to the French Ambassador, enjoined by the King to beggar him; the next was a discovery made to him of the Kings Love to *Q. A. Bullein*, (its dangerous to know Kings Secrets) from which he dissuaded his

his Majesty by Intreaties on his Knees, and by Arguments from the most Learned men in the Kingdom which he Consulted with, and in both Universities which he sent to. Its not safe standing in the way of a Kings Lust, though indeed the Cardinals Enemies had possessed themselves both of the King and the peoples apprehensions, so farr, that his Majesty was wrought upon to be angry with him, because he was perswaded that he was against his Divorce; and the people were incited against him (as he declared to the King at the Court in *Bridewell*) because they were made believe that he was for it.

Many chafing discourses (as he called them) had he with the King, whom yet he would coole with the gentleness of his behaviour; many affronts from Noble men: Especially one, whose head he had kept on, threatned his off. Often would he dissuade the King from persuing his design; often upon the Kings solicitations did he and Cardinal *Campein* perswade the Queen to Retire.

At *Grafton* in *Northamptonshire* was the first step of his Fall, when the King went to Dine with Queen *Anne Bullein*, and left him to shift among the Servants.

Queen *Anne* pressed the King with the poor Condition he had brought the Subjects to; others into what great Estate he had raised himself. First he returns from Court to *Westminster*, and the broad Seal, with his rich furnished house, being taken from him, afterwards to *Putney*, or *Ashur*; when he that could have furnished Kings with accommodations, was furnished himself by the Bishop of *Carlisle*. Afraid they were he should have a summe

Henry of money to live upon at *Rome*, therefore they  
 8 searched Cardinal *Campeius* Train at *Callis*; more  
 afraid he should have an habitation near the King:  
 therefore they demanded his House as Bishop of  
*Yorke* called *White-Hall*, which the Cardinal (in-  
 treating the Judges that came to take his Recogni-  
 zance, to teach the King not onely what he might  
 do, but what he ought to do, and to put him in  
 mind of the greatness of the Eternal habitations as  
 Hell and Heaven, as well as the conveniency of  
 earthly dwellings) chose rather to give upon terms  
 for *Yorke-House*, than to lose by force.

The Articles against him in the House were  
 bravely waved by his Servant Mr. *Cromwel*, the  
 grief of his heart much allayed by a Ring sent him  
 from the King, and a Tablet from the Queen;  
 his Majesties Physicians had a special Charge about  
 his Health; and his Wardrobe about his House:  
 but this was only a Lightning before Death, to  
 exasperate his Enemies rather than gratifie him.

Cardinal *Wolsey* going over to *France*, upon an  
 extraordinary Embassy, had for his Attendance  
*Tonstal* Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Sands*, late  
 Chamberlain, the Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Tho. More*,  
 Sir *H. Guilford*, and 200 Horse; and was met two  
 days journey from *Paris* by King *Francis* and his  
 Mother, carrying with him 140000. *l.* though sil-  
 ver was but 20 *d.* an ounce, to assist that King in  
 the War against *Charles* the fifth; and furnished  
 with such a Plenipotentiary Commission, that he  
 gave Law to *France* and the *Popedome*: and he  
 imported himself with such dexterity and high  
 wisdom, that all the Princes of *Christendome*, who  
 had their eyes fixed upon him, admired him.

The

The King gave him many places, & he bestowed *Henry* on him his magnificent Palaces; *White-Hall*, that *8.* Good Hypocrite, more convenient within, than comely without, *Hampton Court*, *Windsor*; the two first to be resident in, and the last to be buried in. (*Arma tenenti omnia dat, qui iusta negat*); sitting his humour with pleasant habitations, as he suited his ambition with power and authority.

But the King broke with him at last about the divorce, being vexed with so many delays, defers, retardings, and prerogations between two Popes, *Clement* that was, and *Wolsey* that would be: yet rather eased him of his burdens, than deprived him of his preferments; continuing him Bishop of *York* and *Durham*, (when he turned him out of his Chancellourship of *England*) where being sent by that Lord, who would not endure him nearer the King, and could not get him further, he lived rather like a *Prince* than a *Priest*, providing as magnificently for his *Installation*, as a King should for his *Coronation*: which unseasonable ambition was improved by his enemies malice, and the King's jealousy to his ruine: for in the midst of his solemnities he is arrested by the Kings order, signified by the Earle of *Northumberland*, whose wrath was the Messenger of Death; and in his way to *London*, being distracted between hope and fear, died at *Leicester*, where he was buried as obscurely as he was borne; and breathing out his soul in words to this purpose, viz. *If I had served the God of Heaven as faithfully as I did my Master on earth, he had not forsaken me in my old age, as the other hath done.* He died, swelling in his body, as he had done in his mind, the pain being really in his heart, which

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seemed to be in his guts; for when *Northumberland* whom he had bred, and a Privy Chamberman whom he had preferred, were sent to him, he could still hope that the King intended him Honour; but when Sir *William Kingston*, Lieutenant of the Tower, who carried a restraint in his looks, came to him, he could not believe but he intended him Punishment, keeping him only between the tickling hopes of preferment, & pinching fear of disgrace, to sound his bottome, and to discover his Estate; so well he took the first Arrest, that he directed the Messengers to execute their Commission legally; saying, that he ought to yield himself to a Privy-Chamberman on his word; though not to the Earle without his Commission; So ill the second, that he could not govern himself tolerably. Very observant he was of *old Prophecies*; applying that

*When the Cow rides the Bull,*

*Then Priest beware thy skull.*

to *Hen. 8.* whose armes, as Earle of *Richmond* was a Cow; and *Anne Bullein*, whose devise was a Bull: whose Love to each other, was the occasion of their hatred to him.

And that, that he should have his end at *Kingston*, to *Kingston* upon *Thames*, a Town he would not look on willingly while he lived; and to Sr *William Kingston*, a man he would not with his good will hear of when he died: And fearful of new Omens, Interpreting the falling of his Crosse to break *Bonnors* head, the fall of the Church to the danger of his own. A serene and peaceable soul acts by solid reason, a frighted and troubled one by fanisie, imagination and superstition; a mind in the dark of melancholy, and trouble, feareth every thing. The King not knowing his own changeable mind, would  
have

have given 20000 *l.* he had lived; and his Enemies knowing it too well, gave 10000 *l.* that they might be sure he should dye.

The one aiming at a booty from his Estate (as appeared afterward by his reward to those Servants that discovered it; the other at their own security from his power: both to his dying day, so great, that indifferent men thought them enough, his foes too much, and he himself too little. Plenty without pomp, is penury to pride, which Kings may make *humbled*, God only *humble*: He being able to take away the fire, the Lust within; the other only to withdraw the Fuel, the state without.

*Remarkable* were his words of himself. *This* is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study, not regarding my service to God; but only my respect to the King. Flattery is the Common Moath of great Palaces, where *Alexanders* friends are more than the Kings. Observable his caution to the Councillors, whom he advised to take heed, what they should put into the Kings head, for (said he) you can never put it out again. Heinous is the crime of poysoning Fountains: and such is a Kings mind in a Common-wealth. Notable was the Jealousie of his Enemies, who could not but believe he was alive, until the Mayor and Corporation of *Liecester* [who were called therefore to view his Corps] testified under their publick Seal, that he was dead: But most notorious his burial, that

*He, who from his own store late might have,  
A Palace or a Colledge for his Grave;  
Should lye interr'd so obscurely, as if all  
Of him to be remember'd were his fall;*

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*Nothing but earth to earth; no Pompous weight  
Upon him, but a pibble or a quait.*

Yet though his Fortune was not great, as his merit,  
or his merit as his mind; he planted things that  
are like to last as long as men are either to do things  
worthy to be written in books, or books are to  
record things worthy to be done by men.

His Enemies made mock defences for him, on  
purpose to overthrow him: So before a serious  
Warr, Cities use to personate their adverse party,  
and feign mock combats and skirmishes to encour-  
age their friends, wherein you may be sure that  
their own side shall conquer. Which puts me in  
mind of the Lyons answer in the Fable, when the  
picture of a man bearing a Lyon was produced to  
him, he said, *If a Lyon had made this picture, he  
would have made the Lyon above and the man beneath.*  
*Nihil est quin male narrando possit depravari.*

One thing he advised young men to take care of  
in their publick deliveries, viz: that they should  
rather proceed, though more inaccurately, than  
stop sensibly; few being able to discern the fail-  
ure of a continued speech, when all understand  
the mischance of a gross silence.

A Fellow having made a long Oration to his hear-  
ers, of the virtues of a Feather, which he affirmed  
to have dropped from the wing of *Michael* the  
Arch-Angel; and the Feather being stolen from  
under his sleeve out of drollery, and a Cinder put  
in the place of it to trye his humour, he went on  
confidently with his discourse; telling them, that  
though it was not the feather which he had men-  
tioned; yet it was one of the coles which *St. Lau-*

*rence*

rence was broyled with ; and had all those virtues which he had formerly ascribed to the feather.

W

When good men die suddenly, it is said they are poysoned ; and when the bad fall unexpectedly, as he did, it is said they poyson themselves. He died unpitied , because he had lived feared ; being the great Bias of the Christian World.

Too suddain prosperity in the beginning , undoeth us in the end : while we expect all things flowing upon us at first, we remit our care, and perish by neglecting. Every head cannot bear wine , nor every spirit a fortune: Success eats up Circumspection. How many a man had ended better , if he had not begun so well ? It's the Emphasis of misery, to be too soon happy : Prosperity growing up with experience, makes a man in a firm settlement, inured to all events. I will ever suspect the smooth waters for deepness : in my worst estate I will hope, in the best I will fear ; in all, I will be circumspect and stil. Ruffling Ambition reacheth great Honour, a Sedate Humility supports it : the Lower the Basis, the higher & stronger the Pyramide. Love, the Issue of Humility, guardeth the weakest; Hatred, the Daughter of Pride , ruins the strongest. *Ego & Rex meus* , was good Grammar for *Wolsey* a School-Master ; but not for the Cardinal a States-man. To be humble to Superiors, is duty ; to Equals, is *courtesie* ; to Inferiours, is *nobleness* ; and to all, *safety* ; it being a virtue that for all her lowliness commandeth those souls it stoops to. In a word, as I love Virtue, so I hate Vice , for her inside and her end. Cardinal *Wolsey* is famous for two things ; that he never spoke a word too much, and but one too little.



The Lord Herbert's Character of Cardinal Wolfey, in his Life of Henry the Eighth, pag. 314.

AND thus concluded that great Cardinal: A man in whom ability of parts and Industry were equally eminent; though, for being employed wholly in ambitious ways, they became dangerous Instruments of power, in active and mutable times. By these arts yet he found means to govern not onely the chief affairs of this Kingdom, but of Europe; there being no Potentate, which, in his turn, did not seek to him: and as this procured him divers Pensions, so, when he acquainted the King therewith, his manner was, so cunningly to disoblige that Prince who did see him last, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other side. But not of secular Princes alone, but even of the Pope and Clergy of Rome he was no little courted; of which therefore he made especial use, while he drew them to second him on most occasions. His birth being otherwise so obscure and mean, as no man had ever stood so single: for which reason also his chief endeavour was not to displease any great person; which yet could not secure him. For as all things passed through his hands, so they who failed in their suits generally hated him: All which, though it did but exasperate his ill nature, yet this good resultance followed, that it made him take the more care to be just; whereof also he obtained the reputation in his publick hearing of Causes: For

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as he loved no body, so his Reason carried him. And thus he was an useful Minister of his King in all points, where there was no question of deserting the Roman Church; of which (at what price so ever) I finde he was a zealous Servant; as hoping thereby to aspire to the Papacy, whereof (as the factious times then were) he seemed more capable than any, had he not so immoderately affected it. Whereby also it was not hard to judge of his Inclination; that Prince, who was ablest to help him to this Dignity, being ever preferred by him; which therefore was the ordinary Baite, by which the Emperour and the French King one after the other did catch him. And, upon these terms, he doubted not to convey vast treasures out of this Kingdome, especially unto Rome, where he had not a few Cardinals at his devotion; by whose help, though he could not attain that Supreme Dignity he so passionately desired, yet he prevailed himself so much of their favour, as he got a kinde of absolute power in Spiritual Matters at Home: Wherewith again he so served the Kings turn, as it made him think the less of using his own Authority. One error seemed common to both, which was, That such a multiplicity of Offices and Places were invested in him. For as it drew much envy upon the Cardinal in particular, so it derogated no little from the Regal Authority, while one man alone seemed to exhaust all: Since it becometh Princes to do like good Husbandmen, when they sow their Grounds; which is, to scatter, and not to throw all in one place. He was no great Dissembler, for so qualified a Person; as ordering his busineses (for the most part) so cautiously, as he got more by keeping his word, than by breaking it. As for his Learning, (which was far from exact) it consisted chiefly in the subtilties of the Thomists, wherewith the  
King

Henry King and himself did more often weary than satisfy each other. His style, in *Missives*, was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the point. Briefly, if it be true (as Polydore observes) that no man ever did rise with fewer virtues, it is true that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser crimes objected against him: Though yet Polydore (for being at his first coming into England committed to Prison by him, as we have said) may be suspected as a partial Author. So that in all probability he might have subsisted longer, if either his pride and immense wealth had not made him obnoxious, and suspected to the King, or that other than Women had opposed him: Who, as they are vigilant and close Enemies, so for the most part they carry their businesses in that manner as they leave fewer advantages against themselves than men do. In conclusion, As I cannot assent to those who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely compassion of the people a little before his end, so I cannot but account it a principal Felicity, that during his favour with the King, all things succeeded better than afterwards; though yet it may be doubted whether the Impressions he gave, did not occasion divers Irregularities which were observed to follow. He died Nov. 29. 15 29.

*Observations on the Life of Charles  
Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.*

SIR *William Brandon* dying in King *Henry* the seventh's service, as his Standard-bearer in *Bosworth-field*, no wonder if his son lived in his favour; it being as prudent to continue his Loyal spirit in his son, as it was just to reward it. He was as intimate with *Henry* the Eighth in his pleasures when a child, as in his counsels when a man. There was a sympathy between their active spirits, which improved the familiarity of their tender years to a firm friendship in their age; men of quick and large striding minds loving to walk together: not to say the looser the lives, the faster the friends. At a Tilting in *Paris*, to which many young Noblemen were licensed to go, *Brandon* overcame others every day, and one day himself, (against a Gyant *Almain*) where the Lords looked not on him with more envious, than the Ladies with gracious eyes; who (saith my Author) darted more glances in love, than the other did spears in anger against him. He is the compleat Courtier, in whom Beauty and Valour, *Mars* and *Venus*, are joyned in one happy constitution, which awes and allures Beholders.

Being employed to bring over Queen *Mary*, King *Lewis* the twelfth's Reli<sup>q</sup>, to her Brother, he won her to himself: whether his affections were so ambitious as to climb up to her, or hers so humble as

Henry 8. to condescend to him, may be the subject of a more  
 8. amorous discourse: and considering with himself  
 that matters of this nature are never sure till finished, that so Royal an opportunity happened but seldom, and that leave for such an enterprize was easier gained when it's done, than when doing; he humbly requested his Majesty to give way to that Match, which was indeed already concluded: who, after some State-discontent, was quickly pleased; the Duke being no less esteemed by him for many years, than he was beloved by the people. His Genius was more Martial than Mercurial; and we hear of him oftner in the French Wars, than in the English Councils.

And in both, his plain overtures went farther than others fair harangues; because these only hovered in mens fancies, those came home to mens business and bosoms. He wondered at the men that pleased themselves in the liberty of giddy fancies; and dreaded the ties of a fixed belief, for the publick good, not his own advantage, affecting (as one said well) free-will in thinking, as well as in acting; and at the new discoursing wits, that were as unsettled, though not so rational as the old Scepticks, until he considered the difficulty of discerning truth; the hardship of confining the Quick-silver thoughts within the limits it prescribeth, or submitting them to the burden it imposeth. "One of the latter Schools of the *Grecians* examineth the matter, [it is the Lord *Verulam's* observation] and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies; where neither they make for pleasure as with Poets; nor for advantage as with the Merchant, but for the  
 "lies

“lies fake. But I cannot tell why, this same truth is  
“a naked and open day-light, that doeth not shew  
“the Masques and Mummeries, and triumphs of  
“the present world halfe so stately and daintily as  
“Candlelights: Truth may perhaps come to the  
“price of a pearl that sheweth best by day; but it  
“will not rise to the price of a Diamond or Car-  
“buncle that sheweth best in varied lights: a mix-  
“ture of lies doth ever add pleasure. Doth any  
“man doubt that if there were taken out of mens  
“minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valu-  
“ations, imaginations as one would, and the like,  
“*vinum demonum* as a Father calls Poetry, but it  
“would leave the minds of a number of men, poor  
“shrunken things, full of melancholy, and indif-  
“position, and unpleasing to themselves.

“Clear and round dealing, this Noble mans  
“temper, is the honour of mans nature; and that  
“mixture of falsehood is like allay in coyn of gold  
“and silver, which may make the metal work the  
“better, but embaseth it. For these winding and  
“crooked Courts are the goings of the Serpent,  
“which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon  
“the foot. There is nothing of so ill consequence to  
“the publick, as falsehood, or (speech being the  
“currant coyn of converse) the putting false money  
“upon the world; or of so much prejudice to a mans  
“own interest, as perfidioufness which weakeneth  
“his great security, which stands by him when  
“his estate and friends cannot; or so dark a  
“blot as dissembling, which, as *Mountaign* saith pret-  
“tily, is only to be Brave towards God, and a  
“Coward towards man: For a Lye faceth God, and  
“shrinketh from man.

His

Henry

8.

His heart was too stout, and his head too clear to use those Arts of closeness and dissimulation, which those need who have not judgment and wit enough to discern all the circumstances of an affair, so as to know when to tell a truth; nor courage and valour enough to look in the face of all the consequences of a business, so as to own it: A man better made for the open Arts, and generous policy of H. 8. than the suspicious closeness, and the wary reservedness of H. 7. His Father lost his life in completing the union of Roses, I mean York and Lancaster; and he in beginning the union of Kingdoms, viz. England and Scotland by treaty; and England and France by War: he being the first that durst fasten the Royal Standard in the sides of *Bulleign*; and the last that advanced the St. George in the middle of it, both taking and governing it. The greatest thing that ever that age saw, was, if we believe *Sleidan*, the delivery of the Keys of *Bulleign* by a French Governour to the Duke of *Suffolks* hand; and the greatest thing King H. 8. saw, he saith, was the delivery of those keys by the Duke, into his hand: insomuch that despairing of greater, the one died that year, the other the next.

Queen *Elizabeth* being to employ a famous Ambassage into *France*, made choice of two of the Noblest Peers of her Realm; equal in Rank, equal in Virtue: but the one excused it by a defect in his hearing, and the other by an ignorance and want of the French Language. To which the Queen smilingly replied: that it was a miserable estate when her speaking Peers were deaf, and her hearing Peers were dumb. Our Duke used to complain, that two of the most eminent men in the Council

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in his time, had two different, but unhappy, qualities: the one a well-spoken man, had such a humour, that he pretended he understood hardly any body; the other a person of an excellent judgment, but speaking so darkly that hardly any body understood him.

He avoided two things, first, Catching too soon at an offence: Secondly, Yeilding too easie a way to anger; the one shewing a weak judgment, the other a perverse nature: which rendereth great men as ridiculous, as it did the Ambassadors of Spain and Venice, who drew blood from one another in the most August Assembly at the Coronation of R. H. 4th. Queen in France, because one of them used the word excellency instead of the word Seigniory. But in these cases he observed the Roman Discipline *nec sequi, nec fugere*, to be more prudent than to catch at such trifling Cavils: and more courageous than to shun, if they were offered to him: being very cautious also in mentioning the name of God in small matters [ *Nec deum Interfit nisi dignus vindice nodus, Inciderit.* ] and more willing to build his resolution on the experience of former ages, than his own thought; being very unwilling to be of the number of those people, who, like the *Chinois*, think they have two eyes; their friends, as those think of the *Europeans*, one; and other men, as they think of the rest, blind.

Being vexed with the delays at Rome, and the delusions at Bridewel, (where the Cardinals proceeded according to their instructions at Rome) one day he knocks on the Table in the presence of the two Cardinals, and binds it with an Oath, That it was never well in England since Cardinals had



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had any thing to do therein : and from that time forward, as an active Instrument, he endeavoured the abolishing of the Popes power in *England*; against whom he was not more active in the Parliament 1534, than he was vigilant in the Committee, 1535: in the one, cutting off the head; in the other, weakening the members of that Church. He made provident, yet moderate use of his Masters favours; thereby obliging others, and securing himself; being above Mercenary inclinations as much in his thoughts, as in his fortune: he was neither too near the King, lest he were weary of him; nor too far off, lest he forgot him, or thought himself neglected by him. His intermissions of attendance gave others no advantage, but rendred him more gracious: he neither engrossed nor confined his Masters affection. It was easie for him to rise, being descended of Noble Blood, (which is never envied for its advancement) and as easie to keep high, being well studied in his Princes disposition, whose inclination when sound is half fixed; ever pleasing his Masters *Natural* humour, never his *Vicious*. Having attained a competent height, he chose rather to grow stronger by relation, than higher by advancement. *Some Favourites, whose heels have been tripped up by their adversaries, have with their hands held on their Allies till they could recover their feet again.* His familiarity, and the easie access to him, made him popular: his pliant temper kept him a Favourite, until he died in the full favour of his Prince; though (as Cardinal Pool observed) *They who were highest in the Kings favour, had their heads nearest danger.* He had a becoming Bluntness not unlike his Masters, which

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we call Free-heartedness in Courtiers; Conscience and Christian simplicity in Clergy-men; Valour in Souldiers. He died *anno* 1544. and was buried at *Windsor*; much beloved and lamented of all, for his Bounty, Humility, Valour, and all Noble Vertues since the heat of his Youth was tamed by his reduced Age: whose two Sons *Henry* and *Charles* died within twelve hours one of the other, of the sweating sickness at *Cambridge*, 1550.

He, knowing that learning hath no enemy but ignorance, did suspect always the want of it in those men, who derided the habit of it in others; like the Fox in the Fable, who having lost his tayle by mischance, perswaded others to cut theirs as a burthen. But he liked well the Phylosophers division of men into three Ranks, some who knew good, and were willing to teach others; these he said were like Gods among men; others who though they knew not much, yet were willing to learn; these he said were like men among Beasts; and some who knew not good, and yet despised such as should teach them; these he esteemed as Beasts among men. The most miserable men he esteemed them, who running their head into a bush of confident ignorance, suppose that none see their weakness; because they are not willing to take notice it of themselves.

1. A Calm Greatness is next the happiness of Heaven: Give me the man that by a fair and calm course is rising to an higher state, yet content with his present fortune.

2. Integrity out-lasts Power, and Plainness survives Policy: An honest heart keeps the head on the shoulders; a Noble and clear Vertue is lasting.

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## OBSERVATIONS ON

3. It's likeness that makes the True-love-knot of friendship: When a Prince finds another of his own disposition, what is it but the same soul in a divided body? what finds he but himself inter-mutually transposed? And Nature, that makes us love our selves, makes us with the same reason love those that are like us: for this, is a Friend a more sacred Name than a Brother.

4. He that hath a mind contentedly good, enjoyeth in it boundless possessions. He is great indeed, that is great in a brave soul.

*Vitam que faciunt beatiorē,  
 Jucundissime Martialis, hæc sunt:  
 Res non parva Labore, sed reliqua;  
 Non ingratus Ager, focus perennis,  
 Lis nunquam, toga rara, mens quieta;  
 Vires Ingenue, salubre Corpus,  
 Prudens simplicitas, pares amici,  
 Convictus facilis, sine arte Mensa;  
 Nox non ebria, sed soluta curis;  
 Non tristis torus, attamen pudicus;  
 Somnus, qui faciat breves tenebras:  
 Quod sis esse velis, nihilque malis;  
 Summum ne metuas diem, nec optes.*

*Observations on Thomas Cranmer,  
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*

**C**RANMER had a Noble Blood, quickning and raising his spirits, as he had an indefatigable industry to improve it. He was a Gentleman born in *Arseleſton* in *Nottinghamſhire*, and a Noble-man bred in *Jeſus-Colledg* in *Cambridg*. His Anceſtors were no leſs eminent at *Cranmers-hall* in *Lincolnſhire*, than he was at *Lambeth* in *Surrey*. They came in with the Conqueſt, (as one *Cranmer* a French Ambaſſadour in *Henry* the eighths time, at the Archbiſhops Table, made it evident) and he with the Reformation. His Education was as Gentile as his Birth, only his mild ſpirit meeting with a ſevere Maſter, his memory was weakened, and his ſpiritfulneſs allayed: but the aſterity of the School was ſweetned with the exerciſes of the Country, which his Father indulged him when he was young, and he indulged himſelf when aged; handling his great Horſe as nimbly, his Bow and Net as dexterouſly as any man in his family. His Marriage withdrew him from the Colledge, and conſequent Church-preſerment, as the Kings did him from the Church it ſelf. He whoſe marriage forbid him a Fellowship in *Jeſus-Colledge*, had a Lecture in *Buckingham-Houſe* for his Parts and Reputation, where at once he prepared others for publick Employments, and himſelf alſo. He lived

Henry

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as soberly at the *Dolphine-Tavern* with his Wife, (whatever the Papists have surmized) as he did studiously at *Buckingham-house* with his Scholars. His Name was so famous, that *Wolsey* was not more solicitous to transplant him as an Ornament to *Oxford*, then *Fisher* was to retain him in *Cambridge*; where he was eminent for the Arts, more for Divinity, which (when as one of the three Censors he examined *Candidates*) he said he expected not in the difficult trifles of *Lumbard*, but in the sacred sense of Scriptures, the ancient Doctrine of Fathers, the grave Canons of Councils, the solid Politeness of the Greek and Hebrew Learning, and which he lived as well as he taught, in his sober temperance, his mild meekness, (so placable, so courteous, that to offend him, was the way to ingratiate with him) his discreet moderation, his grave resolution equally above the frowns and smiles of fortune. Thus qualified, he was by a Providence commended to his Majesty: for there being a Plague in *Cambridge*, as there was all over *England*, Dr. *Cranmer* retired to *Waltham* with two of his Pupils, the sons of one Mr. *Cressy*: where upon the Kings Progress thither, he met with his Chaplain and Almoner Dr. *Fox*, (afterwards Bishop of *Hereford*) who lodging with him at Mr. *Cressy's*, discoursed the Kings Divorce. *Cranmer* conceived that the speediest course were to prove the unlawfulness of the Match by Scripture; whence it would follow, that the Pope at first had no power to dispense therewith; and that the Universities of *Christendom* would sooner and truer decide the case than the Court of *Rome*. This passage *Fox* reports to the King, who well pleased thereat, pro-

fessech

testeth that *this man had the Sow by the right Ear*: Henry  
Glad was the King to see him, ( indeed he had a  
comely Person, and a pleasing Countenance; )  
more to hear him enlarge himself on the former  
Subject, That it was above the Popes power to dis-  
pense with Gods Word in the Kings Case : What  
he said to the King, he was sent to make it good to  
the Pope; whither, invested with the Arch-Dea-  
conry of *Taunton*, he went with *Thomas Bullein*  
Earl of *Wiltshire*; whose first Address to the Pope,  
was to present a Book of *Cranmers*, proving Gods  
*Law indispensible with by the Pope*: the Author is  
preferred to the great Title of *Supreme Penitentiary*,  
and the Treatise is promised a Consideration  
and Debate : But the Pope delaying, & according  
to *Cranmer's* Advice, ten Universities declaring a-  
gainst him; the Embassador returns to *England*,  
and the Disputant goes to *Vienna*, where in *Osiander's*  
House (whose Kinswoman he had married)  
he confirmed those that wavered, satisfied those  
that doubted, and won those that contradicted in  
King *Henry's* Cause. But he served not King *Henry*  
more faithfully in *Germany*, than he provided  
for him honourably in *England*; where the Kings  
Cause waited for his Assistance, and the See of *Can-*  
*terbury* for his Acceptance : He was willing to pro-  
mote Religion, he was unwilling (for some For-  
malities he scrupled) to advance himself: but af-  
ter seven Weeks delay, it being as fatal to refuse  
King *Henry's* Favours, as to offer him Injuries, he  
is Archbishop in his own Defence; in which ca-  
pacity, to serve the King, and save his own Con-  
science, he used the Expedient of a Protestation  
to this purpose: *In nomine, &c. Non est nec erit mee*

8.

Henry voluntatis aut intentionis per hujusmodi Juramentum  
 8. & Juramenta, qualiter verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquid; ratione eorundem post hac dicendum, faciendum aut attestandum, quod erit aut esse videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra Regem, aut Rempublicam, legesque, aut Prærogativa ejus: & quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum quovis modo me obligare quominus libere loqui, consulere, & consentire valeam in omnibus & singulis Reformationem Ecclesiæ, prærogativam Coronæ, concernentibus, & ea exequi & reformare quæ in Ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur. This Protestation he made three times; once at the Charter-House, another time at the Altar, and a third time at the receiving of his Pall. In his place he was moderate, between the Superstition of Rome, and the Phrensies of Munster. As he was cheif Instrument in beginning the Reformation, so he was in continuing it: He withstood the Six Articles, and (though the King sent five prime Ministers of State to comfort him) would not be satisfied, until he saw them mitigated in King Henry's time, and repealed in King Edward's.

Gardiner would have questioned him for entertaining forein Hereticks, and promoting Domestick Schisms; the Northern Rebels accused him for subverting the Church: but the King upheld him against both; suppressing the One, and checking the Other; and advising the good Man, whom he called Fool, for his meek disposition, to appeal to him: Whereupon Russel cried, *The King will never suffer him to be imprisoned, until you find Him guilty of High Treason.* He is to be pitied for his intermediate failings, but renowned for his final constancy.

The



The King having declared before all his Servants, that *Cranmer* was his best Servant, he employed him in his best service, the Reformation of Religion, wherein all others failed; but the King, *Cromwel*, and *Brandon* backed him so far, that he had the Bible & the necessary Offices of the Church translated into English: He had both Universities at his command: He brought the Lords House and Convocation to his Lure; and was invested with a Power. 1. To grant Dispensations in all things not repugnant to Gods Law, nor the Kings safety: 2. To determine Ecclesiastical Causes. He as charitably as politicly advised the King to accept of Bishop *Fisher's* partial Subscription, considering his Learning and Reputation. As he is King *Henry's* Instrument at *Dunstable*, to divorce him from *Queen Katharine*; so he is at *Lambeth*, to divorce him from *Anna Bullein*. He promoted in the Convocation all Primitive Doctrines, and condemned all new-fangled Opinions. He was so charitable, that he interceded with the King for his Enemies; so munificent, that he made the Church and his own House a Refuge for Strangers; particularly for *P. Fagius*, *P. Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, &c. The King loved him for his Integrity, the People for his Moderation: He was called the Kings Father, and was *Queen Elizabeth's* Godfather: His Piety reduced the Church, and his Policy the State: He spake little to others, he conferred much with himself: Three words of His could do more than three hours discourse of others: He would say, as *Victorinus*, *There is a time to say nothing, there is a time to say something, but there is never a time to say all things.* That King, who awed all Others,



Henry feared Him. A Second to the Eternal Power, is  
 8. the Wise Man uncorrupt in his Life. He was the  
 ~~~~~ Executor of God's Will in King Henry's Life-time,  
 and the first of *His*, after his Death.

As He spurred King Henry to a Reformation, so  
 King Edward did Him; whose Prudence was not  
 so forward as the Others Zeal, who looked at what  
 was Lawful, as He did at what was Convenient.  
 He maintained the Churches Power as resolutely  
 against Bishop Hooper's Scruples, notwithstanding  
 potent Intercession; as he reformed its Corrupti-  
 ons against the Popes Interest, notwithstanding a  
 general Opposition. He allowed not the least Er-  
 rour in, nor the least contempt of the Church: He  
 restored its primitive Doctrine and Discipline, lest  
 it should be an *impure Church*; he upheld them,  
 lest it should be *none*. He was one of fourteen that  
 compiled the *Common-Prayer*: He was One of Two  
 that set out the Homilies; and the only man that  
 published the *Institution of a Christian man*, and o-  
 ther good Books. With his Advice King Edward  
 did much, and designed more: He was the chief  
 Author of King Edward's Injunctions, and the first  
 Commissioner in them: He was President of the  
 Assembly at *Windsor*, (for Reformation) and of the  
 Council at *London*: His Articles were strict and se-  
 vere; as much grounded on the Canon of Scrip-  
 ture, as on the Canons of the Church: He con-  
 vinced more Papists with his Reason and Moderati-  
 on, than others by their Power: His Heart never  
 failed him in his Life, and it was not burned at his  
 Death. He did so much for the Protestant Religi-  
 on in King Henry's Days, that he foresaw he should  
 suffer for it in Queen Mary's. He was unwilling to  
 wrong

*the Life of Thomas Cranmer.*

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Henry  
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wrong Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*, therefore he refused at first to sign King *Edward's Testament*, but Duke *Dudley's Will*: He was willing to continue the Protestant Religion, therefore he signed it at last. It was a Bishop that was one of the first that abolished Popery in *England*, and one of the last that died for Protestantisme: It was a Bishop that maintained the Protestant Cause with Arguments while he lived, & with his Blood when he died. This prelates endeavor for Reformation is shadowed by this Mystical Relation.

The Castle of Truth (being by the King of *Jerusalem*) left to the guard and keeping of his best Servant *Zeal* the King of *Arabia* (with an infinite host) came against it, begirt it round with an unreasonable Seige, cuts off all passages, all reliefs, all hopes of friends, meat, or munition: which *Zeal* perceiving, and seeing how extremity had brought her to shake hands with despair; he calleth his Council of War about him, and discovered the affliction of his state, the puissance of his Enemies, the violence of the siege, and the impossibility of conveying either messages or Letters to the great King his Master, from whom they might receive new strength and encouragement. Whereupon the necessity of the occasion being so great, they concluded that there was no way but to deliver up the Castle (though upon some unwholsome conditions into the hand of the Enemy) but *Zeal* staggereth at the resolution, and being loath to loose hope as long as hope had thread or hair to hold by; he told them he had one friend or companion in the Castle, who was so wise, so valiant, and so fortunate, that to him and his exploits alone,

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lone, he would deliver up the manage of their safety; this was *Prayer*, Chaplain to the great King, and Priest of that Colony; then *Prayer* was called for, and all proceedings debated: he presently armeth himself with Humility, Clemency, Sincerity and Fervency; and in spite of the Enemy passeth his Camp, comes to the King his Master, and with such moving passion entereth his eares, so that presently Armes are rayed, which returning under the Conduct of *Prayer*, overthroweth the King of *Arabia*, makes spoyle of his Camp, and gives to the Castle of Truth its first noble Liberty.

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*Observations on Sir Thomas More,  
Lord Chancellour of England.*

**H**E rose up high, because he slept out well: Sir *Thomas More* was half way Chancellour, when born to Sir *John More* Chief Justice. The Father's Prudence, Wit, and Nobleness flowed with his Blood to the Sons Veins: Much Honour he received from his Family, more he gave to it: His Mother saw his Face shining in a Dream, on her Wedding Night; and his Father saw his Life so really: A quick City-Spirit made him capable of great State-Employments.

He was saved by a Miracle, and was One: For his Nurse riding with him over a Water, and being in some danger, threw him over a Hedge, where she found him not hurt, but sweetly smiling upon a her.

a St. Anthony's  
under  
New-  
Hall.

A

*the Life of Sir Thomas More.*

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Henry

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A Free-School seasoned his forward Childhood; and the grave, wise, and excellent Cardinal *Mortons* House his Youth : The One with Learning, to make him a Scholar; the Other with Prudence, to make him a Man : But the Distractions of that House were not so proper for his promising Ingenuity, as the Retirements of the University; where in two years time he shewed what Wonders Wit and Diligence could do in Rhetorick, Logick, and Philosophy : The *b* Colledge kept him strict, and his Father short, so that (as he blessed God afterward) *He had neither the leisure nor the means to be vicious* : The Cardinal said he would be *Great*, and his excellent Genius said he would be *Humble* : The Lord Chancellour would give place to, and ask blessing of the Lord Chief Justice : The Father being not more happy in his Son, than the Son in his Father. At 17 *his wit* was eminent for his Epigrams : His *Antilucian* Oration commended by all men but *Brixius*, for pure, genuine and flowing : At 18 his wisdom in overcoming his Antagonist *Brixius* with kindness, and himself with Mortifications. His fastings were frequent, his watchings on the hard ground severe; his Hair-cloath even in his Chancellourship course, his exercises among the *Carthusians* in the *Charterhouse* for four years austere; his design for the *Franciscan Hood*, and a Priesthood with his Friend *Lilly*, solemn; His prayers uninterrupted; When the King sent for him once at Mass, he answered, That when he had done with God, he would wait on his Majesty : He imitated *Picus Mirandula's* Life, and writ it: He heard Dr. *Collet* his Confessours Sermons, and followed his life; whose experience was his counsel, whose

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*b* Christ-Church.

Henry  
8.

conversation was his life. He could not away with the good Sermon of a bad man : *Collet* was his Father ; *Linacre*, *Lilly*, *Grocine*, were his Friends. He learned more by prayer, than he did by study : his Poems were acute, his Speeches pure and copious, his Latine elegant ; yet his head was knotty and Logical : his Diet was temperate, his Apparel plain, his Nature tractable and condescending (though very discerning) to the meanest mens counsel ; his Vertues solid, not boasted. In a word, the foundation of his Life was as low as the building was to be high.

Words and Terms being not by Nature, but Imposition, *verborum ut nummorum* ; those were best liked by him that were most current amongst the best Artists ; he fearing new words as leading to new things : though the quitting of ancient and allowed expressions to affect new phrases will be no advantage at long run, for whatsoever be the forms of speaking, the state of things will be the same ; and the very argument, that convinceth an erroneous person now in the old received and Orthodox Language, would convince him likewise in the new wayes of speaking, which he desires to introduce, after it is formed, and generally understood : All the benefit that he could make of it, would be only a little time between the suppression of the one, and the introduction of the other, wherein he might juggle and play *Hocus Pocus* under the Cloak of *Homonymous* and *Ambiguous* expressions. In vulgar appellations we are to speak as the common people ; but in terms of Art (which saith *Scaliger* are *rudibus ingeniis acerba, delicatis ridicula*) we are to follow the most approved Artists, the Mushrome Errours and Hæresies springing up in  
his

his time he advised should be rather suppressed by Discipline, than increased by disputations; they, who in the common principles of Religion clash ordinarily with the whole Church; who so affectedly swerve from the approved rules, and healthful constitutions of all orderly Common-wealths, to the disturbance of all humane society, and the cutting off of all Relations between man and man; they who cannot preserve Unity with themselves, but are ever and anon interfering & tripping up their own heels by contradictions, need no just confutation, or single, or other adversary than God, themselves, and all mankind; since their opinions are grounded upon their own imaginations, rather than approved Authority; and they interpret Scripture not according to the perpetual tradition of the Church, but according to their own distempered fancies, and that in discourses more full fraught with supercilious confidence, than deep reason: It were a folly to draw the saw of contention with them, especially in such a case where it is impiety to doubt, and Blasphemy to dispute; *Quid cum illis agas; qui neque jus, neque bonum aut æquum sciunt. Melius, pejus, pro fit, ob sit, nil vident nisi quod lubet.* Such daring mens opinions, creating truth, and falsehood by the words of their mouth, being like a pillar of smok breaking out of the top of some narrow Chimney, and spreading it self abroad like some Cloud, as if it threatned to take possession of the whole Region of the Ayr, darkening the skye, and seeming to press the Heavens; and after all this, when it hath offended the eyes a little for the present, the first puffle of wind, or a few minutes do altogether disperse it. The little

Mouſe

Henry  
8.



Mouſe ſtealeth up through the Elephants trunk to eat his brains; the Indian Rat creepeth into the belly of the gaping Crocodile; and the leaſt oppoſition overthrowſe theſe great pretenders, eſpecially if you give them line and ſpace enough to bounce and tumble up and down, and tire themſelves out.

Great he judged was the influence Religion had upon humane ſocieties, whether we conſider the nature of the thing, or the bleſſing of God; without which they are ſoapy bubbles, quickly diſſolved. *Cicero* could ſay that *Rome* ought more of its grandeur to Religion, than either to ſtrength or ſtratagems; we have not exceeded the *Spaniards* in number, nor the *Gauls* in ſtrength, nor the *Carthaginians* in craft, nor the *Gracians* in Art, &c. but we have overcome all Nations by our Piety and Religion.

He eſteemed all Common-wealths happy, but thoſe wherein Preachers, like the *Gracian* Sophiſters, deſcribed in *Plato* all whatſoever pleaſed the great Beaſt [the multitude] holy, juſt, and good; and whatſoever the great Beaſt diſliked, evil, unjuſt, prophane.

*a* He  
Married  
Mr. Colts  
Daughter  
of New-  
Hall.

*b* Where-  
by he was  
double  
reader.

He married himſelf to *a* Vertue, and not to an Eſtate: he likes a younger ſiſter, yet out of civility he embraceth the elder. Happy he was in his mo-deſt Wives, happier in his hopeful Children. His Government of his Family was exact, enjoyning all his Children to take Vertue for their meat, and Play for their ſawce. His proficiency in the *b* Law was admirable, his Practice ſucceſſeful, his Judgment ſolid, his Integrity eminent; his Determinations in the Sheriffs Court, his Activity for the  
Still-

Stilyard, his Practice in the Courts of Justice, raised him to a Place in Parliament: where he was so good a Patriot, that he displeased King Henry the seventh; and so wise a man, that he awed King Henry the eighth: the one by Fox demands one Subsidie and three Fifteens, and the *beardless boy* (as the Courtiers called Sir Thomas) disappointed him; the other made a motion by *Wolsey*, which he overthrew, so that the Cardinal wished him at Rome.

Henry  
3.

He retires to his studies to avoid Henry the seventh's displeasure, and improves them to gain his sons favour, who by his Cardinal invited him to Court, and employed him abroad to *France* to recover his debts; to *Flanders*, to confirm the peace. Employments he avoided awhile, to keep his City-interest; and in case of controversie with the King, to prevent their jealousy: his business was so urgent, that you would think he had no leisure; and his writings so exact, that you would think he had no business. Not a minute of his time escaped employment. His History of *Richard* the third is faithful, his *Utopia* is judicious and elegant, his Lectures at St. Laurence were learned and pious.

c On St.  
Aug. de  
civitate  
Dei.

His Popularity in Parliament commended him to his Majesty: his strong Arguments for the Pope's ship in Star-chamber, brought him to him against his modest inclination, as much as against *Wolsey's* interest. His ability set him on the Council-table, his integrity placed him in the Exchequer: His Services promoted him to the Dutchy of Lancaster, his Dexterity and Prudence made him the Kings bosome friend, and his familiar all his spare

d He was  
made  
Chancel-  
lour of  
that Dut-  
chy.

hours;



*Henry* 8. hours; whose Questions in every Art and Science were not more useful, than Sir *Thomas* his Answers were satisfactory. His advice was his Majesties and his Queens Oracles in Counsel; his discourse was their recreation at Table. He was not more delightful to the King at Court, than he was serviceable to him in appeasing tumults, &c. in the City. He was the Kings Favourite at *White-hall*, and the Peoples Darling at *Westminster*, where he was Speaker as well with the unanimous consent of the one, as with the approbation of the other; and between both, impartial, equally careful of Prerogative and Priviledges; neither awed from right by power, nor flattered with popularity. He declined Forein services with as much Dexterity as he managed Domestick ones. He served the King faithfully, but trusted him not, as one that enjoyed and suspected Fortune, saying, *If his Head could win King Henry a Castle in Wales, it would off.*

*a Queen*  
*Katherine*  
*said so.*

The King and Kingdome trusted him, *who e was* that one sound Councillour the King had. The Cardinal told him he was the veriest Fool in the Council: he replied, *God be thanked my Master hath but one fool here.*

His Honour was set off by a grave condescension, and a grave humility. Did he argue? he was very moderate, civil, and modest. Did he reprove? he was pitiful, grave, and prudent. Was he with the King at the University? he was ready and eloquent. Was he abroad? he heard the Lectures attentively, and disputed accurately. To his Friend at *Bruges* would undertake to answer any question: Sir *Thomas* put up this, *Whether Averia capta in Withernamia sint irreplegiabilia, to that Thra-*ces great amazement.

*the Life of Sir Thomas More.*

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Henry  
8.

as Dr. *Tunstal*, none more faithful: to learned men,  
as *Erasmus*, none more civil: to devout men, such  
as Bishop *Fisher*, none more firm: to hopeful men,  
such as *Powle*, there was none more encouraging:  
to painful men, such as *Grocynus*, *Linacer*, *Crocus*,  
*Lupfel*, *Lilly*, *Cocklee*, *Budlera*, *Dorpin*, *Bewald*, *Luscar*,  
*Grannould*, *Vines*, *Groclenius*, *Bushdian*, *Aegidius*,  
*Rhenanus*, none more familiar, constant, or liberal:  
in his conscience none more satisfied and sedate:  
in his discourse none more innocent and pleasant:  
in his heart none more devout and sincere.

His meditations were frequent; his retirements  
to a Chappel, built of purpose, daily; his Prayers  
constant and zealous; his conversation with his  
Wives, loving and debonnair, taking them off their  
cares to reading and musick. His Servants were al-  
ways employed either in his, or Gods service, suf-  
fering them not by idleness to be at leisure for sin,  
nor by wanton converse to be tempted to it. His  
Table-talk after the Chapter was pleasing and use-  
ful, his counsels useful, his converse exemplary;  
his family-instructions to hear afflictions patiently,  
to withstand temptations resolvedly, to mind hea-  
venly matters devoutly, to go plainly and soberly,  
to recreate themselves moderately and vertuously,  
were effectual. There went a blessing along with  
all his Servants, and happiness with his whole Fa-  
mily.

His Apophthegms were grounded on experience  
and judgement. He would say, 1. *He was not al-*  
*ways merry that laughed.* 2. *The World is undone*  
*by looking on things at distance.* 3. *To aim at Ho-*  
*nour here, is to set up a Court of Arms over a Prison-*  
*gate.* 4. *If I would employ my Goods well, I may be*

E

contented

Henry

8.

W

contented to loose them; if ill, I should be glad. 5. He that is covetous when he is old, is as a Thief that steals when he is going to the Gallows. 6. Bags of Gold to us when Saints, will be but as a Bag of Pebble-stones when men. 7. The greatest punishment in the World were to have our wishes. 8. Pusillanimity is a great temptation. 9. Affliction undoes many; Pleasure most. 10. We go to Hell with more pain than we might go to Heaven with. Of Heresie he said, Like as before a great storm the Sea swelleth, and hath unwonted motions without any Wind stirring; so may we see here many of our English-men, which a few years ago could not endure to bear the name of an Hererick or Schismarick, now to be contented both to suffer them, and to praise them somewhat, yea, to learn by little and little, as much as they can be suffered, to finde fault, and to tax willingly the Church, the Clergy, and the Ceremonies. 11. The more of any thing else we have, but Riches, the more good we are. 12. Who would not send his Alms to Heaven? Who would not send his Estate whither he is to be banished? 13. Some Men hate Hypocrisie, and love Impudence. 14. When any detracted others at his Table, he said, Let any man think as he pleaseth, I like this room well. 15. It's easier to prevent, than redress.

Indeed throughout his Works he argueth sharply, he reasoneth profoundly, he urgeth aptly, stateth exactly, expresth himself elegantly, and discourseth learnedly. He would rather convince, than punish; yet he would rather punish than indulge them: his Epitaph bespeaking him grievous to Herericks, Thieves and Murtherers.

When King Henry scrupled his first marriage, Sir Thomas told him, That neither he nor my Lord of Durham

Durham were so fit to advise him in that case, as St. Henry  
 Augustine, St. Jerome, and the other Fathers. His  
 advice was so unseasonable, that it opposed the King;  
 yet so grave and honest, that it pleased him. His  
 Experience and Prudence had a fore-sight next  
 door to Prophecy; and from the unquiet times of  
 King Henry, did he guess the ruine of King Charles.  
 He would say that it would never be well in Eng-  
 land, until the same course obtained there, that did  
 in Syria, where Zeleucus was so severe against Inno-  
 vators, that he enacted that if any Man made a pro-  
 position for a change in their policy, he should  
 make it with an Halter about his Neck, that if he  
 failed to justify it by reason, he should justify his  
 attempt by suffering,--- because as some Philoso-  
 phers hold, that there is not so much as an Aspin  
 Leaf stirreth in one part of the World, but it mak-  
 eth some alteration in the whole, the efficacy of  
 it, like Drake and Cavendish compassing the Globe  
 of the Earth, and making the eighth Sphere of  
 Heaven tremble: so wise men know that every  
 change in a State altereth the constitution, and the  
 effects of an Innovation in the body politick cir-  
 cleth, as do those of a new Impression, according to  
 Harvey's method upon a body natural: though I  
 must confess that many new proposals are opposed,  
 not for the distant effects of them feared in the  
 Common-wealth; but for some neer influence they  
 may have upon some Mens private Interest.---It  
 hath been given out, that the burning of our  
 Heaths in England, did hurt their Vines in France:  
 but wise Men looked upon this pretense, as a meer  
 scare-crow, or made-dragon; the hurt it did was  
 neerer home, to destroy the young moore-fowles,

Henry

8



gHe built  
a Chappel  
at Chel-  
sey, and  
bired an  
Almes-  
House  
there

and spoyle some young burgesse game.--- He converted many with his Arguments, more with his Prayers; which wrought wonders of reformation on the erroneous, as they did of recovery on the weak. He wished three things to *Christendome*: 1. An Universal Peace: 2. An Uniform Religion: 3. A Reformation rather of Lives than Religion. He never asked any thing of his Majesty but Employment, and never took any thing more acceptable than Service. His Alms were liberal to his Neighbours, and good works numerous g towards God. He would take no Fees from the poor, and but moderate ones from the Rich. All London was obliged to him for his Council at home, and all England for his Peace at Cambray, where he out-did expectation.

The King raised him to the Chancellorship, but not to his own opinion: he professed he would serve his Majesty, but he *must* obey his God: he would keep the Kings conscience and his own. His Wisdom and Parts advanced him, his Innocence and Integrity ruined him: his Wit pleased the King, but his Resolution crossed him. *Wolsey* was not so proud and reserved, as Sir *Thomas* was open and free to the meanest: his mind was not so dazzled with honour, but he could fore-see his fall. When his sons complained how little they gained under him, *I will do justice* (said he) *for your sakes to any man, and I will leave you a blessing*; decreeing one day against his own son that would not hear reason. First, he offered the Judges the Reformation of Grievances; and when they refused, he did it himself.--- No *Subpœna* was granted but what

what he *h* saw, no Order but what he perceived: *Henry*  
nothing passed from him towards the subject, but *8.*  
what became a good Magistrate, nothing towards  
his Master, but what became a faithful servant. Nei-  
ther King nor Queen could corrupt, neither could  
the whole Church in Convocation fast in any thing  
upon him. To one who told him of his Detractors,  
he said, *Would you have me punish those by whom I*  
*reap more benefit than by all you my friends? Per-*  
*fect Patience is the Companion of true Perfection.*

But he managed not his trust with more in-  
tegrity and dexterity, than he left it with honour;  
leaving not one cause undecided in the *Chancery:*  
foreseeing that he could not at once content his  
Majesty and his own heart. His Servants upon his  
fall he disposed of as well as his Children; and his  
Children he taught to live soberly in a great estate,  
and nobly in a mean one. He never put an Here-  
tick to death when Chancellour, neither would he  
suffer Heresies to live when a private man. When  
my Lord *Cromwel* came to him in his retirement,  
he advised him to tell the King what he ought, not  
what he can do; *so shall you shew your self a true and*  
*faithful servant. and a right worthy Councillour: for*  
*if a Lyon knew his own strength, hard were it for any*  
*man to rule him.* The King feared him when he  
could not gain him, & therefore he was sited in his  
former carriage and present temper, which conti-  
nued constant to his duty, and even under his chan-  
ges. He was open-hearted to all that came, yet so  
 wary in his discourse with the Maid of *Kent*, that his  
enemies confessed he deserved rather honor than a  
check for that matter. When the Duke of *Norfolk*  
told him, *that the wrath of a Prince is death;* he

*hW in the*  
*cause at-*  
*tested by*  
*the Attor-*  
*ney, in to-*  
*ken wher-*  
*of when*  
*one-Tubb*  
*brought*  
*him a*  
*Shpcoe-*  
*na to*  
*subscribe,*  
*finding it*  
*frivolous,*  
*he writ*  
*under it*  
*a tale of*  
*a Tub.*

Henry said, *Nay, if that be all, you must die to morrow, and*  
 8. *I to day.* He behaved himself at all Examinations  
 at once wisely and honestly. When Archbishop  
 Cranmer told him, *he must obey the King which was*  
*certain, rather than follow his conscience, that Lesbian*  
*rule which was uncertain;* he replied, *It's as certain*  
*that I must not obey the King in evil, as that I must fol-*  
*low my conscience in good.* When the Abbot of *West-*  
*minster* told him, *his conscience should yield to the wis-*  
*dom of the Kingdom,* he said, *He would not conform his*  
*conscience to one Kingdom, but to the whole Church.*  
 He underwent his sufferings with as much cheer-  
 fulness as his preferment; pleasing himself with his  
 misfortunes, and enjoying his misery; resolving to  
 obey God rather than man, to leave others to their  
 own consciences; to close with the Catholick  
 Church rather than the Church of England, and  
 to submit to general Councils rather than to Par-  
 liaments.

Mr. Rich put to him this Question, *Whether if*  
*the Parliament made a Law that he were Pope, would*  
*he not submit to it?* and he replied, *If the Parlia-*  
*ment made another that God should not be God, would*  
*you obey it?* Though he could not own the Kings  
 Supremacy, yet he would not meddle with it ei-  
 ther in his Writings or discourse; shewing himself  
 at once a civil man, a good Christian, and a noble  
 Confessor. His soul was well settled; his stature  
 was mean, but well proportioned; his complexion  
 phlegmatique; his countenance amiable and cheer-  
 ful; his voice plain and distinct; and his temper  
 sound and healthful.

I can add nothing to the *honour* of this good  
 Man, yet will I pay this further devotion to his  
 virtue,

virtue, whereof honour was a testimony, as long as it was its self: worthless men having made the honour bestowed on them as despicable as themselves that wore it; that royal favour receiving more contempt from them, than it gave reputation to them. A good name, the great instrument of doing good while we live; and our other life when dead could [he said] if any thing justify the barbarous way of duels: since he is the most bloody man to himself, that is careless of reputation. So as to be indifferent what he doth, or what others say; is to bury himself alive.

His Credit, which he said was his Royalty (there being but two Empires in the World, the one a general love and esteem, the other common dread and fear--) put him upon, being watchful for occasions, constant in his actions, moderate in prosperity; resolute in encounters; calme in troubles, above fortune, and able to make and piece up the broken miscarriages of chance, that he might be settled in that state, which is the work of greatness, and the inheritance of goodness, the prospect whereof is pleasant (though the ascent be sharp and slippery, the top shaking, the footing uncertain, and the downfall fearful:) and the reflections of it, when moderated with humility, like those of the Sun, when allayed in his declension, pleasing and cheerful. Towards the attainment whereof, the Lives of former Worthies were such incitements to this, as *Hercules* was to *Theseus*, *Miltiades* to *Themistocles*, and *Achilles* to *Alexander*;-- And nothing, the good Man would discourse, should men be more tender of, than of Mens honour, since there were but two effectual restraints from Vice, *shame* and *fear*; and



Henry

8.



but two motives to Virtue, Honour and Interest;  
the first of which is so much the darling peculiarly  
of the *English* Nation; that this is called by a *French*  
Author, the Land of Honour. His Fall was attend-  
ed with a greater fame than his height; as the  
Sun in the Evening hath a greater shadow than at  
Noon.

W

*Ho is the honest man?*

*He that doth still and strongly good pursue,  
To God, his Neighbour and Himself most true:  
Whom neither force nor fawning can  
Unpin or wrench from giving all their due.*

*Whose honesty is not  
So loose and easie, that a rustling winde,  
Can blow away, or glitt'ring look it blinde:  
Who rides his sure and even trot  
While the World now rides by, now lags behinde.*

*Who, when great trials come,  
Nor seeks nor shuns them; but doth calmly stay,  
Till he the Thing and the Example weigh  
All being brought into a sum,  
What Place or Person calls for, he doth pay.*

*Whom none can work or wooe  
To use in any thing a trick or sleight;  
For above all things he abhors deceit:  
His words and works and fashion too  
All of a piece, and all are clear and fireight.*

*Who*

*the Life of Sir Thomas More.*

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Henry  
8.  
W

*Who never melts or thaws  
At close tentations: when the day is done,  
His goodness sets not, but in dark can run:  
The Sun to others writeth Laws,  
And is their virtue; Virtue is his Sun.*

*Who, when he is to treat  
With sick Folks, Women those whom passions sway,  
Allows for that, and keeps his constant way;  
Whom others faults do not defeat,  
But though men fail him, yet his part doth play.*

*Whom nothing can procure,  
When the wide World runs Bias, from his will  
To writhe his limbs, and share, not mend the ill.  
Tis in the Mark-man, safe and sure,  
Who still is right, and prays to be so still.*

---

*Observations on the Life of Thomas  
Cromwel Earl of Essex.*

*Most of them from the Notes of Thomas  
Cromwel Esquire, one of his Poster-  
ity, who made a Collection of Observa-  
tions upon him, 1633. from the Ance-  
stors of Baronet Worsley, and Sir Ralph  
Hopton, who had been his Servant.*

**P**Uincey saw his Cradle in a Cottage, and Eng-  
land saw his Coffin in a Ditch; His Original  
was mean, his End meaner: A suddain height in

Henry

8.



an unsettled time ruined him: A moderate and leisurely Greatness is safe. His Blood ran *low*, but *pure*, ennobling the veins it flowed in with a Spirit that was to raise a Family, and *Deserve* that Honour that others *Inherit*. His honest Parents conveyed him a strong Constitution that could support stronger parts: The poor mans good Temper is an Inheritance, and the Rich his Effeminacy his Disease.

A private School civilized his parts; Travel and Employment improved them: His Necessity, when at home, made him a *Soldier* abroad; and his Observations abroad made him a *Man* at Home: The Experience of Travel enlarged his Soul, and the Hardship of War knitted and consolidated it: His *hard Fortune* at *Cambray* was the occasion of his *good One* in *England*; and had he not been undone, he *had been undone*: For his promising looks commended him to *Frescobald* the Merchant for Relief, and to Cardinal *Wolsey* for service, in whose private Service of *Secretary* for his Embassie in *France*, he prepared himself for that more publick of *Secretary of State* in *England*. Great Scholar he was none, (the Latine Testament gotten by heart being his Master-piece) nor studied Lawyer: never admitted to the Innes of Court; nor experienced Souldier; though Necessity cast Him upon it, when the Duke of *Burbon* besieged *Rome*; nor Courtier (till bred up in Cardinal *Wolsey's* Court;) yet that of the Lawyer in him so helped the Scholar, that of the Souldier the Lawyer, that of the Courtier the Souldier, and that of the Traveller all the rest; being no Stranger to *Germany*, well acquainted with *France*, most familiar with *Italy*;

so that the result of all together made him for Endowments eminent, not to say admirable. His Apprehension was quick and clear; his Judgment methodical and solid; his Memory strong and rational; his Tongue fluent and pertinent; his Presence stately and obliging; his Heart large and noble; his Temper patient and cautious; his way industrious and indefatigable; his Correspondence well laid, and constant; his Converse insinuating and close: None more *dexterous* to finde out by his Setting-Dogges, and Coy-Ducks, none more *reserved* to keep a secret. He was equal (saith my Author) to the *French* Politicians, when under his Master; he over-reached them when alone; doing more in one month with his subtle Head, than the other in twelve months with his stately Train. The King of *France* would have *pensioned* up his parts, but the Vice-Roy of *England* advanced them. His Master brought him first to serve his Country in Parliament (that great School of Experience) and then his King at Court; where defending his Masters great actions, he made it evident he could perform greater. His saying in defence of his Master, that new States-men, like fresh Flies, bite deeper than those which were chased away before them, stuck much with the House, that was then sensible, that many of the Country-Gentlemen discourted of the Court-States-men, but with the same success that the Gown-man Harangued it before *Alexander* of Military Affairs, who laughed at the Scholar for talking of War to a Souldier: his defence of his Master being the more observable for his civilities to his adversaries, he being very cautious of reflecting upon his Patrons Enemies, while

Henry 8. while he excused him, the bespattering of others being not the best method of purging him, and Memnon gave a railing Souldier a good blow with his Launce, saying, *I hired thee to fight, and not to raile.*-- Neither delighted he in being the *Davus*, the troubler of the *Parliament*; which he observed play'd the part of fond Musicians, which spend so much time in tuning their Instruments; that there is none left to spare for their Musick.-- He wished that our reformation might be in one respect, like the reformation of the *Turkes*, who thought that the best way to understand the *Alcoran*, was to burn all the Interpreters, it being true of the *Bible*, what one observeth of one Text of it, that was clear before it was commented upon: A truth become seasonable [as there is no new thing under the Sun, and what hath been, will be] in a less revolution of time, than *Plato's* great Year, even in our times, when passion guides Religion, that should be governed by it, as being without it, but a short madness turning man into a wild Beast that is goared, which runneth upon every thing that cometh in its way, without consideration; or like a violent torrent descending down impetuously from a steep Hill; which beareth down all respects before it, divine and humane; For whilst passion is in the heighth, there is no room for reason, nor any use of the dictates of the understanding, the mind for the time being like the *Cyclopians* Cave, where no Man heard what another said,--- only what they want in them singly in reason, may joyntly be made up in noise; and their respective defects in Arguments, be supplied by their communion in suffrage,-- And it is  
the

the wisdom of those, who are concerned in what they oppose, to stand out of their way, at least till the storm be over;

Henry

8.



————— *Omnis campis duffugit Arator*

*Omnis & Agricola* —————

————— *Dum pluit in terris, ut possint sole reducere*

*Exercere diem.* —————

Their reason with time and due consideration will be better attended to, when this earnestness hath a little spent its self into a calmness and allay. Such was his Wit, such his Eloquence, that they who hated the Client, admired the Advocate: And though he could not keep his Patron from falling, yet he raised himself; that being the first time his Eminent Parts were observed. An advantageous starting is more than half way in the Race of Preferment. For hereupon he is first Master of the Kings Jewels, and then of what was more precious, his *Secrets*. His Conscience inclined him to the Churches Reformation, his Interest complied with the Kings; he unlocked the secrets of Monasteries by his Spies, and put the King upon despoiling them by his Power. The University of *Cambridge* made him Chancellor, to save it self; where though he did no great good, yet his Greatness kept others from doing harm, in an Age waerein Covetousness could quarrel a Colledge, as well as an Abbey, into superstition. He was trusted by the King with the Roll and Records of *England*; and by the Scholars, with the Charters and Statutes of their Universities. He reforms the University, in order to the Reformation of the Church; enjoying the study of the Scripture and the Tongues, instead of School-Divinity and Barbarism; recommending

Henry mending *Aristotle, Agricola, Melancthon*, to their  
 8. reading; and the Doctrine which is in Spirit and  
 W in Truth to their Faith: and razing the Popes  
 Bulls, to make way for the Kings Favour, and that  
 Architectonical Power, to see that all subjects with-  
 in his Dominion, do their duties in their several  
 Callings, for the safety and tranquillity of the  
 Common-wealth.

He was an eminent Minister of State, and Chief  
 Governour of the Church; proceeding in Con-  
 vocation very discreetly, modelling the Church-  
 Laws very prudently and moderately: looking in-  
 to Monastical Abuses very narrowly and industri-  
 ously; mawling Religious Houses, violently pul-  
 ling down those Nests, that the Rooks might not re-  
 turn: His Master had disoblighd the Pope, and he  
 weakeneth him. It was not safe to disown his Su-  
 premacy, and entertain thousands of his Creatures:  
*If a Kingdom be divided against it self, it cannot  
 stand; and if one part of the English pay their de-  
 votion to a supream Head at Rome, and another to  
 a supream Governour in England, they must both  
 fall.* If the Persons might disturb the Govern-  
 ment, it is fit their Estates should secure it; and if  
 the Papists should foment a War, their Lands  
 should maintain it: But *Cromwel* contrives that  
 the Pope should confirm Alienations in *Wolsey*,  
 before he should practise it for the King. As the  
 King knew whom he employed, when he trusted  
 him: so he knew whom he trusted, when he em-  
 ployed Doctor *Lee* (an able servant to an abler Ma-  
 ster) He first decoyed Religious Men out of their  
 Covents by the allurements of Liberty, and then for-  
 ced them out by Power and Authority. As the  
 Abbeyes

Abbeys improved his Estate, so his Master advanced his Honour. He had one Privy Seal always to act by, and was Keeper of another: He had no sooner attained an Earldom for himself, but foreseeing the alteration of Affairs, he secured a Barony for his Son, nor forfeitable by the Attainder of the Father. Within five years he was Master of the Jewel-house, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary of State, Baron, and Viscount *Wimbleton* in *Middlesex*, Vicar General, Master of the Rolls, Knight of the Garter, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Lord High Chamberlain, and Earl of *Essex*, Justice in Eyre of *Ferrests*, *Chafes*, and *Parks*, &c. *N. Trent*. Within five Months he quitted most of these places, and in five minutes lost all. He must needs be envied, whose Birth was so much beneath all others, and his Preferment above them: especially when the King in preferring him injured others; as, the Citizens, in managing the Jewels; the Courtiers, in undertaking State-affairs; the Lawyers, in the Rolls *a*; the Nobly descended, at *b Winsor*; the *c* Clergy, in the Convocation; the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Family of the *Bourchiers*, in the great Chamberlainship and Earldom of *Essex*. But he cares not whom he displeaseth, if he can oblige his Master; whose power he advanceth in the Parliament and Synod, as he improveth his Revenue in the Office of first-Fruits, and the Court of Augmentation. His Greatness was allayed with his Goodness; and the Envy of the One, mitigated by the Liberality of the other: He had not more Suiters at his Door than *Almes-men* (two hundred at a time :) As he was good abroad, so he was at home, calling upon his Servants yearly, to give him an account what they

Henry  
3.

W

*a* When  
Master  
thereof.  
*b* When  
Knight of  
the Gar-  
ter.  
*c* When  
Vicar Ge-  
neral.



Henry 8. they had got under him; and what they desired of him, warning them to improve their opportunities; because he said, he was too great to stand long; providing for them as carefully, as for his Son, by his Purse and Credit, that they might live as handsomely when he was dead, as they did when he was alive. Sir Thomas was a Name of Awe and Reverence to the Rich, and blessed by the Poor: That Name, when his Fortune and Power tempted him to an insolvency, *d* levelled the proudest Citizens House for his conveniency, and bowed the poorest Man's Knee to his Honour, his mind being equal to his success. He could at pleasure work upon the Lords by the Commons, and on the Commons by the Lords: as Cardinal *Wolsey* perswaded the Commons to four Shillings in the Pound upon the Lords president; and the Lords to as much upon the Commons: and he kept up the Cardinals way of Anticipation, that the People should be always one Subsidy before-hand. He set up the old Taxation of Knight-hood at Queen *Anne's* Coronation, and levied it, making amends to the People for all his hard Impositions: because as *Vespasian* to the *Romans*, so He to the *English*, was *Antiquo cultu vitiumque præcipuus attritiui moris Author*: by his observing of the ancient Diet of the Countrey, and the old fashion of Apparel, he was to them a principal Author of their frugality.

*d* Srow  
SHE. Lon-  
don.

He confirms the Kings Supremacy by a Law, and establisheth his Daughter *Elizabeth's* Succession by an Oath, first taken by the Parliament, and then by the Kingdom: for whose support he contrives the lesser Monasteries should be first escheated, and then

the

the greater. He was so honest, that he acquits *Henry*  
*Queen Anne* in his Letter to the *Queen*; yet so 8.  
much a Statesman, that he condemn'd her upon the  
Bench.

But to secure the Interest of *England*, he by countenancing the translation, and reading of the *English Bible*, improved its Religion; that as some few late Acts had disobliged the Pope, a new frame of Christianity might exclude him: The differences between Us and *Rome*, were to be widened, lest they should close; and he judged it prudence to engage the conscience and the estate in one bottom, that he might hold the One out of the tenderness of the Other. He used to answer, those that applauded his service in the Reformation, that if he should arrogate to himself any part in that revolution of providence, he should be like the Flie on the Cart-wheel, that said, what a Dust do I raise. The Kings Supremacy cut off the Papists, and the Six Articles the Protestants: Reformation must be managed leasurely, and alteration of Religion by just degrees; Instruction preceding execution, and the Peoples capacity growing up with their Governours Regulation. The mountainous expectation of a reformation, some told him merrily ended in a Mouse; but he answered sadly, that it had been well it had not ended in a *Monse-trap*, that is a snare to many good People; as well as a disappointment to all.

The times are troublesome, but *Cromwel* calm and quiet, and watchful over Occurrences; Insurrection giving him an advantage of a new Settlement. He takes down the Occasions and Ornaments of Idolatry, Images, Shrines, Pilgrimages,

Henry  
8.



As when  
one said  
he was  
accused  
for disloy-  
alty to the  
King, he  
said, He  
would  
stab him  
with his  
Dagger,  
if he  
were.

&c. and then the Thing it self: Take off the paine of *Rome*, and you undo her. As the Laws and Injunctions, for the Alliance of *England* must secure its Interest: A Protestant Queen must be married to the Reformed King; the Duke of *Cleve's* Sister must woo the King, that *Essex* might have that whispered in the Kings Bosom abed, where he was best disposed, which he insinuated into his Ear at the Council-Table where he was worst. But the King was not so well pleased with her Beauty, as *Cromwel* was with her Religion: which *Stephen Gardiner* (who hated her for her Religion, and *Cromwel* for his Greatness) observing, shewed the Kings loose Affections, at once how to be rid of his Match, and, which he was as weary of, his Match-Maker. The Queen is divorced (being never known by *Henry*, who disliked her at first view, and kept her rather in Policy, to oblige the *German* Princes, than of pleasure to fill his own Bed.) *Cromwel* is arrested for presuming to act in some matters of State without the Kings privy or Commission and attainted by a procedure he had invented; dying as cunningly as he had lived, for some a ambiguous words which *Power* interpreted to his Ruine.

His last words were so wary, that they might become *Bellarmino* and *Luther* at once; that the Protestants call them his Confession of Faith, and the Papists his old Religion. And neither is he to be blamed, unless his troublesome Adversaries will accuse him, as the quarrelsome *Roman* did his Antagonist, *Because he would not receive his Weapon fairly with his whole Body*: for confessing his Offences against God and the King, in his many Employments, he said he died in the *Catholique Faith*.

Some

Some will say the Protestants think no great gain to have him, and the Papists no loss to part with him; yet we must needs confess that he was a *Wise Man*, because he always consulted the Learned in the Laws about all his proceedings. He was a *Good Man*, witness *Frescobald*, whose mean Person he took notice of, whose small Kindness he acknowledged, whose Services he condescended to, whose Wants he relieved, and whose Debts he recovered: He was a *Noble-man*, because he refused another Mans Coat of Arms who was of his Name, saying, *What shall I do with it? for he may pull it off my back at pleasure.* In a word, He was so Mean before he rose, so Worthy afterwards, that no Times had Raised but those more troublesome, none Ruined him but those most loose of *Henry the viii.* Some reserved Mens parts he compared to meat in a great *Colchester Oyster*, which would hardly requite the pains of opening.---- But infinitely was he taken with those who were (as he called them) like the Statues of *Apollo*, had a Launce in one Hand, and an Harp in another; that is, resolution to awe on the one side, and sweetness to oblige on the other.--- Being much pleased likewise with the reflecting Man, who needs not the dull way of *Persia*, to keep a Boy behind him, to bid him remember what he is, and what he ought to do; and with the devout Courtier: For as the Enamel, which adorneth the Doves Neck, never shines so clear and glorious, as when the Sun looks upon it; so great Men are never so full of Majesty themselves, as when they own the Majesty of God; never more Gods among Men, as when humble Men before God; who [as *St. Lewis of France* once

F 2

affirm-

*Henry*  
8.

W

Henry affirmed] boweth the hearts of Men to a subjection to them, who kneel in adoration to him.

8

He loved not the Men that pedantically boasted their reading, but that rationally made use of it; not ridiculously upon all occasions vaunting the shreds of it, but skilfully to good purposes couching the result and substance of it.--- So the admirable old Man *Epidetus*, as *Lucian* calls him that famed Stoick, whose Lamp was preserved as a Relique, and sold for 3000. Drachmas, would say, [*Encheir c. 16.*] that Sheep bring not their grass to their Shepherd, to shew him how much they have eaten, but concocting their meat inwardly do bring forth Wool and Milk.-- True learning is the improvement of other Mens studies and experiences by our own meditation, adding to that frame by consideration, which they had built from the ground by many Ages observation.

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### The Lord Herbert's Character of Cromwel.

**A**Nd to this end came Cromwel, who from being but a Black-smiths Son, found means to travel into forein Countries, to learn their Languages, and to see the Wars (being a Souldier of Bourbon at the taking of Rome;) whence returning, he was received into Cardinal Wolsey's service:

vice : To whom he so approved himself by his fidelity and diligence, that the King after his fall, voluntarily took him for his servant; in which place he became a special Instrument for dissolving the Abbeyes and other Religious Houses, and keeping down the Clergy; whom, in regard of their Oath to the Pope, he usually termed the Kings half Subjects : And for expelling the Monks, he said it was no more than a restoring them to the first Institution, of being lay and labouring persons: Neither did it move him that so much strictness and austerity of Life was enjoined them in their several Orders, since, he said, they might keep it in any condition. But as these Reasons again were not admitted by divers learned and able Persons, so he got him many Enemies, who at last procured his fall; but not before he had obtained successively the Dignities of Master of the Rolls, Baron, Lord Privy Seal, Vicegerent to the King in Spiritualities, Knight of the Garter, Earl of Essex, Great Chamberlain of England, &c. He was much noted in the exercises of his Places of Judicature, to have used much Moderation; and in his greatest pomp to have taken notice and been thankful to mean persons of his old ac-

Henry  
8.

Henry 8. *quaintance; and therein had a Virtue which his Master the Cardinal wanted.*

*As for his other Descriptions, I leave them to be taken out of Cranmer's Letter formerly mentioned, with some deduction; For it seems written to the King in more than Ordinary Favour of his antient service.*

---

Arch-Bishop Cranmer's Character of Cromwel, in a Letter to King Henry the Eighth.

Who cannot be sorrowful and amazed, that he should be a Traytor against your Majesty? He that was so advanced by your Majesty, He whose surety was only by your Majesty, He who loved your Majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God; He who studied always to set forwards whatsoever was your Majesties will and pleasure; He that cared for no Mans displeasure to serve your Majesty; He that was such a Servant in my Judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness and experience, as no Prince in this Realm ever had: He that was so vigilant to preserve your

*your Majesty from all Treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If the Noble Princes of memory, King John, Henry II. and Richard II. had had such a Counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so Traiterously abandoned and overthrown as those good Princes were. After which, he says again, I loved him as my Friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your Grace, singularly above all other: But now, if he be a Traytor, I am sorry that ever I loved, or trusted him; and I am very glad that his Treason is discovered in time: But yet again, I am very sorrowful; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your Graces chance herein! I wot not whom your Grace may trust. But I pray God continually Night and Day, to send such a Councillor in his place, whom your Grace may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve your Grace like to him; and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your Grace from all dangers, as I ever thought he had.*

Henry  
8.



*Observations on the Life of Sir  
Thomas Audley.*

Sir *Thomas Audley's* Birth was Generous, his Education more: *Essex* bred him to that Honour which his Ancestors lost: His Soul ennobled his Body, and his Body graced his Soul: The one quick, solid, apprehensive and judicious; the other tall and majestick: *King Henry loved a Man*; and here was one whose Austerity was allayed with Debonairness, whose Gravity was sweetened with Pleasantness; whose Knowledge was as large as his Authority, whose Wit was equal with his Wisdom; whose Memory was strong, and Judgment solid. His fair Estate brought him to the Temple; his proficiency in the Law, to the Court: His reading upon the Statute of *Priviledges* commended him to the Kings Service, his speaking for the *Prerogative* in Parliament brought him to the Kings Favour: Although the Liberties of the People can never be secured without the Prerogative of the Sovereign (who cannot do the good they would, if he wants a power to do the evil they fear;) yet his first Preferment was to withdraw him from Popularity, and the second only to confirm him to Sovereignty. *Noble Service* is the way to a *Royal One*. His Stewardship to the Dutchy of *Sussex*, raised him to the Attorneyship of that of *Lancaster*. But in troublesome and designing times a popular Orator is a good Courtier; and leading Parts in Parliament or Convocation are great Me-  
rits:

*the Life of Sir Thomas Audley.*

73

Henry

8.

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its. In the black Parliament he was a Member by his own Interest, and a Speaker by his Majesties Choice: Sir *Tho. More* was to serve the Crown in the *Lords House*, and Sir *Tho. Audley* was to succeed him in the *House of Commons*. When Abbey-Lands were bestowed on the King in gross, and returned by him to the leading Lords and Commons in the Retayl, most of that Parliament looked for shares; Sir *Thomas* for the first cut, to secure himself with the King. He was always in favour with the *Queens*, who had no less Interest in the Kings Heart, than the Kingdom had in his Head. The Age was uncertain, Interest not so; Sir *Thomas* was fixed on the One, above the alterations of the Other: understanding what was most convenient at a time when there was nothing lawful. He was well seen in the flexures and windings of affairs, at the depth whereof other Heads not so steady turned giddy: He had the Arts of a Statesman, and the closeness of a Politician: Reserved he was, but no Dissembler. "For if a man have that penetration of judgment, as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be kept secret, and what to be shewed with half sights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are Arts of States and Arts of Life) to him an Habit of Dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. He (as an able man) was always frank and open, but wary; knowing how to stop and turn within the compass of equity and honesty. He understood business well, and men better; and knew King *Henry's* Temper better than Himself, whom he surprized always to his own bent, never moving any of his suits to him, but when in hast, and most commonly amusing him with

*Henry* with other matter until he passed his Request. His

8. Actions were managed for applause as well as service: for when made Sergeant, he was the first of eleven; his Entertaining-Day was the last of six: The King, who paid for his Dinner, was invited to it. He watched the Circumstances of his Actions, that they might be Taking, as well as their Issue, that they might be Useful; and contrived that the least of his publick actions should come off with reputation. He followed the most passable rather than the most able men living, in a time when active men were more useful than the virtuous. Sir *Thomas* at once gratified the present humour of the King, and the constant temper of the people, in six Bills against the Clergy: 1. Against the Extortions of their Courts. 2. The Exaction of their Corps and Mortuaries. 3. Their worldly Occupations, as Grazing, Tanning, &c. 4. Merchandize. 5. Their Non-Residencies. 6. The Pluralities of the ignorant, and the mean Salaries of the Learned. When in some Debates between the Lords and Commons, Custom was urged; Sir *Thomas* replied, *The usage hath ever been for Thieves to rob at Shooters Hill, is it therefore lawful?* He brought the Clergy within a *Premunire*, to awe them; and afterwards in their pardon, he and other members included their own: which the knowing King would not pass, when it was demanded as of right; yet afterwards granted it of his own accord, when it was received as of Grace. When Sir *Thomas More* could not act with the times, Sir *Thomas Audley* could; the One being weary of the Seal, the other takes it; being made Lord Keeper in Sir *Thomas* his life-time, and Lord Chancellour after his death. owning no Opinion against

against the Government of *England*, nor any Design against its Interest. The King might well trust him with his Conscience, when he trusted the King with *his*, owning no Doctrine but what was established, ever judging the Church and State wiser than himself. He was forced to take *Q. Anne*, but he would not condemn her; rather escaping than refusing unwelcome employments, wherein he must either displease his Master or himself. He was tender, but not wilful; waving such services dexterously, wherein he must oppose his Master dangerously. Those Insurrections which others rigor had raised, his Moderation allayed; breaking the Factions with Indulgence, which might be strengthened with Opposition: *Cromwel* pulled down Popery with his Power, *Audly* kept it down with his Policy, enjoining the Preachers to detect the follies of that way, which is reckoned the wisdom of this World. He had a moderate way to secure the priviledges of Parliament, by freedom from Arrests; and the good will of the Citizens, by an Order about debts.

By these courses he died as much in the Kings favour as he lived: Patience can weather out the most turbulent Age, and a solid Judgement the most intricate times; The reserved and quiet man is the most secure. Activity may raise a man, Wariness keep him up. If he had done nothing, he had not been seen; if he had done much, he had not been suffered. Between two extreams *Audley* could do well.

*T easure of Arms and Arts, in whom were set  
The Mace and Books, the Court and Colledge met;  
Yet both so wove, that in that mingled throng  
They both comply, and neither neither wrong.*

*But*

Henry But pois'd and temper'd, each reserv'd its seat ;  
 8. Nor did the learning quench, but guide the Heat.  
 ~~~~~ The Courtier was not of the furious strain,  
 The hand that acts, doth first consult the brain.  
 Hence grew commerce betwixt Advice and Might,  
 The Scholar did direct the Courtier right.  
 And as our Perfumes mixt, do all conspire,  
 And twist their Curles above the hallowed fire,  
 Till in that Harmony of Sweets combin'd,  
 We can nor Musk nor single Amber finde ;  
 But Gums meet Gums, and their delights so crowd,  
 That they create one undistinguish'd Cloud :  
 So to thy minde these rich Ingredients prest,  
 And were the Mould and Fabrick of thy best.  
 Learning and Courage mixt, and temper'd so,  
 The Stream could not decay nor overflow.  
 And in that equal Tide, thou didst not bear  
 From Courage, Rashness ; nor from Learning, Fear.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir  
 Thomas Wiat.*

Sir Thomas Wiat was born at Allington-Castle in the County of Kent, which afterwards he repaired with beautiful Buildings. He fell out off his Master King Henry the Eighth his favour, about the business of Queen Anna Bullein, till his industry, care, discretion and innocence freed him. Very ingenious he was ; or, as his Anagram tells us, he was [ *A \* Wit* ] in the abstract. Camden saith he was,

*Eques amatus splendide doctus.*

Holy

Holy he was and heavenly minded, and that appears by his translation of *David's* Psalms into English Metre; and *Leland* gives him this great Commendation: Henry 8.

*Bella suum merito jactet Florentia Dantem,  
Regia Petrarchæ Carmina Roma probat,  
His non inferior Patrio Sermone Viatus,  
Eloquii secum qui decus omne tulit.*

*Let Florence fair her Dantes justly boast,  
And Royal Rome her Petrarchs numbred feet,  
In English Wiat both of them doth coast,  
In whom all grateful Eloquence doth meet.*

This Knight being sent Ambassador by *K. Henry* the eighth, to *Charles* the fifth Emperour, then residing in *Spain*, before he took Shipping, died of the Pestilence in the West-Country, Anno 1541.

*Queen Anne's* favour towards him, raised this man; and his faithfulness to her, ruined him: So fickle is that mans station that depends only on humour, or holds off love and hatred! Let my friend (saith *Malvezzi*) bring me in, but let my merit and service keep me there.

Four things a man went to Dine with *Sir Thomas Wiat* for: 1. For his Generous Entertainment: 2. For his free and knowing discourse of *Spain* and *Germany*; an insight in whole interest was his Master-piece, studied by him as well for the exigence of that present juncture, as for his own satisfaction. 3. For his quickness in observing, his civility in entertaining, his dexterity in employing, and his readines in encouraging every mans peculiar parts and

*Henry* and inclinations. 4. For the notice and favour the King had for him. So ready was he to befriend worthy men, and so ready was the King to entertain his friend; that when a man was newly preferred, they said, *He had been in Sir Thomas Wiat's Closet.* Happy is the Prince that hath a faithful Favourite, to look him out serviceable men! and happy those useful persons, that have a familiar and honest Favourite, by whom they may have access to the Prince! a Favourite that serves not his Country so much by employing and pleasing its active members, as he secures his King, who hath no less need of Counsel in reference to *men*, than *things*.

His Wit pleased the King, and his Wisdom served him: He could not be without his Advice at the Council-table, nor without his Jest in his Presence-chamber: where yet he observed his *decorum* so exactly, that his Majesty could by no means win him one night to dancing; this being his grave resolution, *That he who thought himself a wise man in the day-time, would not be a fool at night*: otherwise none carried himself more handsomely, none conversed more ingeniously and freely, none discoursed more facetiously or solidly. In a word, it was his peculiar happiness, that his deportment was neither too severe for King *Henry* the eighth's time, nor too loose for *Henry* the seventh's; neither all honey nor all gall, but a sweet mixture and temperament of affability and gravity, carrying an equal measure of *Sir Thomas More's* ingenuity in his head, and *Sir Thomas Cromwel's* wisdom in his heart; equally fashioned for discourse and business: in the last whereof, he was active, but not troublesome; in the first, merry, but innocent.

A Jest if it hit right, may do more good then so. *Henry*  
 ber Counsels. *Archee* made King *James* sensible  
 of the danger the Prince was in, in *Spain*, by telling  
 him that he came to change Caps with him: *Why?*  
 said the King. *Because thou hast sent the Prince into*  
*Spain, from whence he is never like to return. But*  
*(said the King) what wilt thou say when thou seest*  
*him come back again? Marry (saith he) I will take*  
*off the Fools Cap which I now put upon thy head for*  
*sending him thither, and put it on the King of Spains*  
*for letting him return.*

A Jest of *Sir Thomas Wiat's* began that Reforma-  
 tion, which the seriousness of all *Christendome* could  
 not commence. King *Henry* was at a loss concern-  
 ing the Divorce, which he no less passionately desi-  
 red, than the Pope warily delayed: Lord, saith he,  
 that a man cannot repent him of his sin, but by the  
 Popes leave! *Sir Thomas* hinted, Doctor *Cranmer*  
 opened, and the Universities of *Europe* made the  
 way to Reformation.

His Majesty was another time displeased with  
*Wolfey*, and *Sir Thomas* ups with a story of the *Curs*  
*baiting of the Butchers Dog*, which contained the  
 whole method of that great mans ruine.

The Pope was incensed, Christian Princes were  
 enraged, and the numerous Clergy discontented,  
 and King *Henry* afraid of a Revolution: *Butter the*  
*Rooks Nests*, (that is, sell and bestow the Papal  
 Clergies Habitations and Land among the Nobility  
 and Gentry) said *Sir Thomas*, and they will never  
 trouble you. One Day he told his Master he had  
 found out a Living of an hundred pounds in  
 the year more than enough, and prayed him to  
 bestow it on him: *Why?* said the King, we have



Henry no such in England. Yes, Sir, said Sir Thomas, the

8. *Provoſhip of Eaton, where a man bath his Diet, his Lodging, his Horſe-meat, his Servants wages, his Riding-charge, and an 100 l. per annum beſides.* What *Lewis* the eleventh ſaid of one Kingdome, *i. e.* France, may be true of all, That they want one thing, *i. e.* Truth. Few Kings have ſuch diſcreet Courtiers as Cardinal *Wolfey*, to look into things deeply; fewer ſo faithful Servants as Sir *Thomas Wiat*, to report things as they ſee them, honeſtly.

His Jeſts were always confined to theſe Rules:

1. He never played upon a mans unhappineſs or deformity; it being inhumane.

2. Not on Superiours: for that is ſawcy and undutiſul.

3. Nor on ſerious or holy matters: for that's irreligious; applying to this occaſion that of the *Athenians*, who would not ſuffer *Pathus* to play his Comedies, where *Euripides* repeated his Tragedies.

4. He had much Salt, but no Gall; often jeſting, but never jearing.

5. He obſerved times, perſons and circumſtances; knowing when to ſpeak, and knowing too when to hold his peace.

6. His apt and handſome Reparties were rather natural than affected; ſubtle and acute, prompt and eaſie, yet not careleſs; never rendring himſelf contemptible to pleaſe others.

7. Not an inſipid changing of words was his gift, but a ſmart recort of matters, which every body was better pleaſed with than himſelf.

8. He always told a ſtory well; and was as good  
at

at a neat continued discourse, as at a quick sentence; contriving it in an handsome method, cloathing it with suitable expressions, without any Parenthesis or impertinencies, and representing persons and actions so to the life, that you would think you saw what you but hear: A notable way, that argued the man of a ready apprehension, an ingenious fine fancy, a tenacious memory, a graceful Elocution, an exact judgment and discretion, and perfect acquaintance with things and circumstances. His phrase was clean and clear, the picture of his thoughts and language, (even in an argument) not harsh or severe, but gentle and obliging, never contradicting but with an *Under favour Sir*; always subjoyning to his adversaries discourse, what the Dutch do to all Ambassadors Proposals, It may be so.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir John Fineux.*

Sir John Fineux born at Swinkfield, in the County of Kent, a place bestowed on his Ancestors by a great Lord in Kent, called T. Criol, about the reign of King Edward the second. He followed the Law twenty eight years before he was made a Judge; in which Office he continued twenty eight years, and was twenty eight years of Age before he betook himself to this study: whence it necessarily follows, that he was four-score and four when he died. He was a great Benefactor to St. Augustines

Henry in Canterbury; the Prior whereof *William Malla-*  
 8. *ham* thus highly commendeth him: (good deeds  
 deserve good words.)

*Vir prudentissimus, Genere insignis, Justitia praecla-  
 rus, Pietate refertus, Humanitate splendidus, &  
 charitate facundus.*

He died in 1526. and lies buried in *Christ-Church*  
 in *Canterbury*, having had a fair habitation in this  
 City, and another in *Herne* in this County, where  
 his Motto still remaineth in each Window :

*Misericordias Domini cantabo in Aeternum.*

*Nile's* original is hidden, but his stream is fa-  
 mous. This Judge's Ancestors were not so ob-  
 scure, as he was illustrious. His Device upon his  
 Sergeants Ring was, *Sua quisq; fortune faber*; and  
 his discourse was always to this purpose, *That no  
 man thrived but he that lived as if he were the first  
 man in the world, and his father were not born before  
 him.*

Forty years he said he lived by his industry;  
 Twenty by his reputation; and Ten by favour.  
 King *Henry* the seventh knew not how well this  
 Gentleman could serve him, until he saw how  
 effectually he did oppose him about the Tenth Pe-  
 ny raised for the War in *Britain*, which raised ano-  
 ther in *York*; where though the Rabble (that mur-  
 dered *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who was to  
 levy the Tax) had not his Countenance for their  
 Practice, yet had they his Principle for their Rule,  
 which was this, *Before we pay any thing, let us see  
 whe-*

*whether we have any thing we can call our own to pay.* So able, though reserved a Patriot, thought the wise King, would be an useful Courtier, and he that could do so well at the Bar, might do more at the Bench. Cardinal Morton was against his advancement, as an incouragement to the Faction: (whose Hydra-heads grow the faster by being taken off by Preferment, and not by an Ax) the King was for it, as the most probable way of weakening of them, as who, when the most sober and wise part of them draweth off, are but a rude multitude, and a rope of sand. When a Commoner, none so stiff for the subjects priviledg; when a Judge, none so firm to the Princes Prerogative: two things, (however, they fatally clashed of late) that are solid felicities together, and but empty notions asunder: for what is Prerogative but a great Name, when not exercised over a free people? and what is priviledg but a fond imagination, when not secured under a powerful King, that may keep us from being slaves one to another by Anarchy, while we strive to be free from his Tyranny? That people is beyond president free, and beyond comparison happy, who restrain not their Sovereigns power to do them harm so far, as that he hath none left him to do them good. Careful he was of the Law; for he was a Judge: and as careful of his Sovereigns Right; for he was a Subject. No ominous clashing between Courts in his time; nor setting the Kings Conscience in Chancery against his Will in the Kings Bench. A man tells *Aristides*, to make him party in his cause, that his Adversary had abused him: *If it not here* (saith that Impartial Judge) *to fight my self, but you.* When a notorious enemy of

Henry

8

Judge *Finch* had a cause depending before him, It might have gone against you, my friend, (said he) had you not been my Enemy: His Motto was; *nemo prudens punit quia peccatum est sed ne peccetur.*

Ten things, which are indeed ten of the most remarkable particulars of his life, raised him.

1. An indefatigable industry, 1. In his reading, leaving behind him 23 *Folio's* of Notes. 2. In his practice, bequeathing 3502 Cases he managed himself to his Executor.

2. A freedom of converse, as about his business, none more close; so in company, none more open; having so compleat a command of himself, that he knew to a minute when to indulge, and to a minute too when to restrain himself. A gay and cheerful humour, a spritful conversation, and cleanly manners, are an exceeding useful accomplishment for every one that intends not to wind himself into a solitary retirement, or be mewed in a Cloyster.

3. A rich and a well-contrived marriage, that at once brought him a large Estate, and a larger Interest: the same tie that allied him to his Wives Family, engaged him to many.

4. A great acquaintance with Noble Families, with whose dependants he got in first, devoting an hour a day for their company; and at last with themselves, laying aside his vacation-leisure for their service. He was Steward of 129 Mannors at once, and of Council to 16 Noble-men.

5. His Hospitality and Entertainments. None more close than he abroad, none more noble at home; where many were tied to his Table, more obliged by his company and discourse.

6. His

6. His care and integrity in managing, his Repute in promoting, his Reason and Eloquence in pleading, and his Success in carrying his causes.

7. His eminence and activity in the two profitable Parliaments of *Henry* the seventh, where he had the hearts and purses of the people at his command, and the eye of his Sovereign upon his person. It was thought a reward adequate to the greatest merit and adventure in the Grecian Wars, to have leave to play the Prizes at *Olympus* before Kings. It was judged the most ambition could aime at in King *Henry* the seventh's time, to shew a mans parts before his judicious and discerning Majesty; than whom none understood Worth better, none valued it higher.

8. His Opposition to *Empson* and *Dudley's* too severe Prosecution of Pœnal Laws, while *Henry* the seventh was living; and his laying of it before him so faithfully, that he repented of it when he was a dying. *He is high a while, that serves a Princes private interest; he is always so, that is careful of the publick good.*

9. His entire Devotion to that sacred thing called *Friendship*, that *Bliss on this side Heaven*, made up of Peace and Love. None a worse Enemy, none a better Friend. Choice he was in commencing, but constant in continuing Friends: *Many Acquaintance, but few Friends*, was his Observation; saying, *He had been undone by his Acquaintance, had he not been raised by his Friends.*


10. His care of time. *To day I have not reigned*, said the Emperour when he had done no good: *To day I have not lived*, said the Judge when he had done nothing. So much he prayed Morning,

Henry 8. Evening, and at Noon, according to the way of those times, as if he never studied; so much he studied, as if he never practised; so great his practice, as if he never conversed; and so free his converse with others, as if he lived not at all to himself. Time (of which others are so prodigally expensive) was the only thing he could be honestly covetous of: full whereof he died, leaving this instruction to posterity, *That we should not complain we have little time; but that we spend much either in doing nothing, or in doing evil, or in doing nothing to the purpose.*

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*Observations of the Life of Dr. Edward Fox, Secretary and Almoner to King Henry the Eighth.*

**E**dward Fox born in Dursly in Gloucestershire, brought up a Scholar in *Eaton*, after fellow of *Kings Colledge in Cambridge*, where he died Provost. He was Almoner to King Henry the eighth, the first that brought Doctor *Cranmer* to the knowledge of the King, as he brought the King to the knowledge of himself. Being afterwards Bishop of *Hereford*, he was a great Instigator of the Politick and Prudential part of the Reformation, and was not less able, but more active than *Cranmer* himself: yea, so famous was he, that *Martin Bucer* dedicated unto him his Comment upon the Gospel: so painful, that he wrote many Books, whereof that, *de Differentia utriusq; potestatis*, was the chief: so  
worthy

worthy he was, that the King employed him on several Embassies into *France* and *Germany*. He died *May 8. 1538.* Henry 8. 

In his first years, none more wild; in his last none more stayed. *The untoward Youth makes the able Man.* He that hath mettle to be extravagant when he *cannot* govern himself, hath a spirit to be eminent when he *can*. His friends devotion to the Church, and relation to the Bishop of *Winchester*, made him a Scholar; his own Inclination, a Politician: an Inclination that brake through all the ignoble restraints of pedantique studies and coercions, (wherewith many a great Soul in *England*, (enjoying not the freedom of forein parts, but tied to such employments, though never so unsuitable, as their friends put them to) are debased and lost) to an eminency (more by observation and travel, than by reading and study) that made him the Wonder of the University, and the Darling of the Court. When he was called to the Pulpit, or Chair, he came off not ill; so prudential were his parts of Divinity; when advanced to any Office of Trust in the University, he came off very well; so incomparable were his parts for Government!

His Policy was observed equally in the Subject, and in the contrivance of his Sermons and discourse; where though all knew he read but little, yet all saw that (by a Scheme and method his strong head had drawn up of all Books and Discourses) he commanded all Learning: his *Explications* of the Text were so genuine, so exact, as if he had spent his time in nothing else but Criticks and Commentators. His Divisions so Analytical, as if he



*Henry* had seen nothing but Logick : His Enlargements  
 8. so copious and genuine, as if he had seen nothing  
 but Fathers and Schoolmen. The curious and  
 pertinent mixture of Moral Sentences, so various;  
 as if he had been but a Humanist: the drift and de-  
 sign of all, so close, that it argued him but (what  
 indeed he was) a pure Pate-Politician. His parts  
 commended him to Cardinal *Wolsey* as his sup-  
 port; the Cardinal brings him to his Master as his  
 second, and he thrusts out *Wolsey* as his Rival;  
 but yet pretended to advance that ambitious Man  
 more highly, that he might fall more irrecovera-  
 bly. He sets him upon his designs of being *Pope*  
 in *Rome*, and those make him none in *England*. He  
 caught the Cardinal by his submission, as he would  
 have done *Sir Thomas More* by his Interrogations;  
 at which he was so good, that he would run up any  
 man either to a Confession or a *Premunire*. *Fox*  
 was his name, and Cunning his nature. He said,  
*His Fathers money helped him to his Parsonage*,  
 meaning his small Preferments; and his Mothers  
*wit to his Bishoprick*, meaning his greater.

Discouraging one day when Ambassador, of terms  
 of Peace, he said, *Honourable ones last long, but the*  
*dishonourable no longer than till Kings have power to*  
*break them: the sure way therefore, said he, to Peace,*  
*is a constant preparedness for War.* Two things he  
 would say must support a Government; Gold and  
 Iron: Gold, to reward its Friends; and Iron, to  
 keep under its Enemies. *Themistocles* after a Bat-  
 tle fought with the Persians, espying a Prize lying  
 on the ground, *Take up these things,* (saith he to his  
 Companion) *for thou art not Themistocles.* *Take*  
*the Emperours Money,* said *Fox* to his followers,  
 (that

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(that were afraid to accept what he had refused) for you are not all the King of England's Ambassadors.

Oftentimes was this saying in our Bishops mouth, before ever I. was in *Philip* the second's, Time and I will challenge any two in the world.

*Portugal* being revolted, the *Conde d' Olivares* came smiling to King *Philip* the fourth, saying, Sir, I pray give me *las Albricias* to hanſel the good news: for now you are more absolute King of *Portugal* than ever: for the people have forfeited all their priviledges by the Rebellion and the Nobility their Estates; and now you may confirm your old Friends with their money, and make you new ones with their Estates. When the Clergy began to ruffle with the King, I tell you News, said this Bishop, we are all run into a *Picemunice*: you shall have Money enough to make your own Courtiers, and Places enough to advance your own Clergy.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Anthony St. Lieger.*

WE may say of him, he was born in *Kent*, and bred in *Chriſtendome*: for when twelve years of Age, he was sent for his Grammar-Learning with his Tutor into *France*, for his Carriage into *Italy*, for his Philosophy to *Cambridg*, for his Law to *Grays-Inne*; and for that which completed all, the Government of himself, to Court; where his Debonnairness and Freedome took with the King, as his Solidity and Wiſdome with the Cardinal.

His

Henry His Master-piece was his Agency between King  
 8. Henry the eighth and Queen Anne, during the agi-  
 ~~~~~ tation of that great buiness of the Divorce be-  
 tween the said King and his Queen Katherine. His  
 Policy was seen in catching the Cardinal in that fa-  
 tal word, *The Kin may ruine me if he please* ! but  
 that ruined him. His service was to be Cromwell's  
 Instrument in demolishing Abbeyes, as he was the  
 Kings. *Cesar* was the first that came to undo the  
 Commonwealch, sober; Sir *Anthony St. Leger*  
 was the first that saved this Kingdome drunk: for  
 in being abroad one night very late, and much  
 distempered, he must needs fancy an extraordi-  
 nary light in the Cardinal's Closet; with which  
 Fancy he ran to the King, and although much in  
 drink, prevailed with him so far, that he sends to  
 the Cardinal, and there finds that Juncto that  
 threatened his Kingdome.

He esteemed it the bane of a good judgment, to  
 look upon things through the outside of some  
 Customary formality; neglecting the steady con-  
 sideration of their inward nature; the first depen-  
 ding on the fancies of men, which are volatile; the  
 other on the being of things, which is fixed: and  
 he was rather for dressing his addresses in the smart  
 way of a jest; than in the dull way of a *narrative*.  
*Ridiculum acri Fortius et melius magnas plerumq; secat*  
*res*. The undigested fancies which please the Com-  
 mon people for a while, during the distemper and  
 green-sickness, fit a troubled age, as Maids infected  
 with that Malady pesserr ashes, or Coles in a corner,  
 before healthful food in their Fathers House: but  
 when time hath cured their malady, and experi-  
 ence opened their eyes, he would say that they  
 should

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should abhor their former errors, and the misleaders that taught them.

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He was the first *Vice-Roy*, because Henry the eighth was the first King of Ireland. King Henry's affection would promote him any where, but his own resolution and spirit commended him to Ireland.

He was a man whom all Ireland could not rule; therefore (as the Jest goes) he should rule all England. Three times had the Irish Rebels made their solemn submission to other Deputies: the fourth time now they make it to him, throwing down their Girdles, Skeans, and Caps. So great a man was the Lieutenant, so great his Master! No sooner was he possessed of the Government, but he thought of Laws, those Ligaments of it: The most rational and equitable Laws were those of England, but too rational to be imposed on the Brutish Irish; therefore our Knight considering (as he saith in the Preface of his Constitution) that they (poor soul-) could not relish these exact Laws, to live or be ruled by them, immediately enacted such as agreed with their capacity, rather than such were dictated by his ability; his Wisdom (as all mens must) doing what was most fit and convenient, rather than what was most exact; what they could bear, more than what he could do: as remembring he had to do with *Facies Romuli*, rather than *Respublica Platonis*; a rude, rather than a reduced people. What he could, he ordained according to the incomparable Rule of the English Laws; what he could not, he established according to his present judgment of the Irish capacity. He saw the Kingdome could never be subject to his Masters power, while the

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8.



the Church was obedient to the Popes : therefore as he perswaded the Nobility to surrender their Estates to his Majesty at *London*, so he compelled the Clergy to make over theirs at *Dublin* : There remains but little of the first in his Majesties hands, so honourable was he in restoring it ; and as little in his Successors, so religious and just were they in resigning it to the same use for substance, to which it was at first designed. But in vain it is to reform Laws, unless we reform persons too ; therefore as he sent *Orders* to reduce the Irish Nobility in their several Countries, so he sent for themselves (to the respective Houses built for them by his Majesty near *Dublin*) to be civilized in the Court. *Cesar came, saw, and overcame* ; Sir *Anthony came, saw, and settled* : A man had thought there had not been so much corruption in the Romish Church, as to admit Children to Church-Livings, (for which Men are hardly sufficient ! ) but that Sir *Anthony St. Leiger* was forced to make this Law, *That no Children should be admitted to Benefices*. We had not known this sin, had not the Law said, *You shall not invest any under sixteen years of age in Benefices*. The Clergy he found there too many, and the Nobility too few : he lessened the number of the one to weaken the Pope, and improved the other to strengthen his Master, of whom they held not only their Estates, but their Baronies too, as obliged to duty in point of Honour as well as in point of Interest. But in vain doth he civilize the present Generation, and neglect the future : as therefore he provided Cities for the Parents, so he erected Schools for the Children, that the one might forget their Barbarism, and the other never

know




know it. Three things he said would settle a State: 1. Good God-fathers and God-mothers performing their Vows: 2. Good Housholders overlooking their Families: 3. And good School-masters educating Youth; this last, the most useful, though the most contemptible profession.

All War was mischievous to learning (Arts as well as Laws, being suppressed by armes, the *Muses* *Laurel* is no security to them against *Mars* his *Thunder*) except *Sr. Anthonies*, no mans Library being embezled; no mans study interrupted; reserving learning for the Civilizing of that Nation which his armes had Conquered.

An *Athenian* being asked what God was? said, He was neither *Bow-man*, nor *Horse-man*, nor *Pike-man*, nor *Footman*, but one that knew how to command [all these.] *Sir Anthony St. Leiger* was neither Soldier nor Scholar, nor Statesman, yet he understood the way how to dispose of all these to his Countries service, and his Masters honour; being all of them eminently, though none of them pedantickly and formally in himself.

The *Athenians* (as *Anaximander* said) had good Laws, but used them ill; our Deputy had bad Laws, but governed by good.

It was thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour and unreasonable severity which some men carried there before him, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew up into horrid flames the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fuel in that place; where despair was added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions: It is too easie to provoke a people too prone

Henry 8.  to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some principles of their Religion, and their natural desires of Liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and prevent after-rigours: wherefore he was inclined to that charitable connivence and *Christian indulgence*, which often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifieth, and puts the oppressed Parties into such Combinations as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors; who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration which attends all that are said to suffer for Religion or Liberty.

To conclude this: Four things Sir *Anthony St. Leiger* was eminent for:

1. That there was none more grave in Council than he, in the morning: none more free at Table, at noon: none more active in the after-noon: none more merry at night.

2. That his Orders were made but slowly, so wary he was; but executed quickly, so resolute he was too.

3. That he contrived all his Designs so well beforehand, that in the course of affairs they were done to his hand; and he was the Deputy that made no noise.

4. That as the Souldier (finding his first admission to *Alexander* to be difficult) danced about the Court in an Antique fashion, until the strangeness of the shew made the King himself Spectator, and then throwing off his disguise, he said, *Sir, thus I first arrive at the notice of your Majesty in the fashion of a fool, but can do you service in the place of a wise man, if you please to employ me*: So this Gentleman came

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came to Court a Swaggerer, but went off a Statef-  
man. All Prudence is not lodged under a demure  
look and an austere carriage: There are those that  
can be merry and wise; whose Spirit is as lively,  
as their Judgment *solid*: And its no better a Cha-  
racter of a wise man, than it was a definition of a  
man which *Plato* made, and *Diogenes*, by shewing a  
deplumed Cock, derided, that he is a *living Creature*  
that *hath two feet*, i. e. a grave, staid carriage; with-  
out feathers, i. e. a nimble fancy. His onely fault  
was, that he was a particular instance of that gene-  
ral rule, *Qui pauca considerat facile pronunciat*.

Henry

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Ralph  
Sadler.*

Sir Ralph Sadler was born at Hackney in Middle-  
sex, where he was Heir to a fair Inheritance, and  
servant to the Lord *Cromwel*, and by him advanc-  
ed into the service of King *Henry* the VIII, who  
made him chief Secretary of State. He was one  
that had much knowledg, therefore much employ-  
ed in all, but especially in the Intrigues of the Scots  
affairs: In the Battel of *Muscleborow* he ordered  
and brought up our scattered Troops, inviring  
them to fight by his own Example; and for his  
Valour was made a Knight Bannerer. *Queen Eli.* <sup>a There</sup>  
*zabeth* made him Chancellour of the Duchy. *Da-* <sup>were two</sup>  
<sup>sorts of</sup>  
<sup>these</sup>

*Knights*, the first made by way of encouragement, the second by way of Re-  
ward: Sir Ralph was of the second sort, and the last that survived of that  
sort.

ring



*Henry* During his last Embassie in *Scotland*, his house at  
 8. *Standon* in *Hertfordshire* was built by his Steward  
 in his absence, far greater than himself desired, so  
 that he never joyed therein; and died soon after,  
*Anno* 1587, in the 80 year of his Age.

King *Henry* understood two things: 1. A Man;  
 2. A Dish of Meat; and was seldom deceived in ei-  
 ther: For a Man, none more compleat then Sir  
*Ralph*, who was at once a most exquisite Writer,  
 and a most valiant and experienced Souldier; qua-  
 lifications that seldom meet, (so great is the di-  
 stance between the Sword and the Pen, the Coat of  
 Mail and the Gown) yet divided this man and his  
 time; his nights being devoted to contemplation,  
 and his days to action. Little was his Body, but  
 great his Soul; the more vigorous, the more con-  
 tracted. Quick and clear were his thoughts, spee-  
 dy and resolute his performances. It was he that  
 could not endure the spending of that time in de-  
 signing one action, which might perform two; or  
 that delay in performing two, that might have de-  
 signed twenty. A great Estate he got honestly, and  
 spent nobly; knowing that *Princes honour them*  
*most, that have most; and the People them onely that*  
*employ most*: A Prince hath more reason to fear  
 money that is spent, than that which is hoorded;  
 because it is easier for Subjects to oppose a Prince  
 by Applause than by Armies. Reward (said Sir  
*Ralph* when he was offered a sum of money) should  
 not empty the Kings Coffers; neither should Riches be  
 the Pay of Worth, which are meerly the Wages of La-  
 bour: He that gives it, embaseth a Man; he that  
 takes it, vilifieth himself: who is so most Reward-  
 ed, is least. Since Honour hath lost the Value of a  
 Re-

Reward, Men have lost the Merit of Virtue, and both become mercenary; Men lusting rather after the Wealth that *buyeth*, than after the Qualities that *deserve* it.

Henry  
8.

Two things he observed broke Treaties; *Jealousie*, when Princes are successful; and *Fear*, when they are unfortunate. Power that hath need of none, makes all confederacies, either when it is *felt*, or when it is *feared*, or when it is *envied*.

Three things *Cato* repented of: 1. *That he went by water when he might go by land.* 2. *That he trusted a Woman with a secret.* 3. *That he lost Time.*

Two things Sir Ralph relented for: 1. *That he had communicated a secret to two.* 2. *That he had lost any hour of the morning, between four a clock and ten.*

He learned in King Henry the Eighth's time, as *Cromwel's* Instrument, what he must advise (in point of Religion) in Queen Elizabeth's time, as an eminent Countessour: His Maxime being this, *That Zeal was the Duty of a private Breast, and Moderation the Interest of a publick State.* The Protestants Sir Ralph's Conscience would have in the commencement of Queen Elizabeth, kept in hope; the Papists his Prudence would not have cast into Despair. It was a Maxime at that time in *another* case, *That France should not presume, nor Spain be desperate.*

He saw the Interest of this State altered six times, and died an honest Man: The Crown put upon four Heads, yet he continued a Faithful Subject: Religion changed, as to the publick constitution of it, five times, yet he kept the Faith.

A Spartan one day boasted that his Country-men had been often buried in Athens; The Athenian  
H replied,

Henry replied; *But we are most of us buried at home.* So great was Sir Ralph's success in the Northern Wars, that many a *Scotch man* found his Grave in *England*; so exact his conduct and wariness; that few *English men* had theirs in *Scotland*: the same ground giving them their Coffin, that did their Cradle; and their Birth that did their Death. Our Knights two incomparable Qualities were Discipline and Intelligence; the last discovered him all the Enemies advantages, and the first gave them none.

His two main designs were, 1. An *Interest* in his Prince, by *service*. 2, An Alliance with the Nobility by Marriage: upon which two Bottoms he raised himself to that pitch of Honour and Estate, that time could not wear out, nor any alterations embetle; he bequeathing to his Worshipful Posterity the blessing of Heaven upon his Integrity; the love of Mankind for his Worth; and (as Mr. Fuller saith) a Pardon granted him when he attended my Lord Cromwel at Rome, for the sins of his Family for three immediate Generations, (expiring in R. Sadler Esquire, lately dead.) His last Negotiation was that in *Scotland*, during the troubles there about Queen Mary: So searching and piercing he was, that no Letter or Advice passed, whereof he had not a Copy; so civil and obliging, that there was no Party that had not a Kindness for him; so grave and solid, that he was present at all counsels; so close and industrious, that his hand though unseen was in every motion of that State: and so successful, that he left the Nobility so divided that they could not design any thing upon the King; and the King so weak, that he could not cast off the Queen; and all so tottering, that they must depend on Queen Elizabeth.

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Three things he bequeathed such as may have the honour to succeed him, 1. All Letters that concerned him since of years, *filed*: 2. All Occurrences, since he was capable of Observation, *registered*. 3. All expenses, since he lived of himself, *booked*. *Epaminondas* was the first *Græcian*, and *Sir Ralph Sadler* was one of the last *English-men*.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir William Paget.*

Sir William Paget was born in the City of London, of honest Parents. He was so able and trusty a Minister of State, that he was privy Counsellour to four successive Princes: He was Secretary to King Henry the Eighth; who employed him Ambassador to Charles the Emperour and Francis King of France. King Edward the Sixth made him Chancellour of the Durchy, Comptroller of his Househole, and created him Baron of Beaudefert. Queen Mary made him Keeper of the Privy-Seal. Queen Elizabeth highly respected him, dispensing with his Attendance at Court, in favour to his great Age. Duke Dudley in the days of King Edward, ignominiously took from him the Garter of the Order, saying, *He was not Originally qualified for the same*: But this was restored unto him by Queen Mary. He died very old, Anno 1563. and was buried in Lichfield. His Education was better than his Birth, his Knowledg higher than his Education:

Henry  
8.



cation: His Parts above his Knowledge, and his Experience beyond his Parts: A general Learning furnished him for Travel, and Travel seasoned that Learning for Employment. His Master-piece was an inward Observation of other Men, and an exact knowledge of Himself. His Address was with state, yet insinuating: His Discourse free, but weighed; his apprehension quick, but staid: His ready and present mind keeping its pauses of thoughts and expressions even with the occasion and the emergency: neither was his carriage more stiff and uncompliant, than his Soul. *Gundamore* could not fit King *James* so well as Sir *William* did *Charles* the Fifth, who in a rapture once cried, *He deserved to BE a King, as well as to REPRESENT One: and one day as he came to Court, Yonder is the Man I can deny nothing to.*

*Apollonius* coming to *Vespasian's* Gate betimes in the morning, and finding him up, said, *Surely this man will be Emperour, he is up so early.* This Statesman must needs be eminent, who was up the earliest of all the English Agents in discovering Affairs, and latest in following those Discoveries. Three sorts of Embassadors the Emperour *Charles* observed were sent him from *England*; the first was *Wolfsey*, whose great Train promised much, as his great Design did nothing: The second was *Morisin*, who promised and did much: The third *Paget*, who promised nothing, and did all. What Scholars observed then of a three Divines, that a Statesman hath set down of our three Agents: the first was words without matter; the second was matter without words; the third was words and matter. Quick and regular were his Dispatches, when

a Luther  
Melancthon,  
Carlostadius.

*the Life of Sir William Paget.*

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when *Secretary*, pleasing all with his proceedings, even when he could not but displease many with his Decision. It was much none went away ever sad from *Augustus* an Emperour, it was more none was dismissed ever in discontent from Sir *William Paget* a *Secretary of State*. The King was not happier in his abilities to serve him, than he was in their dexterity who waited upon him: *These are my eyes*, (saith the discreet man) *these are my right hands*. For his service he would chuse a Man before a Scholar, a Traveller before a Home-bred: *Parts* he preferred in his Office, a *Presence* in his Chamber; *Parts* and *Presence* in the Closet.

*Beecher* was King *Henry* the Eighth his Map of *England*, (so well skilled he was in our English Customs, Trade, Improvements, Situation, Interest and Inclination) *Paget* was his Table of *Germany*, *France*, and *Rome*, to exact an account could he give of their Situation, Havens, Forts, Passages, Provision, Policies, Revenue and Strength: secured he was, in King *Henry's* changeable times, by his forein Travels and Employments. Escape he did King *Edward's* Reformation, by his Moderation and peaceableness: He complied with *Queen Mary's* Zeal, out of conscience; and submitted to *Queen Elizabeth's* Authority, out of Duty and Allegiance: being one of those moderate men that looked upon the Protestants primitive Foundations of *Faith*, Duty and Devotion, as safe: and on the Papists superstructures, as not damnable: Whose life was *Grotius* and *Cassander's* Wish, An Accommodation to the Christian World. Privacy is the Favourites Inrerest, and concealment his care: Sir *William* wished for success for

*The Creed,*  
*The Lords Prayer,*  
*and the Commandments.*

*Henry* his Masters sake, but dissembled it for his own: He is the *man*, that loseth neither his Privacy, nor his Reputation. Quiet was his temper, though noble his resolution: Troublesome is a witty man on a stage, as a Monkey in a cup-board of glass. Placed, sweet and composed is the prudent Man, like an Intelligence in the Heavens, or a god in the World. Up he went, but by just degrees; that if down he must, he might do so with the same leisure and safety.

When he had managed the Secrets and Negotiations of *Henry* the Eighth, with Dexterity and Faithfulness; the Lands of King *Edward* the Sixth, with Skill and Improvement; the Purse of *Queen Mary* & *Queen Elizabeth*, with good Husbandry and Care; When he had lived enough to his *Countries*, to his *Sovereigns*, to his *Friends*, and the *Publique Good*; he retired to live to *Himself* first, and then to his *GOD*.

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir Richard Moris.*

e Saith  
Sir Rich.  
Baker.  
f Per ce-  
lebrata  
Anglo-um  
Gynastia  
antes ex-  
culit. **S**IR *Richard Moris* born in *Essex* (or in *Oxfordshire*) was brought up at *Eaton*, *Cambridge*, and *Inns of Court*. He was so skilful in *Latine* and *Greek*, and in the *Common and Civil Law*, that he was often employed *Embassador* by *King Henry* the VIII, and *Edward* the VI, unto *Charles* the Fifth *Emperour*, and other *Princes of Germany*;

*Germany*; which he discharged with all honesty and ability. After the death of King *Edward* the VI, he was forced to fly beyond the Seas; and returning out of *Italy*, died at *Strasburgh*, on the 17. of *March*, 1556.

Three things made a compleat man in those days: 1. A publick School, where their School-fellows *Genius's* instruct much more than their School-masters pains; where a man attains at once to *Learning*, *Prudence*, and a *Spirit*: 2. A comprehensive insight into Tongues and Sciences; by the first whereof they unlocked *Mens*, and by the second, *Things*: 3. Travel, where they saw what they read, and made that a solid apprehension and observation, which was before but a fluid notion and a floating imagination: Our Knight was happy in all Three, but so compleat in the last, that he had the Virtues and Port of a *German*, as if he had been a Native of that place; and loathed the Vices, as if he had never seen it: Thereby he could get so far within that people, that he saw all their Intrigues; and be yet so reserved, that they could see nothing. The ablest *German* Divines guided his conscience, and the greatest Statesmen his Negotiation. He kept under the Emperour by the Princes, the *French* by the Emperour, and the Pope by them all. So much service did the good Knight to King *Henry* the Eighth, in his Wife *Katharine's* Case; and so much the whole Kingdom, in that of Religion; that he equally fled *Queen Mary's* wrath, and her Religious Persecutions. His strong parts set off his comprehensive knowledge; his resolute spirit, his parts; and his presence and mode, *all*: King *Henry* always chusing an Embassador that might represent



Henry his Person as well as his power : And Sir Richard  
 8. had his *Hegh* in *Germany*, as well as *Henry* in *Eng-  
 land*.

His knack was his *foresight*, which made that an  
*Adviso* in *England*, which was hardly a known de-  
 sign there: saying usually, *His Master maintained*  
*not Embassadors so much to write Histories as Pro-*  
*phecies.* The *Trejans* sent to condole with *Cesar*  
 for his Son that was dead two years ago; he thank-  
 ed them, and condoled with them for *Heñor*, that  
 was slain as many hundred years. Our Embassador  
 in *France* adviseth Sir *Richard* of a Battel fought a  
 Week before, and he in answer makes a large dis-  
 course of the Battel of *Spurs* fought many years  
 before; and adds, *I and You are not here to tell old*  
*stories.*

Two things, he said, he was troubled with, *Envy*  
 and *Malice*; and two Remedies he had against them,  
*Patience* and *Resolution.* Always he wheeled with  
 the first Mover, yet he had private motions of his  
 own: Singular, but modest: So faithful he was,  
 that he would declare his Opinion; yet so wary,  
 that he would not stand in it against his Prince;  
 knowing, that if he did it out of prudence, he ren-  
 dered the Princes Ability suspected; if out of his  
 own sagacity, it blemished his Integrity; Both  
 equal inconveniencies, to intimate the Master Una-  
 ble, or the Servant Corrupt.

When others pressed for an over-strict Reforma-  
 tion, this Gentleman urged, That *Distempers in the*  
*Body and State are reduced by Physicians and Politici-*  
*ans not to what they should be, but to what they can be;*  
*Freedom, Moderation, and Impartiality are the best*  
*tempers of Reforming Counsels and Endeavours:*  
 What

*the Life of Sir Richard Morisin.*

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8.

What is acted singularly, must offend more than it pleaseth; a study to gratify some men, being a likely way to injure all: The novelty of excessive and immoderate undertakings giving not so much content to the vulgar of a present Age, as the mischiefs of them give offence to the Generations of future times.

And Melancthon's discourse to him was to this purpose: That the Reformation of hearts should go before that of Churches; and men should try that on their own hearts which they design upon the Church: For Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publique Reformation to such private designs as must needs hinder the publique Good. It would be an easie matter for Favourites to reform Kings Palaces (saith Malvezzi) if it were not a hard thing to reform their own houses.

One asked him, Why his Embassie tended so much more to preserve his Majesties Dominions, than to augment them? And he replied what is fathered on Henry the Fourth, That getting is a Chance, but Keeping is a Wit.

After a long residence abroad, he thought of an Habitation at home; which he no sooner began at Coshobery in Hertfordshire, but King Edward going out of the World, the good Knight was forced out of his house and the Kingdom.

He was the first that said, Policy is not the learning of some Rules, but the Observation of Circumstances, with a present minde in all junctures of affairs; which (he would say) was their happiness only, that had good memories: For when one said he had seen much, heard more, and read most: You were (said he) a more compleat man, could you say, I remembered as much.

Secre-

Henry Secretary *Walsingham* would say, *My Lord, stay a little, and we shall have done the sooner*: Secretary Cecil said, *It shall never be said of me, That I will defer till to morrow what I can do to day*: And Sir Richard Morison, *Give me this day, and take the next your self*. Noble was his Resolution, when he said, *He scorned to take pensions from an Emperour of Germany, since an Emperour of Germany took pay of the King of England*.

His stature was something tall, and procured him reverence; his temper reserved, and commanding security to his person and his business. He that knoweth to speak well, knoweth also where he must hold his peace, said the old Græcian: *Think an hour before you speak, and a day before you promise*, said this English-Roman. With Ferdinand the Emperour he prevailed for the Popes assistance, and with Maximilian for his Masters against the French.

Never was his Master Henry so high, as to set him above treating; nor his Sovereign Edward so low, as to make him afraid of War; although he looked upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their Limbs. *I have (said a great Prince) greater confidence in my Reason than in my Sword; and am so resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither my self nor others should use the second, if once we rightly understood one another*. It's humane to use Reason rather than Force, and Christian to seek peace and ensue it.

Christian was his Temper, and Religious his carriage; so charitable, that he relieved the Confessors, as though he had been none himself; and so constant,

*the Life of Dr. Nicholas Wotton.*

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8.

constant, that he continued his sufferings, as if there were no other. Much good did his Countenance do the Exiles in the Courts of Foreign Princes; and more his Authority at the Troubles of Frankfurt, where his Motive to love, was the hatred of the Enemy.

*Observations on the Life of Doctor  
Nicholas Wotton.*

**N**icholas Wotton, Son to Sir Robert, born at Bockton-malherb in the County of Kent, (a place so named, from some noxious and malignant Herbs growing therein) was bred in Oxon, Doctor of the Civil Laws; and was the first Dean of the two Metropolitan Churches of Canterbury and York. He was Privy-Counsellour to four successive Sovereigns, viz.

|      |                     |       |                |
|------|---------------------|-------|----------------|
| King | { Henry the VIII. } | Queen | { Mary. }      |
|      | { Edward the VI. }  |       | { Elizabeth. } |

He was employed thirteen several times in Embassies to Foreign Princes.

Five times to Charles the Fifth Emperour.

Once to Philip his Son, King of Spain.

Once to Francis the First, King of France.

Once to Mary Queen of Hungary, Governess of the Netherlands.

Twice to William Duke of Cleve.

Once to renew the peace between England, France and Scotland, Anno 1540.

Again

'Henry  
8.

Again to the same purpose at *Cambray*, Anno  
1549.

Once sent Commissioner with others to *Eden-*  
*burgh* in *Scotland*, 1560.

He refused the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*,  
proffered him in the first of *Queen Elizabeth*. He  
died *January* 26. in 1566. being about seventy  
years of Age, and was buried in *Canterbury*.

*Justinian* reduced the Law of Nations to one Bo-  
dy, and Doctor *Wotton* comprehended them in one  
Soul: Publick was his spirit, and such his thoughts:  
That profession that was designed for the settle-  
ment of the Worlds commerce, was now confined  
to a Bishops Court, a Churchwardens Oath, or a  
rich man's will; when this excellent Person first  
enlarged it as far as the Sea, in the Cases of the Ad-  
miralty; and as wide as the world, in the Negoti-  
ations of Embassie. Others were trusted with the  
Interest of Princes, He with that of Nations. He  
that saw him, would think he could deny nothing,  
so modest Scholar-like his looks! He that heard  
him would judge he would grant nothing, so unde-  
niable his Reason! so irrefragable his Arguments!  
His speech was as ready as his resolution was present.  
His apprehension quick and clear: his method ex-  
act: his reading vast and indefatigable: his memo-  
ry (strong as to things, though not to words) tena-  
cious: his elocution copious and flowing. What fir  
*Henry Wotton* said of fir *Philip Sidney*, I may say of  
*Nicholas Wotton*, That he was the very measure of con-  
gruity. What that Counsellour writ to the French  
King in a great sheet (when he required his advice)  
that our Doctor advised our Princes in several Dis-  
courses, viz. *Modus*, a mean, Sir, (said King *Henry* to  
him,

him, now not forty years old) *I have sent a Head by Cromwel, a Purse by Wolsey, a Sword by Brandon, and I must now send the Law by You, to treat with my Enemies.*

Henry  
8.

*Augustus* lamented for *Varus* his death, because, he said, *Now I have none in my Countrey to tell me the truth: With Wotton went off that faithfulness that Peasants have, and Princes want: None more resolute abroad, none more bold and down-right at home. His plain dealing saved King Henry some Treasure, King Edward the North, Queen Mary Calice for a while, and Queen Elizabeth her Faith and Crown: A Virtue that made him the Overseer of most Foreign Ministers Actions abroad, and one of the sixteen Executors of King Henry's Will and Testament at home. Gardiner was sly and close, but Wotton prudent and wise. In the Treaty at Calice there are two things remarkable of our Doctor, 1. That he first insisted on the peace with France, before that of Scotland. 2. He would say, Rather give away Calice, than reserve a Right in it fifteen years hence: for never was the Interest of any Nation so constant, as to keep a promise half so many years.*

Indeed Sir *William Cecil's* reach went no further for a Layman, than Doctor *Wotton* for a Churchman: Therefore they two were pitched upon for the management of the Intrigues and Affairs of Scotland.

Many envied this happy man, but none could be without him, who was the Oracle of both Laws at Councils; who could sum up the merit of any Cause, recollect the circumstances of any Affair; and shew Tables of Trade, Commerce, Situations, Counsels, Revenue, Interest, &c. the readiest and exactest of any in England.

But

Henry

8.



But all these Qualifications must die, and he with them : leaving it as his Advice,

First, *To Church-men : To understand well the Common and Canon-Law, as well as the Divine ; by the first whereof, they might understand their right ; as by the second, they informed themselves and others of their duty.*

Secondly, *To Statesmen : Travel and History.*

Thirdly, *To Embassadors : 1. A good Pulse : 2. A noble and sober Train : 3. Constant correspondence and observation : 4. A happy medley of Debonairness and Complacency, Reservedness and Gravity : with the first he had taken Princes, and with the last Statesmen : the one discovers others, while the other conceals you. 5. Resolution : I made often (said he as if I would fight, when they knew my calling allowed me onely to speak : 6. Civility : That man (said the Prince of Orange) is a great bargain, who is bought with a bare salvation.*

Fourthly, *To Privy-Counsellours : That excellent caution, Always to speak last, and be Masters of other strength before they displayed their own.*

This was that rare man that was made for all business, so dexterous ! This was he that was made for all times, so complying ! This was he who lived Doctor of both Laws, and died Doctor of both Gospels ; the Protestant, which had the Statesmans part of this man ; and the Popish, who had the Christian. *Noah* \* had two faces, because he was a son of the old world before the flood, and a father of the new one after : *Wotton* sure had four faiths, who was a Favourite in King Henry's days, of the Counsel in King Edward's, of the Juncto in Queen Mary's, and the g<sup>d</sup> second Statesman in Queen Elizabeth's.

With

\* Being  
called  
Bifrons.

2 Cecil  
was the  
first.

*the Life of Sir Thomas Wriothesly.*

III

With these two things of this person, I shall conclude :

Henry  
8.

1. His refusal of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, which argued his extraordinary humility or wariness.

His admission of Doctor *Parker*, as Dean of *Canterbury*, to that See; which argueth the legality of his calling, there being no circumstance with any likelihood omitted, by so exquisite a Civilian as Doctor *Wotton*; or forgotten, by so great an Antiquary as Doctor *Parker*.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Wriothesly, the first Earl of Southampton.*

**T**homas Wriothesly Knight of the Garter, was born in *Barbican*, Son to *William Wriothesly* (descended from an Heir general of the antient Family of the *Dunsterviles*) King of Arms. He was bred in the University of *Cambridge*, as it appears by Mr. *Ascam's* Letter unto him, writing in the behalf of the University, when he was Lord Chancellor.

*Quamobrem Academia cum omni literarum ratione, ad te unum conversa (cui uni quam universis aliis se chariorem intelligit) partim tibi ut alumno suo, cum auctoritate imperat: partim, ut patrono summo, demisse & humiliter supplicat, &c.*

His



Henry  
S.



His University-Learning prepared him for the Law, & his indefatigable study of the Law promoted him to the Court; where, for his Honour, he was created Baron of *Titchbourn*, Jan. 1. 1543. and for his Profit, the next year, May 3. Lord Chancellor; a place he discharged with more Applause than any before him, and with as much Integrity as any since him: *Force (he said) awed, but Justice governed the World.*

It is given to that Family to be Generous and Resolute: This incomparable Person was under a cloud in King *Edward's* time, for being a rigidly-conscientious Papist; and his great Grandchild suffered in King *Charles* his time, for being a sincerely honest Protestant: Yet so revered was the first of this Family by his Adversaries, that he was made Earl of *Southampton*; and so honoured was the other by his Enemies, that they courted him to their party. Integrity hath a Majesty in its full, and a Glory in its lowest Estate; that is, always feared, though not always loved.

No Nobleman understood the Roman Religion better than the first Earl of *Southampton*; and none the Protestant better than the last, the Right Honourable and truly Excellent *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, and Treasurer of England.

His Court, he said, gave Law to the Kingdom; His constant and exact Rules, to the Court; and his Conscience guided by the Law of the Kingdom, to his Rules. Affable and acceptable he was, as *More*; quick and ready, as *Wolsey*; incorrupt, as *Egerton*; apprehensive and knowing, as *Bacon*. Twice were all Cases depending in Chancery dispatched; in Sir *Thomas Wriothesley's* time,

1538. and in Sir *Thomas More's* 1532. Truly did he judge *intra Cancellor*, deciding Cases with that Uprightness, that he wished a Window to his Actions, yea and his Heart too. King *Philip* was not at leisure to hear a poor Womans Cause; Then, said she, *cease to be King*. My Lord over-hearing a servant putting off a Petitioner, because his Master was not at leisure, takes him up roundly, and replies, *You had as good say, I am not at leisure to be Lord Chancellor*. Two things he would not have his Servants gain by, his Livings and his Decrees; The first, he said, were Gods, the second the Kings, (whom every man, he said, sold, that sold Justice:) *To honest men, your places, said he, are enough; to Knaves, too much*. Every Week he had a Schedule of his own Accounts, and every Month of his Servants. *Cato's* greatest Treasure was his Account-Book of *Sicily*; and my Lord of *Southampton's* was his Table of the Chancellours place. A great Estate was conferred upon him, which he took not in his own name, to avoid the odium of Sacrilege; as great an Inheritance he bought, but in others names, to escape the malice of Envy.

He loved a bishop, he said, to satisfy his Conscience; a Lawyer, to guide his Judgment; a good Family, to keep up his Interest; and an University, to preserve his name.

Full of Years and Worth, he died 1550. at *Lincoln-place*, and was buried at *St. Andrews Church* in *Holborn*, where his Posterity have a Diocess for their Parish, and a Court for their Habitation.

## Observations on the Life of Sir John Fitz-James.

**J**ohn Fitz-James Knight, was born at Redlinch in Somersetshire, of Right Antient and Worthy Parentage, bred in the study of our Municipal Laws; wherein he proved so great a Proficient, that by King Henry the Eighth he was advanced to be Chief Justice of the Kings Bench. There needs no more to be said of his Merit, save that King Henry the Eighth preferred him; who never used either Duncce or Drone in Church or State, but Men of Ability and Activity. He sat thirteen years in his place, demeaning himself so, that he lived and died in the Kings Favour. He sat one of the Assistants when Sir Thomas More was arraigned for refusing the Oath of Supremacy, and was shrewdly put to it, to save his own Conscience, and not incur the Kings Displeasure: For Chancellour Audley, supreme Judg in that place, (being loath that the whole burthen of More's condemnation should lie on his shoulders alone) openly in the Court asked the Advice of the Lord Chief Justice

*\* Mr. More in the printed Life of his Grandfather Sir Thomas More,* Fitz-James, Whether the Indictment were sufficient or no? To whom our Judge warily returned, My Lords all, by St. Gillian, (which was ever his Oath) I must \* needs confess, That if the Act of Parliament be not unlawful, then the Indictment is not in my conscience sufficient.

He died in the Thirteenth Year of King Henry

the

the Eighth; and although now there be none left at Redlinch of his Name and Family, they flourish still at Lewson in Dorsetshire, descended from *Alured Fitz-James* brother to this Judge, and to *Richard Bishop of London*.

*Henry*  
8.

The two main Principles that guide humane Nature (saith Judge Dodderidge) are Conscience and Law: By the former we are obliged in reference to another world, by the latter in relation to this. Priests and Judges are the Dispensers of these Principles: No Prince more unhappy in his Priests than King *Henry* (whose unhappiness it was, that all the juggle, prevarication, and imposture of his time was in the Pulpit,) none more happy in his Judges, (to whose Reason his People were more willing to submit, than they were to hearken to his Clergy's Instruction) among whom none more renowned than *Sir John Fitz-James*, who was so fearful of the very shadow and appearance of corruption, that it cost his chief Clerk his place but for taking a Tankard, after a signal Cause of 1500 £ a year, wherein he had been serviceable, though not as a Bribe, but as a Civility. *Cæsar* would have his Wife without suspicion of lewdness, and *Fitz-James* his servants without the appearance of corruption. What was Law alwayes, was then a Resolution, Neither to deny, nor defer, nor sell justice. When our Judge came upon the Bench, he knew no more then *Melchisedech* or *Levi*, Father or Mother, neither Friend nor Interest: for when his Cousin urged for a kindness, Come to my House (saith the Judge) I will deny you nothing; come to the Kings Court and I must do you justice: And when the Attorney-General bespake his favour in a pub-

Henry 8. lick Cause, *Trouble not your self*, (said he) *I'll do the King right*: The King is cast, the Attorney expostulates; the Judge satisfieth him, *That he could not do his Majesty Right, if he had not done justice.*

His Prudence so tempered his zeal for his Sovereign, that he over-strained not the Prerogative to bring in fears and jealousies of Tyranny on the one hand; and his Integrity so balanced his Popularity, that he never depressed it to broach bold opinions and attempts of Liberty, on the other; complying with none of those humours that an imaginary dread of oppression, or a dangerous presumption of freedom may transport to irregular excesses either for the one, or against the other.

As his Majesty was secured by his Loyalty, so his Subjects were by his Patience, a Virtue he carried with him to the Bench, to attend each circumstance of an Evidence, each allegation of a Plea, each plea in a Cause; *hearing what was impertinent, and observing what was proper.* His usual saying (as Sergeant Mandevil reports it) being, *We must have two souls, as two sieves, one for the Bran, the other for the flour; the one for the Gross of a Discourse, the other for the Quintessence.*

The same day that there was no Cause to be tried in the Chancery in Sir Tho. More's time, there were but three in the Kings Bench, in Sir John Fitz-James his time: the reason whereof some imagine was Cardinal Wolsey's extraordinary power (that engrossed all Causes to his Legantine Court;) others know it was the Judges Integrity, who was too honest to allow, as that Age was too plain to contrive, delays and obstructions.

<sup>XII</sup>  
*Lewis the Eleventh* of France would say, when he was advited to take Revenge of those that had affronted him before he came to the Crown, *That it became not the King of France to revenge the Injuries done to the Duke of Orleans.* A Person that had notoriously wronged Sir *John* when a Templer, in the case of his Chamber, was to be tried before him for his whole Estate when a Judge; the Adversaries among other shifts made use of this old Quarrel; whereupon Sir *John* said, *It doth not become a Judge upon the Bench to revenge a wrong done in his Chamber.*

*Henry*  
8.

Two things upheld him in those boysterous times: 1. Silence, 2. Patience: both wary Virtues that seldom endanger their Owner, or displease their Superiours. The People of those times would live and die with the Pope and Council; and this Judge, with the King and Parliament: The grand Article of his Faith was, *I believe as the Church beleives*: and the great Rule of his Practice was, *I will live as the Law directs.*

He was a tried Man, whose Faith and Honour was above his Life and Fortune; whose Generosity was above that first temptation of *Money*, as his Spirit was above the second of *Danger*: No fear here of delivering up Priviledges to day, for fear of the King; or Prerogative to morrow, for fear of the Subject: No, an unbias'd Temper between both, make up this honest man; who came on to preferment with great Expectations, and went off with great Applause: being one of the three men of whom it is said, *That because they never pleased their Master in doing any thing unworthy, they never displeased him in doing any thing that is just.* When

*Henry*  
8  
base compliance goeth off with the contempt of  
those it hath humoured, a Noble Resolution comes  
off with the Reverence of those it hath discon-  
tented.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Wil-  
liam Molineux.*

**S***ir William Molineux Junior, Descendent from Sir William Molineux Knight, of Seston in Lancashire, flourished under King Henry the Eighth, being a man of great command in Lancashire; bringing the considerable strength thereof to the seasonable succour of the Duke of Norfolk, with whom he performed signal service in Flodden-Field. The Image of whose mind, he was as well as the Portrait of his body. Peculiar was our Knight for nobly forgiving his Enemies if reconcilable; and refusing ignobly to be revenged of them, though obstinate: for honestly would he betray the Villanies of them, that dishonestly offered to betray them to him; as Fabricius delivered up to Pyrrhus, though a sworn Enemy, the Physician that would have Poysoned him; Lewis the 11th. discovered to the Duke of Burgundy, though his mortal Foe, the conspiracy that would have ruined him; And Queen Elizabeth of England, with King Philip of Spain, gave Henry the great of France, (when Friends with neither of them) notice of two Plots upon his person, that would have ruined him.*

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It is confessed on all sides that the Scots lost the day, by not keeping their Ranks, but not agreed on the cause thereof. *Buchanan* (who commonly makes the too much Courage of his Country-men, the cause of their being conquered) imputes it to their indiscrete pursuing of the English routed at the first: Others say, They did not break their Ranks, but were broken, unable to endure the *Lancashire* Archers, and so forced to sunder themselves. In this Battel the Scottish King and chiefest Gentry were slain, the English losing scarce any; the Scots scarce any but of prime note. The King afterward wrote his Gratulatory Letter to *Sir William Molineux*, in form following.

**T***rusty and Well Beloved, We greet you well: And understand as well by the Report of Our Right Trusty Cousin and Counsellour, the Duke of Norfolk, as otherwise, what acceptable Service You amongst Others lately did Us by your valiant Towardness in the assisting of Our said Cousin against Our Enemy, late King of Scots; and how courageously you, as a very hearty loving Servant acquitted your self for the overthrow of the said late King, and disiressing of his Malice and Power, to Our great Honour, and the advancing of your no little Fame and Praise; for which We have good cause to favour and thank you, and so We full heartily do; and assured may you be, that We shall in such effectual wise remember your said Service in any your reasonable pursuits, as you shall have cause to think the same right well employed to Our comfort and weal hereafter. Given under Our Signet, at Our Castle at Windsor, the seven and twentieth of November.*



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*mutatis mutandis*, were sent unto Sir Edward Stanley, and some other men of principal note in Lancashire and Cheshire.

There is more in the Education than the Birth (though that be Noble too) of this Gentleman: much Generous Blood sparkled in his Veins, more Arts and Sciences thronged in his Soul: A learned Prince brought up a learned Gentry, the most hopeful of whom think themselves as much obliged to imitate his Virtues, as the most degenerate were inclined to practise his Vices. Four excellent Artists were at once entertained in his Fathers House:

1. A compleat Grammarian and Linguist, Parker.

2. An exact Mathematician and Historian, Calvinus:

3. A skilful Musitian, Palleviceno.

4. An active Dancing-master and Souldier.

The Latine Tongue then wearing out its Barbarism, he spake and writ elegantly: Cicero's Works he kenned particularly: Plutarch's Lives and Morals (that Book which, as Gaza said, would furnish the World, if Learning were lost) he epitomized punctually: The active and practical part of Geometry, he studied intently. And, as the complaisance of his Nature and sweetness of his Temper, he added to these severer studies, those more airy of Musick, Poetry, and Heraldry.

*Si ad naturam eximiam eruditio accesserit tum demum singulare quoddam existere solet.* This Noble Nature, advanced by this Heroick Education, must needs do Wonders, as it did: first, In the University:

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city : where his Company was choice, his Carriage even and staid, his time exactly observed and prudently spent : secondly, abroad : where his Converse was wary, his Conduct Noble and Plausible, his observations and exercises manlike and knowing : Thirdly, at Court : where his presence was graceful, his discourse solid, digested, distinct, and clear ; much improved by reading, more by travelling, most by conference with those that speak well : Fourthly, in the Country : where his Hospitality was renowned, his Equity and Prudence beloved, and his Interest large and commanding. None pleased the King at Court more, such his Learning to satisfy him, such his Debonairness to delight him ; (for as Cardinal *Wolsey*, so Sir *William Molineux* got in with King *Henry* the Eighth by a Discourse out of *Aquinas* in the morning, and a Dance at night .) None served him better in the Country : Such his obligations upon Tenants and Neighbours, that he had six thousand men at command : such his prudence and justice, that there were more differences ended in his Parlour, than in *Westminster-Hall* : such his care and watchfulness, that no Treason stirred, but his Agents discovered, and his Militia was at an hours warning to suppress it : The Idea of the English Gentleman ! In Favour at Court ! In Repute in the Country ! At once Loved and Feared !

Four things he took special care of : 1. That the Poor might have their stated Alms. 2. That the Priests might enjoy their known Dues. And 3. That his Tenant might be so well used, that he might thrive ; and but so well, that he should not be idle.

4. That every Body should be employed : saying,

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*He had rather they should be busie, though doing nothing to the purpose, at the charge of his Purse; than that they should be idle, doing nothing at all, at the charge of their own pretious time. In a word, he lived in all Capacities a publick Good, and died a common Loss; Leaving in his Family that best Legacy, A good Example; and his Country that lasting Monument, A good Name, for two things that he hated; 1. Depopulating inclosures; 2. Unworthy Inhancements of Rents: For he died with this Advice to his Son, Let the Underwoods grow. The Tenants are the supports of a Family, and the Commonalty are the strength of the Kingdom. Improve thriftily, but force not violently either your Bounds or Rents above your fore-Fathers. His Popularity never failed of being called to the Parliament, nor his Activity of being useful there: None understood better how to move, to press, to quit, to divert, to escape, to watch and mould a business: None knew better the confederacy of Contrivers, Speakers, Sticklers, Dividers, Moderators, and the I. & No-Men, their Method & Correspondence: None more patient and industrious, when a lower Faction was firmer in conjunction, and a few that were stiff, tired out many more moderate. He had no easiness to be imposed upon, no weakness to be deluded, no low Interest to be corrupted by fond hopes or fair promises of Preferment, to wave the very pinch of a dispute; no pleasure or vanity to be debauched, while the vigilant Faction steals a Vote worth a Kingdom; no sloath nor neglect, to be surprized; no vanity of discourse, to lose his Master, no partiality to be biassed, no discontent to satisfy, no passion to misguide: As one that*

*hated*

hated nothing, but what was Dishonest; feared nothing, but what was Ignoble; and loved nothing, but was Just and Honourable: having a care of his Virtue, as lying in his power, but not of Fortune, as lying in the power of Superiours, from whom he could only by deserving command a favour; he being of Plato's opinion, that a mans mind is the Chariot; Reason the Coach-man; Affections the Horses; desire of Honour the Whips; both exciting to goe forward, and awing to be exact: Honour, always keeping up curiously the honoured person in an height of action, that keeps an even pace with admiration; evenness and constancy being the Crown of Virtue.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir William Fitz-James.*

**H**IS Judgement in Parliament brought him to the notice, and his Activity & prowess in the Wars recommended him to the service of King Henry. The Bishops pleaded for the Catholique Religion, the People for a Reformation; Sir William offered his Opinion for a mean between both; That since it was unreasonable to tie up Mankind in blind obedience one toward another, and impossible to run through all Difficulties and Controversies our own selves, (so much Time and Money must be spent in such an Undertaking, so many Languages learned, so many Authors read, so many Ages looked into, so many Faiths examined, so many Expositors conferred, so many Contradictions reconciled, so many Countries travelled, for  
any

Henry 8. *any considerable satisfaction) to believe all, is inconsistent; to neglect all, is impious: There remains no other way for the Laicks, but to recollect and stick to the most Common, Authentick, and Universal Truths, tending to Virtue and Godliness; apart from what is doubtful and controverted, and tending only to strife and perplexity; and by these to live our selves, and examine all other pretensions whatever; there being no part of Religion but what hath Virtue and Grace as its Foundation and Design: A way that would keep men from Atheism, under a sense of Religion; from endless controversies, in the solid practice of Virtue; from fatal Divisions, in peace and concord. Let us (said he) establish and fix these Catholique and Universal Notions, and they will settle our Souls, and not hinder us to believe whatsoever is faithfully taught by the Church, or submit to what is authoritatively enjoined by the State. So that whether the Eastern, Western, Northern, or Southern Teachers, &c. and particularly whether my Lord of Rochester, or Luther, &c. be in the Right, we Laicks may so build upon those Catholicks and infallible Guards of Religion, as whatsoever superstructures of Faith be raised, these Foundations may support them.*

This Discourse opened a Door to the Reformation intended, and shut out all those prejudices it might lie under from the State, and Religion of Fore-Fathers, &c.

Hereupon Sir William is invited to Court; and when the air and softness of that place suited not his more severe and stirring Temper, he is promoted to Authority first by Land, and then by Sea; where none was more watchful in the War

between U. and France, none so active in those between U. and Scotland : With thirty six Ships he gave Law to the narrow Seas, as *Peynz* with forty more did to the Main : There was not a serviceable man belonging to him, but he knew by name ; It being his Rule, *That none fought well, but those that did it for a fortune.*

While he watched the Coast of France, he discovered twelve French Ships, in which the Archbishop of *Glasco*, and divers others of Quality were, (whom the Duke of *Albany* had sent before him into Scotland ; ) these he chased to a shipwreck : and leaving a Squadron to shut up the French Havens, went along the French Coasts, landing in divers places, wasting the Country, till at last he came to *Treport*, a Town strongly situated, and garisoned with three thousand men, which yet he took ; and finding it not his Interest to dwell there, pillaged and burned it, going off with Success and Glory : Insomuch that King *Henry* joyned him with the Bishop of *Bath* in the Commission for the Treaty at *Paris* ; where such Articles were agreed on touching a Marriage with the Princess *Mary*, and the joynt Embassie to the Emperour, as spake Sir *William* as well seen in the state of Europe, as any particular Person in the seven Kingdoms of it : whereof one was, *That they should unite by all the Ties of Alliance, Friendship and Interest, against the growing Power of Austria, so far as that there should be no League, Correspondence, War or Peace, wherein they both should not be concerned.*

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From his Foreign Negotiations he returns to his home-services: and the next view we have of him is in the Parliament, bringing up with Sir Anthony Fitz - Herbert, a Bill against the Cardinal; who wished then, as Philip Duke of Burgundy did, that with Alexander he had Died young.

1. For encroaching upon his Sovereigns power by his Legantine Authority.

2. For treating between the Pope and the King of France, without his Master's privacy and consent; as likewise between Himself and the Duke of Ferrara.

3. For joyning Himself with his Majesty; saying, The King and I.

4. For swearing his Household-servants only to himself.

5. For speaking with the King, when infected with the Pox, pretending it was only an Imposthume.

6. For giving by prevention divers Benefices away, as Legate.

7. For receiving Embassadors before they came to the King: As also for opening all the Kings Letters, and taking an account of all Espials, concealing what he pleased

8. For carrying things with an high hand in the Privy Council.

9. For transporting Grain, and sending advertisements of the Kings Affairs abroad.

10. For taxing or alienating Religious mens lands, to the great decay of hospitality and charity.

11. For controuling the Nobility, and engrossing all Causes in his Jurisdiction.

12. For taking all ordinary Jurisdiction from them by prevention, and seizing their Estates, as he did

did all other Ecclesiastical persons upon their death.

13. For perswading the Pope by indirect practices to suppress Monasteries.

14. For passing Judgments without hearing, and reversing such Judgments as had duly passed.

15. For suspending the Popes pardons untill he was see'd.

16. For turning out his old Tenants.

17. For his general encroachments upon the Rights of Religious Houses, and the encroachments of Courts of Justice.

18. For saying to the Pope, in order to the obtaining of a Legantine power, to the indelible shame of the Church of England, That the Clergy of England were given in reprobum sensum.

19. For embezzling the Goods of the most wealthy Prelates that died in his time.

20. For bringing off his Servants from the Law against extortion, at York.

21. For dividing the Nobility.

22. For keeping as great state at Court, and exercising as great authority in the Country for purveyance, &c. as the King.

23. For forbidding petitions and purveyances within his Jurisdictions.

24. For engrossing all Copy holds within his power, to his Lemans, Procurers, &c.

25. For altering the Market-prices set under His Majesties Hand and Seal.

26. For impressing his Hat under the King's Crown, in the Coyn at York.

27. For hindering the due course intended by visiting the Universities to suppress heresies.

28. For disposing of mens Estates and Proprieties at his pleasure.

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This Bill was aggravated most effectually, by three most pinching considerations: *Viz.* That the King's Honour was by him diminished: That the state of the Realm was by him decayed and discontented: That the course of Justice was by him obstructed. A great Undertaking, this! To bring down this lofty Prelate! (whom his Master created the \*King's Fellow, and his own pride made his Superiour) But as Wise as Great, if we regard the five Politick circumstances:

1. The Queen was engaged.
2. The People were oppressed.
3. The King was needy and covetous.
4. The Nobility were kept under.
5. The Clergy were harrassed: And all by this proud man: And at that juncture is he convened before the Parliament, and charged home by this excellent Knight, who never left him till he was humbled, as Justice Fitz-Herbert did not his servants, until they were reformed.

Neither did the Pope escape him abroad, better than the Cardinal at home: For his next action we find is a Declaration drawn by him, *Jo. Fitz-Warren, Tho Audley*, and Others, to Pope *Clement* the Seventh, expostulating his Delays, and conjuring his Dispatch in the Business of the King's Marriage.

Very serviceable he was to his Master in time of Peace, more in time of War, where he said as the great General did, that he never saw fear, but upon the back of his enemies: and particularly at the Insurrection 1536. where he cut off the Rebels Passes, distressed their Arms, and when they refused a Treaty but upon condition that *Ashe* their Leader

was

was pledged, advised an engagement with them out of hand; saying, *No English-man should be undervalued so far as to be an Hostage for a Villain*: and adding further (so good was his Intelligence) *That if they were not defeated speedily, the Scots and Germans would discover that they had but too much hand in this plot.*

For which his services, his Master raised him to the Admirallship of England, and the Earldom of Southampton; in which Quality he was one of the three Noblemen that managed the Business of Divorce between the King and *Anne of Cleve*, with that applause that made him Lord Privy-Seal, Nov. 14. Anno 1541. and the grand Examinant of the particulars in the Lady Katharin Howard's Case, a matter of great trust and secrecy; which he performed with a searching and deep Judgment, beyond that Ladies fear, and the King's expectation; as appears from the exact Account given under Sir *Tho. Audley* and his own hands, touching that matter.

Having provided for the Kings Safety at Home, he is One of Four that treat for his Intrest abroad, I mean upon the Borders of *Scotland*; where our excellent Persons dexterity was observed, in gaining that time by various Proposals for Peace, that served his Master to provide against the War; in the beginning whereof, the brave Lord died at *York*: so much esteemed, that for the Honour of his Memory his Standard was born in the Fore-ward, all this Expedition. A Person in whom prudence was even with activity, resolution with prudence; Success with Resolution, Moderation with Success; Honour and Favour with All.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Darcy.*

**S**ir *Thomas Darcy* was one of King *Henry the Eighth's* first Counsellours, so advanced (as most of his Fellows) not for Affection, but Interest; owing his Promotion to his own sufficiency, rather than his Masters favour. His Counsel was weighty at Home, his Assistance necessary Abroad; where in behalf of Pope *Julius the second* and the Emperour, he did more with 1500 Archers in a year for the balancing of *Europe*, than had been done before in an Age.

No Employment so dangerous at that time as that of the Warden of the West Marches of *Scotland*, none so noble for that Employment as my Lord, who was equally knowing and stout, and as once most feared, and most loved.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* made some Inroads into *Scotland*, the Lord *Darcy* seconds him: But being surprized by the Duke of *Albany's* preparations, he had as much Wit to make Peace, as he had Resolution to carry on the War. None knew better when to yield, none better when to conquer; so great a command had he over himself! so great over the Enemy, that he brought them to request his Wishes, and offer what was his Interest! With the Duke of *Surrey's* assistance by Land, and *Fitz-Williams* his by Sea, he reduced that Nation to a good Intelligence

ligence with Us that year, and a Peace the next; *Henry*  
a Peace (as he observed) that would be no longer 8.  
kept, than we had a Sword in our Hands, and an *W*  
Army on their Borders: For Conscience guided  
other parts of the World, ( he said ) and Fear Scot-  
land: Whence he invaded them duely once a year.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Howard.*

*S*ir Edward's Brother in Worth, as well as  
Blood: His Fathers Interest set him up, and  
his own Industry kept him so: All the Children  
were brought up for *Sea-Services*, this Gentleman  
for *Sea Commands*. He immediatly succeeds his  
younger Brother in the Admiralty; and wisely  
considering the advantage of the French Gallies  
in a calm, the number of their ships, the danger of  
their winds for us, if they blew South-west, desired  
of the King so many Souldiers as might man  
the ships, and make good the landing, wherewith  
he scoured the seas, and secured the Kings passage,  
with so much Honour, that he was able to assist his  
Father at Court, as much as *Wolfey* did *Fox*: his  
Gallantry being no less pleasing to his Master, than  
the other young Favourites Compliance; and both  
these young men had no less Art to govern his  
Prince, than he had to govern his Kingdom: These  
Arts, which all other Favourites use, being Hopes  
and Fears, which as Doors & Passages to the heart,  
are so guarded by their vigilancy, that they can

Henry 8. both let themselves in, and keep all others out :  
 8. the two Ends upon which the Thread of Govern-  
 ment depends. His Father is made Duke of *Norfolk*, and he Earl of *Surrey*; both are an eye-fore to the Cardinal, whose Fortune had no Superior in the Kings Favour, whose Ambition would endure no Equal. The Old Mans years and cares are fitted with a Retirement in the Country; the Young Mans ambition and activity, with a Government in *Ireland*, which he reduced as speedily to obedience (notwithstanding *Desmond's* Rebellion) as he had to civility, had it not been for *Wolsey's* Underminings, who endured no publick service but what he did himself; and would chuse rather that the Kingdom should perish by a Traytor, then be saved by a *Nobleman*. Beloved he was by that Country (where he left a Peace and a Parliament, *Anno 1521.*) so that they were loth to part with him : Wanted he was by the King, to scour the narrow seas for the French War; so that he must have him. The King hath made him formerly *His* Admiral, the Emperour upon his return from *England* makes him his; and with both their Commissions he lands in *Normandy*, wastes the adjacent Countries, (sparing only Religious Houses) takes and sacks *Morlais* in *Bretaign* (which he entered under the smoak) burns their ships, commands the sea, and sets the Emperour safe in *Spain*; advising his Majesty from thence to make a general Muster of his Subjects for his own satisfaction and others terrour, *March 27, 1522.* The troubles in *Scotland* required an able Head and a stout Heart, two Endowments that no man was more Master of than the Earl of *Surrey*, now Duke of *Nor-*

Norfolk (upon his beloved Fathers decease) whose Prudence toyled the Scots to deliver up their King, as his Prowess frightened them to yeild up themselves, as they did in that most exquisite Treaty, where the Earl of Worcester beat the *Bulls*, saith my noble Author, and our Duke catched the *Hare*.

A while after he is Earl Marshal, and Embassador to King Francis about those two grand points:  
1. That the French King should set up a Patriarch:  
2. That he should stop up all the payments made to Rome, with fair promises of that supply of men and money he then most wanted

When the Pope stuck to Queen Katherine, three things he advised the King to:

1. To teach the people that a general Council was above the Pope, and proclaim that he did appeal to it.

2. To fix upon every Church-Door the Dowagers Appeal to Rome, and the late Statute against it.

3. To confederate with the Kings of Hungary and Poland, the Estates of the Empire and the Hanse Towns. Three things that would settle his People at home, and strengthen his Interest abroad: To which he added the Statute of Succession, the Oath of Supremacy, Sir William Howard's Embassy to the Scotch King, the suppression of Religious Houses, the War in Ireland under Sir William Sheffington, and a thorow search into the bottom of the Rebellion in the North, by a connivance and delay.

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But all his Services could not quit him from suspicion, nor his popularity from envy : The Lord *Darcy* accuseth him to excuse himself, and *Cromwel* seconds him to secure himself: & (as unhappineſſes follow one another in the ſame order as one wave floweth after another ) his Nieces miſcarriages threatned his fall; but that the honeſt man (as appears from a Letter the whole Council ſent to Sir *William Paget* then reſident in *France*) was the firſt that declared againſt her, and put the King upon the moſt ſafe & honourable ways of trying her; which ſatisfied his Maſteſty ſo far, that he employed him as chief in the Treaty upon the Borders, and General in the War when that Treaty failed; Sir *Anthony Brown*, upon his Recommendation, being added to the Commiſſioners in *Scotland*, and to the Privy-Council in *England*, as Maſter of the King's Horſe, as Sir *John Gages* was Comptroller of his Houſe.

Several Perſons came to *London* for a Reward of their *Scotch* ſervices; this Duke gave the King a way and grave counſel, to beſtow upon them as much Land as they could win in *Scotland*.

But Greatneſs is fatal: The King is old and teſty, the Government diſordered & irregular, the Duke too ſtiſly honeſt to comply, the Council envy him; and in this Juncture his Wives paſſion diſcovereth his Minions, and they, to ſave themſelves, his privacies and ſecrets: His ſon, a man of a deep underſtanding, of a ſharp wit and great valour, bred up with *Henry Fitz-roy* at *Windſor*, and afterwards at *Paris*, was beheaded before his face. His Favourite *Mis. Holland* depoſed, That he ſaid many, looked for the Protectorſhip (when the King, who lived and moved

moved by Engines and Art, rather than by Nature, (should die) but he would carry it: That the King did not love him because he was loved by his Country; but he would follow his Fathers Lesson, which was, *That the less others set by him, the more he would set by himself*: That he had a Daughter for the King as well as others. &c. His Estate was great, his power greater; the King's occasions had swallowed up the one, and his Enemies ambition the other, notwithstanding his humble submission before the Council, and his many services to the King, had not his Majesties Death saved his Life.

As the deepest Hate is that which springs from violent Love, so the greatest Discourtesies oft arise from the largest Favours. It is indiscreet to oppress any, dangerous a Prince with Kindnesses; which being Fetters, are Treason on that Person: But Suspicion! Ah sad Suspicion! The Companion of the Weak or Guilty! The Cloud of the Mind! The Forfeiture of Friends! The check of Business! Thou that disposhest Kings to Tyranny! Husbands to Jealousie! Wise men to Irresolution and Melancholy! Trust, and you need never suspect: But Policy and Friendship are incompatible, I see; where *Norfolk* begs that Life from the Block at last, which he had ventured two and thirty times for his Sovereign. Who knows the Cares that go to Bed with Statesmen! Enemies Abroad, Treacheries at Home, Emulations of Neighbours, Dissatisfaction of Friends; Jealousies of most, Fear of all: unwelcome Inventions to palliate unjust Courses: fears of Miscarriage and Disgrace; with Projects of Honour and Plausibility, with restless thoughts how to discover, prevent, conceal, accommodate the Adversaries,



Henry 8. *farie's, or his own Affairs. Let us live, and love, and say, God help poor Kings!*

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Edward Stanley.*

**T**He Stanley's service to Henry the Seventh, was a sufficient pledge of their faithfulness to Henry the Eighth. Honour floated in Sir Edward's blood, and Valour danced in his spirits: His stirring childhood brought him to Henry the eighth's company, and his active manhood to his service. The Camp was his School, and his Learning was a Pike and Sword; therefore his Masters Greeting to him was when they met, *Hob, my Souldier!* In many places did he shew himself, but no where more than at *Flodden*, where his Archers fetched down the *Scots* from their fastness, and relieved the *English* from their distress; the Earl of *Surrey* beginning the Conquest, and *Sir Edward* crowning it: for which the King immediately set him high in his favour, and not long after, as high in the world, being made Baron *Stanley*, and Lord *Mounteagle*. Twice did he and *Sir John Wallop* land with only 800. Men in the heart of *France*, and four times did he and *Sir Tho. Lovell* save *Calis*; the first time, by Intelligence; the second, by a stratagem; the third, by valour and resolution; and the fourth, by hardship, patience, and industry.

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*the Life of Sir Thomas Bolen.*

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In the dangerous Insurrection by *Ashe* and Captain *Cobler*, his Zeal for the States welfare was above scruples, and his Army was with him before his Commission: for which dangerous piece of Loyalty, he asked pardon, and received thanks. Two things he did towards the discomfiture of the Rebels, (whose skill in Arms exceeded his Followers, as much as his policy did their Leaders) first, he cut off their provisions, and then secondly, sowed sedition among them, whilst his Majesty gained time by pretended Treaties to be even with them, drawing off the most eminent of the factions every day, and confounding the rest. He lived with this strange opinion, that the soul of Man was like the winding up of a Watch, and when the String was run out, the Man died, and there the Soul determined, but he died not so.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir  
Thomas Bolen.*

THE City enriched this Family, their Parts raised them: His Activity was as taking with King *Henry*, as his Daughters beauty. He was the Picklock of Princes: upon his word only would the King model his Designs, and upon his word alter them. He discovered *Ferdinand's* underhand-treaty with *Lewis*, and his design upon *Navarre*; and writ to his Master to press the ambiguous man to a conclusion, and to send o-

ver

Henry ver some treasure : for, said he, *the whole World*  
 S. *now to be sold*; adding the necessity of a peace, on  
 W at least a truce with *Scotland*. Sir *Thomas Bolen*  
 was against the Kings going to *France* in person be-  
 \* One of fore he had some more issue, or \* *Edmund de la Poer*  
 the house were dispatched out of the way. Sir *Thomas Ho-*  
 of York. ward was for it, it being dangerous to entrust so  
 Noble an Army, or so renowned an Action with  
 any subject, especially when *Maximilian* the Empe-  
 rour offered to serve under his Majesty as Lieute-  
 nant, and the Pope to attend him as Chaplain.  
 There is nothing more remarkable of Sir *Thomas*  
*Bolen*, than, 1. The Education of his Children;  
 his eldest son being bred at the Emperours Court,  
 his youngest with the Pope at *Rome*, and his  
 Daughter with *Queen Mary* in *France*. 2. His  
 Negotiation with the Lord *St. Jobus* in *Germany*,  
 where he over-reached the Emperour no less than  
 the Earl of *Worcester* did the *French King*: so cun-  
 ningly binding him, that he understood nothing  
 of our Affairs; and yet so narrowly sifting him,  
 that we knew all his Intrigues. Visible was all  
 the world to our State then, and invisible our State  
 to all the world.

From *Germany* he is sent with *Richard Samp-*  
*son*, D. H. to *Spain*, to set *Charles* as forward a-  
 gainst the *French*, as he had done *Maximilian*. His  
 service advanced him to the honour of a Barony  
 and a \* Viscountship, and the profit of the Treas-  
 ureship of the Household; and his success upon  
 the Malecontent Duke of *Bourbon* by Sir *Jo. Russel*,  
 who treated with him in Disguise, set him as high  
 in the Kings favour, as his Wife was; a virtu-  
 ous Lady, that was the Kings Friend, but not his  
 Mistress; his delight, and not his sin. In

\* He is  
 made  
 Viscount  
 Roch-  
 ford.

*the Life of Sir Thomas Bolen.*

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Henry

8.

In Spain so earnestly did our Sir *Thomas* mediate for the delivering up of the *French* Hostages, that (as *Sandoval* saith) *Charles* protested to him, that for his sake only he would relinquish his Demand for the restitution of *Burgundy*, in which the difficulty of the peace consisted: adding further, That for the same reason he would accept as well for *Francis* his two sons ransome, as his charge, what was freely offered, viz. 2000000 Crowns: and he with Sir *Robert Poyntz* make up that treaty, the great Arbitrators of *Europe*! at whose disposal Kings see their Crowns, and Kingdoms their Peace; in whose breast fate the fate of *Christendome*, by their voices to stand or fall.

As faithful is he to the King at home, though to his own prejudice, as he is serviceable abroad, to his honour: for when the people talked oddly out of envy to his Daughter, (now visibly in favour) and pity to *Queen Katherine*, Sir *Thomas* adviseth his Majesty to forbid his Daughter the Court, and declare that those proceedings were more to satisfie his Conscience, and secure Succession, than to gratifie any other more private respect: so far to his Daughters discontent, that she would not come near the King until her Father was commanded (not without threats) to bring her thither; who by representing the common danger to them both, obtained at length (saith my Lord *Herbert*) though not without much difficulty, the consent of his unwilling Daughter to return: where yet she kept that distance, that the King might easily perceive how sensible she was of her late dismissal. Sir *Thomas* would have married her to the Lord *Percy*, but the King and Cardinal forbid it; deterrin  
oldg

Henry 8. old Northumberland from it, and he his Son. Many Love-Letters between King Henry and Anne Boleyn are sent to Rome: one Letter between the Cardinal and his Confederates is fetched thence by Sir Thomas his Dexterity; who advised Sir Francis Bryan, then Resident, to get in with the Popes Closet-keepers Courtezan, and shew her the Cardinals hand, by which she might find out and copy his Expresses; as she did to his ruine, and our King's great satisfaction. To which Letter is annexed a Declaration under his hand, and the Lords Darcy, Mountjoy, Dorset, and Norfolk, of 44 Articles against the great Cardinal. His hand being now in, he must through: He adviseth the King to consult the Universities of Christendome: He goeth in person when made Earl of Wiltshire to the Pope, and contrives that a Declaration of the whole Kingdome in Parliament should follow him: which so amused his Holiness with our Earls stratagems, that he was asleep as it were until the state of England was quite altered. To this he adds the peace with France, and the interview with King Francis, where his Daughter is married privately, and her Brother made Viscount Rochford. Convening a Parliament to his mind at Black-Fryers, and advancing an Arch-bishop to his purpose in Canterbury, he is secure of the Church and of the Kingdom; whereof the first hallowed the action, & the second confirmed it. I say nothing of the bird, the egge is bad, and left by the hard hearted and Orstredg posterity in the Sand: thinking it more engenuous to confess that the scandal of it is not to be answered, than to bustle and keep

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coil, and twist new errors with old, falling to  
*Scylla* for fear of *Charybdis*, for fear of the absur-  
dicie that dropped from that first one as thick as  
*Sampsons* Enemies heaps upon heaps.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Ed-  
ward Howard.*

HE set out with his Fathers Reputation, and  
came home with his own: *Britain* feels his  
Arm to this day. and the *French* his success. Des-  
perate were his Undertakings, yet happy; rash  
his Engagements, yet honourable; it being his  
Maxime, *That never did Sea-man good, that was not  
resolute to a degree of madness.* The *French* Fleet  
he pursueth to the Haven under their own Forts  
closely. *Sir Edward* considering the order where-  
in the *French* lay, thought fit to advertise his King  
and Master thereof; advising him withal, (saith  
my Author) to come in person, and have the glo-  
ry of this Action: but the Kings Council taking  
this Message into consideration, and conceiving  
that it was not altogether fear, (as was thought)  
but stratagem and cunning that made the *French*  
thus attend their advantage, thought the King  
was not invited so much to the honour, as to the  
danger of this Action; therefore they write sharp-  
ly to him again, commanding him to do his duty:  
whereof that brave person was so sensible, that he  
landed 1500 men in the sight of 10000, and wast-  
ed the Country, until being too confident, he fell

Henry 8. a while after into his Enemies hands; the Lord Ferrers, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir Richard Cornwall, and Sir John Wallop looking on, but not able to relieve him. Four Reasons he would usually give against a War with the Low-Countries: 1. The decay of Trade: 2. The Diminution of Customs, 3. The strengthening of France: 4. The loss of their industry and inventions, and so of the improvement of our Commodities & Manufactures. In the youth of this State, as of all others, Arms did flourish; in the Middle-gate of it, Learning; and in the Declining, (as Covetousness and Tariff attend Old Age) Mechanick Arts and Merchandize: and this Gentleman was made for each part, being not so much a Souldier as a Scholar, nor so much a Scholar as a Merchant. But a private spirit is most unfortunate; and (as my Oracle assures me) *whereas men of that temper all their time sacrifice to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to fortune, whose wings they thought by their wisdom to have pinioned.*

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*Observations on the life of Sir Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey.*

Sir Thomas Howard was this Kings prime Counsellour; a brave and an understanding man: who was obliged to be faithful to his Master, because an Enemy to Winchester: (emulation among Favourites is the security of Princes.)

*the Life of the Earl of Surrey.*

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Four motives he offered for a Marriage with the Princess Katharine : *Henry 8.*

1. A League with *Spain*, against the growing power of our dangerous Neighbour *France*.

2. The saving of much time and expense in Marriage, by her being here.

3. The consideration of that vast sum of Money that must be exported if she goeth away. And

4. The great Obligation laid on the Pope by that Dispensation, which would secure to him the King and his Posterity, not otherwise Legitimate but by his Authority.

His Estate was much wasted in the service of *Henry* the seventh, and as much improved by the treasures of *Henry* the eighth, which amounted in the beginning of his Reign to 1800000 *l. i. e.* at the rate of money now adays, six millions and an half; which he dispensed so thriftily, that old *Winchester* could not trapan him; and yet so nobly, that young *Henry* was pleased with him. Sir *William Compton* set up the King's \* Rich Life-  
guards, (under *Bourchier* Earl of *Essex* as Captain, \* *They were so.*  
and the valiant Sir *Jo. Peachy* who kept *Calais* in with an  
so good order with 300 men, as Lieutenant) but Archer, a  
this wary Earl put them down again. When News Demi-  
was brought that *Empson* and *Dudley* were slain, it lance and  
was the Earls opinion that his Majesty had done a Consti-  
more like a good King than a good Master. When ller a-  
the narrow Seas (whereof the Kings of England piece :  
have been very tender) were infested, this old *They and*  
Treasurer and Earl-Marshal cleared it by his two *their*  
sons *Edward* and *Thomas*, saying, The King of Eng- *horses be-*  
land should not be imprisoned in his Kingdome, while ing vest-  
either he had an Estate to set up a Ship, or a son to ed in  
Gold.

com-



Henry command it. In three weeks did he settle the  
 8. North against the Invasions of James the fourth, now  
 inclining in to the Feench; and in a fortnight did  
 he raise 40000 *l.* to pay the Army, now ready to  
 mutiny: inasmuch, that when King James de-  
 nounced War against King Henry, he said, He had  
 an Earl in the North that would secure his King-  
 dome; as he did with much resolution, prudence,  
 and success at *Flodden-Field*, where he saw a King  
 at his feet, and a whole Kingdome at his mercy;  
 where he was forced to fight, so barren the Coun-  
 try, (*una salus victis nullam sperare salutem!*) where  
 yet he pitched upon the most advantageous place  
 and time; so great his Command of himself, and  
 so noble his Conduct!

He sends *Rouge Croix* to the Scotch King, to tell  
 him, That though he saw no Enemy at Sea, he hoped  
 to find some upon the Land: That he came to justify  
 Bretons death, which it was as much below a King to  
 revenge, as it was below a Privy Counsellour to have de-  
 served: That he expected as little mercy as he in-  
 tended; his sword being commissioned to spare none  
 but the King, whom no hand must touch. To this  
 Defiance, he added a Caution to the Herald, That  
 he should bring no messenger from the Enemy nearer  
 than two miles of the Camp. So well were the Scots  
 encamped, that when neither Arguments nor Stra-  
 tagems would draw them out, the Earl cuts off  
 their provision there; and under the covert of a  
 smoak got the Earl under the hill, and under ano-  
 ther of mist got they atop: The Scots played the  
 men, until Stanley and Darcy did more than men:  
 and the old mans Reserve concluded the doubtful  
 day in so compleat a Conquest, as brought 12000  
 Arms;

Arms, 16 Cannons, 4000 Prisoners, and a Peace *Henry*  
to the English Borders. Upon which, the General retires to those more necessary exercises of Justice and Government, until his Masters return: When all his Services advanced him (at that time, when it was a Maxime of State, *That Honours are the Lustre and Security of Crowns*) to his Fathers Dukedom of Norfolk, as his Sons Merits promoted him to his of the Earldom of Surrey.

The Kings Coffers decay, and his Occasions grow: The old man retires to his Country-house, having enjoyed his Honour *Thirty* years, to enjoy Himself *Three*: One of his last Undertakings being the appeating of the *London Tumults*, May 1. 1517. when he left this behind him, *A potent and wanton City, is a shrewd Enemy.*

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*Observations on the Life of Sir William Compton.*

HE was chief Gentleman of the Bedchamber to *Henry* the Eighth, and next to the chief in the affections of the same Prince: If his spirit had been as even with his favour, as his favour was with his Merits, he had been the most useful as well as the most eminent man in *England*: but he was too narrow for his Fortune, and more attentive to his private advantage, than to the publick affairs: This Saying is at once his History and Monument; *Kings must hear all, but believe only one: for none can give a solid advice but he that knoweth all, and he must*

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not

Henry not be every body. As to the affairs of Europe, S  
 8. William was clearly for the League against France  
 as an opportunity to regain our Right in France  
 and strengthen our Interest in the Church & the  
 Empire. My Lord Darcy was against it; because  
 France was too hard for us before it swallowed up  
 our Confederates, and much more since: advising  
 some more noble attempts for our just Empire  
 upon the Indies. The young King is for a War  
 with France, as an Engagement upon the Pope to  
 advance England above all other Kingdoms; and  
 declares himself as much Sir William's in opinion  
 as he was his in affection.

a Of Erec-  
 rany and  
 Nor-  
 mandy.

This Gentleman had a deep insight in any thing  
 he undertook, because he had a great patience to  
 consider, an advantageous slowness to recollect, a  
 strong memory to grasp, and an indifferent temper  
 to judge: but when a matter exceeded his capaci-  
 ty, or out-reached his sphere and orb, he had ei-  
 ther a peremptory and great word to urge it, or a  
 sleight to wave it, or a subtlety to perplex it, (that  
 his amazed fellow-Commissioners should as little  
 understand it) or a countenance and gesture too  
 verbear it. However, in general he was close and  
 reserved, (he had need go softly that cannot well  
 see) leaving himself without observation or hold  
 to be taken what he was. He studied the King's  
 nature, rather than his business; and humoured  
 rather than advised him. The referring of all to  
 a man, becomes a Prince, whose self is not him-  
 self, but the community, (their good and evil be-  
 ing (as my Lord Bacon writes) at the peril of  
 publick fortune) but not a subject, whose private  
 advantage may be a publick ruine; not a Favourite

rite, whose benefit by that selfishness may be narrow as his own Fortune, but the hurt done by it is as large as his Masters, who must needs be undone, when his servants study to please Him, and to profit Themselves.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Marney.*

Sir Henry Marney was one of young Henry's first Council, who loved his Person well, and his Prosperity better; and impartially advised him for his good, and modestly contested with him against his harm; that Council that was hand as well as head, and could perform as well as advise: This was the searching Judgement that discovered *Bonviso* the *Lucchesi* his Letters to the French King, betraying our designs as soon as thought on, and instructing him for prevention, before our King was ready for the attempt. Industry and Thrift over-rules Princes: This Personage had no time to transcribe Intelligence, but what he borrowed from his sleep; nor money to buy it, but what he saved out of his allowance; yet he understood more than any one Prince of Europe, and was more consulted than any one Statesman. His Judgment was much valued, his Integrity more; ever offering what was solidly safe, rather than what was superficially plausible: as one who was a stranger to the wisdom of the latter Age, (as Sir Francis Bacon describes it) which is rather *fine De-*

*Henry* liveries and shifts from Inconveniences, than solid and grounded courses for advantage. His foresight was large, and his spirit larger: he considered all Circumstances that occurred to him; judged what he considered, and spoke what he judged with that resolution as to his opinion, that argued he understood the matter in question; with that modesty as to his Superiours, that shewed he understood himself. He would say that he that could not with the *Cameleon* change colour with the Aire he lived in, must with the *Cameleon* live only upon Aire.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Edward Poynings.*

*Sir Edward Poynings* was the third of eighteen Counsellours bequeathed by *Henry* the VII. to his Son, with his Kingdom; a Privy Council wherein there was not one Lawyer! and a Cabal that never condescended for advice to any below themselves, or for performance of any of their Degrees to any besides themselves; being a compleat Body of active and knowing men in their own Orb. Who more prudent than *Surrey*? who more resolved than *Poynings*? whose Vigilancy made him Master of the *Cinque Ports*, as his Valour advanced him General of the *Low-Country* Forces, whom he led on to several services with such success, and brought off (with the loss of not above an hundred men) with Honour from the *Lady*  
*Mar-*

*Margaret*, and Applause from the whole Country. *Henry*  
8.

No less happy was he in his Government of *Tournay*, until the Council at home (now grown thin by the secession of *Warham*, *Fox*, and *Norfolk*) had more need of him than *Garisons* abroad: Vainly is that spirit peened within a City, that was equal to a Kingdom. It is the unhappiness of other Monarchies, that they have not Men answerable to their Employments; it was the unhappiness of this, that it had not Employment suitable to its Men.

He liv'd and di'd in Arms: *Bulloign* saw him first a Souldier, and *Bulloign* saw him last the best Camp-Master in all *Christendom*: always observing three things:

1. The *Situation* of his Camp to secure his Army.
2. The *Accommodation* of it, to supply it.
3. His *Retreat*, to draw off: the Avenues, to be guarded with Souldiers, and strengthened with Redoubts; which he made Triangular, that more men might engage the Enemy at once; during erection whereof, the Army was pallisado'd in the Front with stakes headed with iron on both ends five foot long, & stuck slope-wise into the ground, to keep off both Horse and Foot: the Foot-Sentinels were without the Redoubts, the Horse-Guards beyond them, at distance enough to descry the Enemy, and not too much, to retire to their works. A serious and plodding brow bespoke this Noble Knights deep Prudence, and a smart look his resolved Valour; who was a man vastly different in his publick capacity, from what he was in his pri-

Henry's employment :

8.

*Quemquam posse putas mores narrare futuros  
Dic mihi, si fias tu leo, qualis eris.*

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Charles Somerſet.*

Sir Charles Somerſet, afterward Lord Herbert of Gower, &c. endeared himſelf to King H. as much for his Maxime, *That Reaſon of State was Reaſon of Law*; as for his Advice, *That the King ſhould never ſtick at Law, in caſe of Publique Good*; and yet that all his Aëts for publique Good ſhould come as near as poſſible to the Law. So Popular was this Gentleman, that he received all the Petitions againſt Empſon and Dudley; yet ſo loyal, that he adviſed his Maſter neither to ſpare thoſe Leeches, leſt any ſhould preſume to alienate his Peoples affections from him by Extortions for the future; nor yet too ſeverely to puniſh them, leſt any ſhould be diſcouraged to ſerve the Crown for the preſent. (for indeed Empſon and Dudley ſuffered for that which others were advanced for; the Parliament puniſhed them for putting their Laws in execution, and the King deſerted them for improving his Exchequer to a Treafury.)

Two things this Lord adviſed his Maſter to, before he put the Crown upon his head.

1. To redreſs the Peoples Grievances under his Father.

2. To marry not in France, where he had a Title: A Kingdom ſo near us, that by reaſon of mutual

*theLife of Sir Charles Sommerfet.*

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Henry

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tual jealousies we may have peace with it sometimes, but Friendships never.

In the Household he was Lord Chamberlain, so discreet his Carriage ! In the French Expedition, Anno 1513. he was General, so Noble his conduct ! His Assistants were the Earls of Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Kent and Wiltshire ; his Followers, the Lord Audley, De la Ware, a Carew and Curson, &c.

*Therovene* he besiegeth in good Order, and with *Wolfey's* advice, who had lived long in that Town ; understands all the Avenues of it ; and with Sir

*Oughtred*, Sir Henry Gailford, Sir Edward Poynings, Sir Charles Brandon and, Sir Alexander Baynam's assistance, sprung several Mines, repulsed the French Relief and the City-Assailants, so that the Town was yielded August 22. 1513. and upon *Maximilian's* Intreaty razed as he did *Tournay*, September 22. *Herbert* was for razing this place, as farther from us than *Therovene* ; but *Wolfey* for the Bishopricks sake, is for the garisoning of it, as a Trophy. The King recollecting his former occasions, Febr. 3. 1514. thought he could not do a more just or a more prudent Act, than recompence his Noble Servants ( but the cheapest way, I mean that of Honour ) as he did old *Somerset* with the Earldome of *Worcester*.

With this Honour at home, is joyned another abroad, viz. That of Embassie to *Maximilian*, where he reached that *German's* depths, and clearly demonstrated that those fond and impossible Offers of the Empire, were but Artifices rather than Kindnesses : to drain the Kings Treasure, rather than enlarg his Dominions : Advising him to raise



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a Citadel at *Tournay*, and an Army in *Normandy*: He finished the Espousals between the Princess *Mary* and the *Dolphin*; and delivered *Tournay*, by the same token that he would not let the *Mareschal de Cassillon* to enter with Banner displayed, but rolled up, it being ( as he said, who when Lord *Herbert* was at the taking of it ) voluntarily yielded up, and not gotten by Conquest: and then bellowed himself with Sir *Richard Wingfield* for the great interview between King *Francis* and King *Henry*; an interview I know not whether more solemn or more dangerous: Kings cannot meet without great state, and they seldom part without much envy; who never are further asunder than when they meet, His most eminent Action here, was the Device of that Motto, *Cui adhæreo, præest*; a Motto that speaks the Honour of *England*, and the Interest of *Europe*. The Arbitrators commanding both the parties, submitting to their Arbitration for two Cities in *Italy*, contending about their bounds, chose the People of *Room* to be their Arbitrators; they gave either City a small pittance, and reserved all the rest to themselves; *Quod in medio est Populo Romano adjudicetur.*

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### *Observations on the Life of Thomas Grey Marquess of Dorset.*

THE Kings Wars called for Souldiers, and his Peace for Statesmen; and here is a Person *ex utroque magnus*: When the whole design for the

The Invasion of France was ripened, this Marquess was made General, and attended by the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lords Brook, Willoughby, and Ferrers, with divers Knights, Gentlemen, and others to the number of ten thousand men, armed not only with Bow, but Halberds: He distressed Navarre to a submission to his Master: forceth his way to Bayon, and with Sir John Styles assistance, kept up the English Honour above that of France and the Empire, keeping close to his Commission, and not stirring a foot without expresse Orders from Ireland: Although his presence countenanced some Actions his hands could not perform.

Three things he was very careful of.

1. Of Good Pay, lest his Souldiers morned.
2. Of Good Diet and Quarters, lest they failed.
3. Of Order, Discipline, and Temperance, especially in strange Climates, lest they should be dis-tempered.

Two things he was unsuccessful for:

1. The narrowness of his Commission.
2. The reach of Ferdinand, who designed the Conquest of Navarre, rather than of France.

Yet what reputation he lost by Land, Sir Edward Howard gained by Sea, commanding the French ships to their Harbours: Over-running Britain, and with Sir Tho. Knevet the Master of the Horse, Sir John Carew, and Sir Henry Guilford's assistance he gave Law in the Mediterranean, until he awed the Neighbour-Princes to terms as honourable for his Master, as dishonourable for themselves: Now we find him valiant in earnest at Sea, anon so in jest at Court (at the solemn Jufts proclaimed by Francis de Valois, Duke of Angoulesm in France)

his

Henry his Nature being not flinted, buy equally free to  
 3. debaile and serious Enterprises of *Pleasure* or of  
 Honour; where six Germans were at his mercy,  
 and four Frenchmen at his feet. His spirit equal-  
 led those active times, and his temper his spirit.

Three things set him up

1. His large expenses for shew at Court.
2. His strength and manhood at Juffs.
3. His skill and experience in the Field.

He was the best for embattelling an Army in  
 those times: Observing

1. The number, strength, and experience of  
 his Camp.

2. The Nature and extent of the place, whe-  
 ther Champain or inclosed, hilly or plain, wood-  
 dy or moorish, straight or large; that he might ac-  
 cordingly dispose of distances and stands.

3. Inclosures he aimed at for his Foot, and  
 Champain for his Horse, together with the advan-  
 tages of Wind and Sun.

4. He impales the Flank and Reer with Mus-  
 kets, Pikes, and Carriages.

5. His Divisions were sundry, but well order-  
 ed to relieve one another: His main Battels three:  
 the largest in the front, the next in the middle,  
 with some spaces between for the first to rally it  
 self, or embody with the second; the third and  
 strongest in the Rear, so divided that the two first  
 Battels may retreat into it, and draw up in it's rear  
 to watch the Enemies disorder in pursuit.

It's observed of the Turks, that they never put  
 their *Janizaries* (thir best Souldiers) in the  
 Front, but make use of them for Reserves, by  
 which they have been very succesful: This Noble

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Marquess went not by rote or fore-conceived Rules, but by present Prudence, observing time, place, and persons; neither would he lie open to his Enemies design by a constant Method, but alter his Stratagems, and contradict all the Rules of Discipline, to disorder the Enemy, and disappoint his expectation.

He hath sometimes compounded the wings of his Battle of ablest men, and the Battle it self of the meanest; ordering them, if overpowred, to make their retreat to the Rear of the other Divisions, through the spaces appointed for that end; which the Enemy perceiving, followeth (not smelling the drift) not without disorder, as in all pursuits between the two strong wings, who crush them in pieces: His Field-Pieces after once or twice discharging, were drawn within the Divisions of the main Battle, to fire the Enemy at his next approaches if the Front were disordered: And to avoid the execution of his Enemies, his files were thin, and his Dragoons ready to seize theirs, whereby at least they were hinderd from shooting; his Forlorn retired to the main Battel, and out of the Flanks thereof issued with Fire-pots and Granadoes upon the engaged Enemy.

His Horse were in four Battalia's, whereof the first was the greatest, lined with shot, placed on each wing of the main Army; ways opening upon the opening of the Enemy.

The greatest trust between man and man, is the trust of giving Counsel: For in other confidences (saith my Lord Bacon) men commit the parts of life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular affair; but to such as they  
make

*Henry* make their Counsellours, they commit the whole, by how much the more they are obliged to faithfulness and integrity. None was more trusted than the Marquess, none more trusty: None understood clearer what was fit, none spoke plainer what he understood. *What wants a Sovereign?* (said a flattering Crurtier) *Truth*; (said a serious King) Never had King more need of it than *Henry*, never less of it than he; whom it was less fatal to Ruining, than to Displease. But this Souldier was as much above seare as Flattery, that told him when pensive, *That never was that man merry, that had more than one Woman in his Bed, more than one Friend in his Bosom, more than one Faith in his Heart.*

So wary was this Gentleman, that he was not rash, and so lost his advantage; so valiant, that he was not contemptible, and so lost his command: He led others by the strongest authority of his own forwardness, his own example; he was led himself by the best Guide, his own Observation, his own Experience: His Book limited not his Design, nor his Paper-plot his Undertakings.

Land-service was his Exercite, but the Sea his Delight: The Compass his Study, the Stars his Care, Trade his Thoughts, our own and forein Havens his Discourte, a Sea-man his Familiar, and three Sea-fights his Triumph: His converse and speech was Souldier-like, plain, short, smart and material: There was a time when he would say nothing, and a time when he would say something; but ever a time when he would say all.

He was in a word the happy man, who, notwithstanding that the times could not endure his Virtues, nor he their Vices, died at once full of honour

*the Life of Sir Robert Wingfield.*

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honour at Court, and applause in the Country,  
with this Monument from the King, That Honesty  
and Good Man.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Robert Wingfield.*

**H**IS Parts and Person endeared him to the English Court, his Travel and Experience recommended him to Foreign Negotiations particularly in the Emperour *Maximilians* Court whom his arguments and his own Interest drew off from *France*; Sir Robert helping him to some Observations touching the breach of the Article of *Cambray*, as his pretense to this alteration, and offering him what men and money he pleased, as his encouragement to this undertaking: Sending in the mean time one *Nicolas West*, D. L. and Dean of *Windsor*, to feel the Pulse of all the Princes in *Christendome*; and advising, upon an entire reflection on their several Interests, the repair of our frontier Towns and Forts, an Army ready in the North, and a constant Parliament. He is Deputy of *Calice*, and Viceroy of *France*: What the French lost in the Field, they got by Treaty, until Sir *Richard's* time, whose Policy went as far as his Masters Power, in that Accord, Which tyed up (they said) the French Kings hands behind his back, and the Scotch between his legs. Yea, he almost perswaded *Maximilian* out of his Empire, 1615. though he wished the King not to accept of it

Henry

8.

until the French were out of *Italy*. Some do better by Friends or Letters, Sir *Robert* best by himself observing that he never failed, but when he intrusted others with what he could do himself; his person breeding regard, and his eye seeing more than any he could employ; and his present mind being more ready in his own affairs upon any alteration to come on, draw back, or otherwise accommodate matters, than any Substitute, who sees not the bottom of things, nor turn to occasions. He had about him his Blades and Gallants, to expostulate; his Orators and fair-spoken-men, to persuade; his close and subtile ones, to enquire and observe; his froward men, to perplex; and his plain Agents, to report: Attendants for all services, whose experience made them knowing and confident. Doctor *West*, *Pace*, *Lee*, and *Gardener's* way was the Circuit afar off; Sir *Robert's* was the Surprise, quick and nicked, No man observing time more closely; no man watching Natures tempers, interests advantages and ends more indefatigably. It was the observation of those dayes, That Sir *Robert Wingfield* was the best to prepare and ripen Designs, and Sir *Thomas Bolen* to execute them: But that Age was too boisterous, and he too wary to advance beyond the reputation of a knowing Agent, in which capacity he lived; or of a resolved Patriot, with which honour he dieth.

*Observations on the Life of Edward  
Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.*

**H**IS Blood was high, his Revenue large; and he was born to *adorn* the Court, rather than to *serve* it. He vied with the King in Gallantry, and with the Cardinal in Pride: of the one he speaks irreverently, *That Women governed him more than he did the Kingdome*; of the other indiscreetly, *That Francis governed France, and Harry England, and Wolsey both*; adding, *That the Commonalty might well complain, when we had two Kings to maintain.* That which ruineth the world, ruineth him, his *Tongue*. Fate never undid a man without his own indiscretion; and her first stroke is at the *Head*. Abroad, none more Gorgeous; at Home, none more Noble: at Court, splendid; among his Tenants, Prince-like; to his Relations, impartial. A Servant always pulled down the house of the *Staffords*; and now one *Knevet* his Steward, whom he had discharged for oppressing his Tenants, undoeth him: for his Father-in-law the Earl of *Northumberland* is set under a Cloud; and his Son-in-law the Earl of *Surrey* is removed, on pretense of honourable employment, out of the way; and *Wolsey's* malice at the Duke hath its full scope, who now deals with *Knevet's* discontent to discover his Masters life, and suggest that the Duke by way of discourse was wont to say how he meant to use the matter, that if King Hen-



Henry ry died without issue, he would attain the Crown, and punish the Cardinal. *George Nevil Lord Abergavenny* his Son-in-law, impeached him, to save himself. His Title to the Crown was, his Descent from *Anne Plantagenet*, Daughter of *Thomas of Woodstock*, Son to *Edward the third*. His Accusation was,

1. That he had conferred with a Cunning Man, (*Hopkins*, Monk of *Henton*) concerning the future state of this Realm; who advised him to Popularity: for he should have all, if he had but the love of the People: the Wizard confirming this by Revelations; and the Duke rewarding it with great encouragement.

2. That he disparaged the present Government, and used Arts to secure the succession.

3. That he had threatned King *Henry* with the same Dagger that should have murdered *Richard the third*.

He denied the Charge very eloquently, and disclaimed his Life very rashly; his foolish words, rather than any designed malice, deserving rather pity then judgement. Much lamented was he by the People, and as much was the Cardinal maliced, being now called by the whole multitude, *The Butchers Son*. When *Buckingham* fell, three things fell with him:

1. The Splendour of the Court.

2. Hospitality, and good Landlords in the Country. And,

3. The High-Constableship of *England*.

All Greatness is subject to Envy; but none more than that which is insolent and affected, being never its self without its pomp and shew. Plain and modest Greatness is only safe: A Witch then blasts a man when most prosperous, and the Envious (the onely Wizard in the world) when most glorious. Wise men therefore have eclipsed themselves, that they might not be gazed on; and great Ones have shrunk, and suffered themselves to be over-born, to be secure. Vain-glorious men are the scorn of the Wise, the admiration of Fools, the Idols of Parasites, and the envy of the Unworthy, the Busy, the Unfortunate, the Ambitious, and the Rivals. He lives well, that lives in peace; and he is safely great, that is great in his Conscience. Anger sure is but a weakness in any man, (it belongeth so much to the Aged and the Childish) and an indecency in a *Noble man*; yet it might have been a Gallantry in this Duke, had it no; 1. Revealed secrets, and so betrayed him; And, 2. Spoke bitterly and dangerously, and so abused him. So far will Discontent carry Nature, that it easily believes what it wisheth: So much doth a Prophetick Vanity sway English-men. (that have the most of *men* of any in the world in Divinations, and an itch to know things to come) that the wittiest Sir *Thomas More*, the most devout Bishop *Fisher*, the wisest Cardinal *Wolsey*, and the most Noble the Duke of *Buckingham*, have been undone by hearkening after Predictions; the two first, of *Elizabeth Barton*; the third, of *John Sacheveril*; and the fourth, Monk *Hopkins*. Always are these Divinations (like the Astrologers in *Rome*) by severe Laws forbidden; yet always are they

M

Henry they by vain persons obtruded. *Many Wives*, w<sup>th</sup>  
 8. *England* ! hardned many a Male-content to his  
 ~~~~~ ruine in King Henry the eighth's time : *When*  
*HEMPE is spun*, *England is done*, encouraged ma-  
 ny a Papist to his undoing in Queen Elizabeth's  
 time : *Leo*, *Nalus*, confirmed many a deluded  
 soul to his downfall in our days.

It was as fatal to this great man to trust his Ste-  
 ward, as his Wizard ; the one deluded, the other  
 betrayed him. It undoeth a man to be too close ;  
 therefore we have friends to ease our selves : it ruin-  
 eth a man to be too open ; therefore there is a se-  
 cret not to be communicated to a friend. When  
 the Duke of *Buckingham* made *Knevet* his Confes-  
 sor, he made him his Master. He that is Master  
 of my Heart, is Master of my Life : *If my Shirt*,  
 said *Metellus*, *knew my minde*, *I would burn it*. If  
 my Servant or Friend knows my intentions, I must  
 either undo him, or be undone by him, unless he  
 be so much above a man, as not out of weakness to  
*discover me* ; or so much above a sinner, as not out  
 of corruption to *betray me*. Wild Beasts dwell in  
 Dens, Fishes be in Mud, and Birds in Nests, and a  
 Wife Man is wrapped up in security. *Gyges* his  
 Ring was his wi'dome, whereby he understood o-  
 thers, and was reserved himself. It's pity he ever  
 learned to speak, that knoweth not how to be si-  
 lent. *I would first be so wise*, (saith a Wit and Wi-  
 dome of our Age) *as to be my own Counsellour*, and  
*next so secret as to be my own Counsel-keeper*. Some  
 of my Servants may be of my Bed-chamber, but  
 none shall be of my closet. *Before I told you of this*,  
 (saith *Charles* the Fifth of a Designe discovered  
 upon the seventeen Provinces to his Favourite Lu-  
 nembergh)

*the Life of the Duke of Buckingham.*

163

*nembergh) I was Emperour, but now you are so.*

Henry

3.

But the height of the Dukes spirit: it was equally unfortunate with the openness of it; and he fell no less because he despised *Knevet*, than because he trusted him.

Contemned Dangers ruine surely, while they surprize us at once naked, and carelets; as ill prepared to offend the slighted Adversary, as to defend our misunderstood Selves. The least Beings have their spirit, and command our caution: No creature too mean to be *mischievous*; none too inconsiderate to be *feared*. As long as Weakness can cling to Power, and Power to Malice, what *Knevet* would, but could not, that *Wolfey* could and would. If my Enemy be strong, he shall awe; if weak, he shall guard my Life. Two things are necessary in this Life, Faithful Friends, or Severe Enemies: The fewer of the former men of the Dukes fortune have, the more use they should make of the latter. The greatest Enemy, when observed, may do me a great kindness; the least neglected, can do no little mischief: Security is the only misfortune, and Carelessness the only fate that distresseth the World.

But the Duke threw away his life in a fatal word that could not be recalled, (*Please not ask the King for my Life.*) Great need have we to guard that Tongue, whence flow the issues of Life and Death; and weigh those words that go abroad for the measure of our Weal or Wo; our words being given us to treat with the World about either, discreetly to our happiness, or weakly to our ruine. It

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hath

Henry hath repented men that they have spoken at all times; it repented none to have been silent in King Henry's, when there was no security but to the *Reserved*, and the *Pliable*. Dionysius the Tyrant, seeing one knocked down at one blow, said to his friends; *what a folly is it to quit so fair a command for fear of dying, which lasts, no longer a space!*

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*Observations on the Life of Sir  
Anthony Brown.*

HE was always one of the Council to King Henry at home, and of his Commissioners abroad: no Treaty passing without his presence, no Negotiation without his advice; the first carrying as much Majesty with it, as the second did Authority: the Court having bred the one to a noble Mein, as Experience had done the other to an Oracle; Experience, I say, whereby he saw more, as *Alexander* boasted, with his eye, than others comprehended in their thoughts; that being knowledge in him, that was but conjecture in others.

He was the best Compound in the World; a *learned*, an *honest*, and a *travelled* man; a good Nature, a large Soul, and a settled Mind, made up of Notes and Observations upon the most material points of State he could learn at Courts; of Religion, among the Clergy; of Discipline, among Souldiers; of Trade, among Merchants; or of

of the situation, interest, avenues and strong holds, by his own eyes. *It's a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tost upon the Sea; it's pleasure to stand in the window of a Casile, and to see a battel, with the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the Vantground of Truth: (an Hill saith my Noble Author) not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene; ) and, to see the Errors and Wandrings, the Mists and Tempests in the Vale below: That content is better felt than expressed that this Noble Person took in his own clear thoughts, when it was Mist all round about him; and King Henry cried, What say Cromwel and Brown?*

*Vespasian asked Apollonius, What was Nero's overthrow? and he answered him, Nero could tune the Harp well; but in Government sometimes he wound the pins too high, and sometimes he let them down too low. Sir Anthony told Henry the Eighth, That his Government had been more easie, if he had either set it not so loose at first, or not so strict at last; (as there was indeed no King so various as his Master, no State so changeable as his Government.) An even temper begets awe and reverence; whilst the wide extremes create either on the one hand contempt and insolence, or on the other discontent and murmuring. Haughty and violent Courts never bless the Owners with a settled Peace.*

*This deep man was Leiger in Rome six years, and Agent in France ten: A person of great dispatch, because of an orderly method and procedure; which he observed to a superstition, saying, Time and Method are my Masters. There are (saith my*

Henry 8. Oracle) three parts of business; Preparation, Debate, and Perfection: The middle King Henry communicated to the whole Council, the first and last to few, viz. to my Lord *Cromwel* and Sir *Anthony Brown*.

The highest matters were his care; as the *Interview in France*, 1533. the most eminent Statesmen his fellows, as the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *Rochford* and the Lord *Paulet*; those Noble Persons bearing the state, and he managing the business of the Embassies.

The wise man of *Florence* took care that *Ferdinando* of *Naples*, *Medices* of *Florence*, *Sforza* of *Millain* should gain nothing of one another, to the great security of *Italy*: Sir *Anthony* watched our Neighbours Conquests, Trade, Approaches, &c. so closely, that none of those Potentates, *Charles* the Fifth, or King *Francis*, could win a spot of Ground, but his Master would balance it, and so secure *Europe*.

The Interviews between Princes he disallowed; yet to satisfy his Master, he provided for that in *France* so sumptuously, as one that understood the formality of a Pageant was a real advantage to a Government whose Interest is as much to gain a reputation by pomp and shew, as support a welfare by prudence and strength: others apprehension of our greatness, contributing as much to our welfare, as our welfare it self: Opinion governs the World: Princes with their Majesty, may be oft envied and hated; without it, they are always scorned and contemned: Circumstances are often more than the main, and shadows are not always shadows: Outward Esteem to a great Person, is as skin to Fruit, which though a thin cover, preserveth it:  
King

King Henry's Person and State did *England* more Right in a Year, than his Predecessors Arms in an Age; while they onely impressed a resolution in the Neighbours, he a reverence. As the Reason of man correcting of his sense about the magnitude and distance of heavenly bodies, is an argument that he hath an Inorganical, Immaterial, Impassible, and Immortal soul; so this Gentlemans Conscience often reflecting upon his policy, about the Circumstances of many of his actions, was an argument that he was ruled by holy, serious, and heavenly Principles: One effect whereof, was, that he desired rather the admonishing paines of a lingering death, than the favourable ease of a quick one, he reckoning it not an effect of cruelty, but a design of mercy, that he should dye so, *ut sentiat se mori*; and he looked on nothing as so great a snare to his thoughts as the opinion of *Origen*, and some others called merciful Doctors, who did endeavour to possess the Church with their opinion of an universal restitution of all Creatures to their pristine Estate, after sufficient purgation; or any thing more a temptation to other mens souls, than the Blasphemy of some, making God the Author of good and evil, so much worse than the *Manichees* or *Marcionites*, as they held it not of their good God, whom they called *Light*; but of their bad God whom they called *Darkness*.

As Princes govern the People, so Reason of State the Princes: *Spain* at that time would command the Sea, to keep us from the *Indies*; and our Religion, to keep us from a Settlement: *France* suspected our Neighbourhood, and engaged *Scotland*; the Pope undermined our Designs, and obliged



Henry the French. Sir *Anthony* at *Rome*, in respectful  
 8. terms, and under Protestation that his Majesty intended no contempt of the See Apostolick, or Holy Church, intimated his Masters Appeal to the next General Council lawfully assembled; exhibiting also the Authentick Instruments of the same, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* at the Consistory, where, though the Pope made forty French Cardinals, yet our Agent and his money made twelve English, and taught *Francis* to assume the power of disposing Monasteries and Benefices, as King *Henry* had done; advising him to inform his Subjects clearly of his proceedings, and unite with the Princes of the Reformation, taking his Parliament and People along with him, and by their advice cutting off the Appeals to and Revenues of *Rome*, by visitations, &c. with a *Premunire*, together with the Oath of Supremacy, and the publication of the prohibited Degrees of Marriages: He added in his Expresses, *That his Majesty should by disguised Envoys divide between the Princes and the Empire.*

The next sight we have of him is in *Scotland*; the French Kings passage to *England*, (as he calls it:) Where in joynt Commission with the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *Durham*, he with his variety of Instructions gained time until the French King was embroyled at home, the season of Action was over there, and the Duke of *Norfolk* ready to force that with a War, which could not be gained by Treaty. Fortune is like the Market, where many times if you can stay a little, the Price will fall: The ripeness and unripeness of the Occasion must be well weighed: Watch the  
 be-

beginning of an Action, and then speed! Two things make a compleat Politician, Secrecie in Council, and Celerity in Execution.

But our Knights Prudence was not a heavy Wariness, or a dull caution, as appears by his preferment at Court, where he is *Master of the Horse*; and his service in the North, where he and the *Comptroller Sir Anthony Gage* are in the head of 10000 men: In both these places his excellence was more in chusing his Officers and Followers, than in acting himself: His servants were modest and sober, troubling him with nothing but his business, and expecting no higher conditions, than countenance, protection, and recommendation; and his Retainers peaceable, reserved, close, plain, and hopeful: the deserving Souldier and the promising were seen often at his gate, not in throngs, to avoid popularity: Equal was his favour, that none might be insolent, and none discontented; yet so discreetly dispensed, as made the Preferred faithful, and the Expectants officious. To be ruled by one, is soft and obnoxious; by many, troublesome: to be advised by few, as he was, is safe: because (as he said in some things out of his element) *the Vale best discovereth the Hill.*

Although he understood not the main matter of War, yet he knew many of its falls and incidents; his prudence being as able to lay a stratagem, as others experience was to embattail an Army. Sir *Thomas Wharton* Warden of the Marches he commands with 300 men behind an Ambush, whither he draws the rash Scots, and overthroweth them more with the surprize than his power, taking the Lord Admiral *Maxwell*, &c. who was committed

Henry mitted to his custody; and putting that King to  
 8. so deep a melancholy, that he died upon it. His  
 death suggests new counsels, and Sir *Anthony*  
*watcheth in Scotland* to gain his Daughter for our  
 Prince, or at least to prevent the French, whom Sir  
*William Paget* watcheth there, as Sir *Ralph Sadler*  
 did in *Rome*, and Sir *John Wallp* at *Calais*: and  
 when that Kings design was discovered, we find  
 our Knight with *Charles Duke of Suffolk*, Lieuten-  
 ant-General; *Henry Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*,  
 Lord General; *Will. Paulet*, Lord *St. John*, *Steph*  
*phen Bishop of Winchester*, with a rich and strong  
 Army, expecting the King before *Montrevil*,  
 (which they took with *Boulogn*) and forcing the  
 French to a Peace and Submission that secured  
 England, and settled Europe.

Three things facilitate all things: 1. Knowledge,  
 2. Temper, 3. Time. Knowledge our Knight  
 had either of his own or others, whom he com-  
 manded in what ever he went about, laying the  
 ground of matters always down in writing, and  
 debaring them with his friends, before he declar-  
 ed himself in Council. A temperance he had,  
 that kept him out of the reach of others, and  
 brought others within his. Time he took, always  
 driving, never being driven by his business; which  
 is rather a huddle, than a performance, when in  
 haste: there was something that all admired, and  
 which was more, something that all were pleased  
 with, in this mans action. The times were dark,  
 his carriage so too: the Waves were boysterous,  
 but he the solid Rock, or the well-guided Ship  
 that could go with the Tide. He mastered his  
 own passion, and others too, and both by Time  
 and

and Opportunity ; therefore he died with that *Henry*  
peace the State wanted , and with that universal 8.  
repute the States-men of those troublesome times  
enjoyed not. ~~~~~

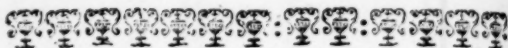
By King *Henry's* Will he got a Legacy of 300 *l.*  
for his former Service ; and the Honour to be of  
Prince *EDWARD's* special Council for the fu-  
ture.

By his Order he had , as his share of Abbey-  
lands , *Battle-Abbey* in *Sussex*, enjoyed by his  
Heirs Male in a direct Line to this day : And by  
his Authority he had the Honourable *Gar*ter.

He was the first man that durst bring his Master  
the sad news, That He must die : And no wonder  
he durst do it, for the next news is, That he is dead  
himself. *How darest thou to be so plain ?* said *Helio-*  
*galus* to the Courtier : *Because I dare die,* said  
he : *I can but die, if I am Faithful ; and I must die,*  
*though I Flatter.*

This Gentlemans humour of crossing present  
proceedings, was prettily reprov'd by King *Hen-*  
the Eighth's little story of a poor Woman drown-  
ed by mischance , whose dead body , whilst her  
Neighbours sought for down the River ; her Hus-  
band who knew her condition better than they ,  
advised them to seek up the River ; for all her life  
long she loved to be contrary to all others, and he  
presumed she would swim against the stream be-  
ing dead.

The End of the Observations upon the Lives of  
the Statesmen and Favourites of *England*, in  
the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth.



THE  
STATESMEN and FAVOURITES  
OF  
ENGLAND,  
IN  
The Reign of King *Edward* the VI.

*Observations on the Lives of the  
Seymours.*

**E**Dward Seymour and Thomas Seymour, both Sons of Sir John Seymour of Wolsul in Wilshire. I join them together, because whilst they were united in affection, they were invincible; but when divided, easily overthrown by their Enemies.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><b>E</b>Dward Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector and Treasurer of England, being the elder</p> | <p><b>T</b>HOMAS SEYMOUR the younger brother, was made BARON of Sudley;</p> |
|---|---|

Bro-

Brother, succeeded to a fair Paternal inheritance. He was a valiant Souldier for Land-service, fortunate, and generally beloved by Martial Men. He was of an open nature, free from jealousy and dissimbling, affable to all people. He married Anne, Daughter to Sir Edward Stanhop, a Lady of a high mind, and haughty undaunted spirit.

and by Offices and the favours of his Nephew, King Edward the sixth, obtained a great Estate. He was well experienced in Sea-Affairs, and made Lord Admiral of England. He lay at a close posture, being of a reserved nature, and more cunning in his carriage. He married Queen Katherine Parr, the Widow of King Henry 8.


Very great the Animosities betwixt their Wives; the Dutcheß refusing to bear the Queens Train, and in effect jilted with her for precedence: so that what betwixt the Train of the Queen, and long Gown of the Dutcheß, they raised so much dust at the Court, as at last put out the eyes of both their Husbands, and occasioned their Executions.

Their Sisters Beauty commended them to the Kings favours; (but a frail support that! which is as lasting only as a Phancy, and only as certain as Passion:) therefore their Parts recommended them to his service. Affection shall lead me to Court, but I'll take care that Interest keeps me there.

Henry

8.

Sir Edward Seymours temper suited with the Kings Inclinations, and his spirit with his times; both high, both stirring. In the throng of Courtiers, there are but three steps to raise a man to observations: 1. Some peculiar sufficiency; 2. Some particular exploit; and, 3. An especial Friend: This Noble Person shewed the first with advantage, in that draught of Military Discipline presented to Henry the eighth, wherein the embattling is most remarkable, viz. "Twenty two compleat Companies make up four Squadrons; every Squadron of Pikes and Musquets being drawn up apart, the Pikes and Colours on the left hand, and the Musqueteers on the right. These Squadrons make up a Brigade, to be drawn up as followeth, viz. Ten Corporalships of Musqueteers being 34 Rots, divided into five Platrons, every Platoon being nine or so in front, led by a Major, and every division by a sufficient Commander. Next after these, Thirty six Rots of Pikes are to follow, (being twelve Corporalships) with their Colours following them, till they are drawn up even in front with the 32 Rots of Musqueteers: This makes the Right Wing of the Brigade. 2. The Battel of Pikes moveth forward in division, doing in all respects as the former, till they range even in front with the Pikes of the Right Wing: Then the other 32 Rots of Musqueteers belonging to the middle Squadron, (who are appointed to make the Battel of the Brigade) are led up as the first Musqueteers in all points, but at a reasonable distance behind the Pikes of their own Squadrons. Then the last Squadron of Pikes marcheth up, in all respects observing the same order, until

“until they have attained to range in front even *Edw. 6*  
“with other Pikes. 

“ This being done, the Battel or middle Squa-  
“dron of Pike and Musquets advanceth in one  
“body, until it's clear of the Wings. Lastly, the  
“Surplus of the three Squadrons being 48 Rots of  
“Musqueteers, are drawn up behind the Brigade,  
“where they are to attend the Commands of their  
“Officers, to guard the Baggage or Cannon, to  
“be Convoies for Ammunition or Victuals to the  
“rest, or continue a reserve to wait upon all occa-  
“sions.

2. Eminent was his ability for this Draught,  
more eminent for his performance agreeable to it  
in *Britain*; where he sat before a Town six  
weeks to no purpose, while it expected relief from  
*Italy*: But at last he insinuates a jealousy between  
the Pope and the French King touching that Ci-  
ty, that obstructed all relief: He with as much  
speed and policy sets upon the two main Sources  
for defense of the Town, and took them both;  
battering the Town and Castle with that violence  
and noise, that they say it was heard 100 miles off.  
A Train of Powder is laid to blow them up when  
they should enter; but this succeeded not: For  
the French in passing the Ditch had so wetted their  
cloaths, that dropping upon the Train, the Pow-  
der would not take fire; and so all things conspi-  
ring to crown his valour with success; he takes the  
Castle first, and then dividing the Town, and  
weakening it by several assaults at once, brought it  
to his own terms. Here his Valour had been e-  
minent, but that his conduct was more; and his  
Conduct renowned, but that his nobleness towards  
the



*Edw. 6.* the Conquered : his civility and obligingness towards the Souldiery, and his integrity towards all persons, had out-done that.

There are but two things that a subject can honestly oblige his Prince in : 1. Keeping his subjects in peace at home, 2. Keeping his enemies under abroad : 1. Those soft, but prudent Acts of Peace ; 2. Those resolved, but well-managed wayes of War : Sir *Thomas* wanted neither a resolution for the one, nor a temper for the other.

But sufficiency and merits are neglected things when not befriended: (Princes are too reserved to be taken with the first appearances of worth, unless recommended by tryed judgments : It's fit as well as common, that they have their Counsellours for persons as well as things : ) His Sister therefore was married on *Whitsunday*, and he is on the *Tuesday* following created Viscount *Beauchamp*. But next year his Nephew is born ; the hope and stay of his Majesty and his Realmes, and he is made Earl of *Hertford*.

King *Henry* understanding that the Pope upon his own and Cardinal *Pool*'s account stirred up all the Princes against him, as a provident Prince, rode himself to the Sea-coasts to see them fortified. Admiral *Fitz-williams* is old, Sir *Thomas Seymour* assists him to rigg the Navy to be in readines in six dayes time : Sir *Edward* is to muster the Land- Forces, and particularly the City of *London*, where were 15000 Armed men ready, *May 8*, in *St. Jameses*, at which place the City seemed a Camp, and the Citizens men not of the Gown, but of the *Armour*. Great this Lords interest in, and respect with the people ; as great his  
bro

thers with the Sea-men: The Multitude would leave all for their good Lord of Hertford, and the Sea-men would die with their noble Lord Seymour. When the King of Scots had deluded King Henry in his correspondencies with France beyond all patience, and had been forborn beyond all safety or prudence, Sir Edward Seymour is first sent to treat, and then to fight; which he did with much success, that 300 of his men, and a Stratagem, (to possess the Scots with an apprehension that the whole English Army was upon them) took and killed 30000 Scots, had more prisoners than they could keep, more booty than they could dispose of; and adding this to their Victory, that they broke the Kings heart.

There was no end to be expected of a War with Scotland, but by marrying that Kings Daughter to our Sovereigns Son. This Match was my Lord Seymour's interest as well as the Kings: His prudence and experience is therefore employed first to persuade it; and when that would not do, (so great and so cross the Papal power thereby Cardinal Betons means) his Valour and Resolution, is sent with 10000 to compel it: in order whereunto, May 4. landing at Grantham-Gray, he marcheth in order towards Leith, which (after a defeat given the Cardinal, the Earls of Arran, Huntley, &c. by his Harquebussiers) they entered, and thence proceeded to Edinburgh: My Lord Dudley leading the Front, our Earl the Battle, and the Earl of Shrewsbury the Rearward: ) there the Keys are offered them upon conditions; which they refusing; (and so making the Enemy desperate, who resolveth rather to perish nobly, than to be

*Edw. 6.* undone by submission ) the Town holds out, and they are able to do no more, with some considerable loss, then burn the suburbs, wast the Country to an utter desolation for seven miles compass, demolish *Leith, Dunbar, &c.* take all their Ships and Ammunition, returning to *Berwick* with the loss only of 14 men.

Two things he was eminent for :

1. His Advice, that not the least Punctilio of the Law should be neglected : Whereupon the Earl of *Surrey* and other Nobility were imprisoned for eating *Flesh in Lent*. A secret and unobserved contempt of the Law, is a close undermining of Authority ; which must be either its self in indulging nothing, or be nothing in allowing all. Liberty knows no restraint, no limit, when winked at.

2. For his Popularity, in advancing the Benevolence 52000 *l.* beyond expectation.

The *Scots* must have War as long as there is Poverty in their Country, and interest in *France* : This Noble Earl cutteth off the Invaders, layeth wast the Country, and (that the source of those troubles might be dammed up) entreth *France* with 80000 men ; and after some skirmishes, brought the King thereof to a peace and submission.

In pursuance whereof, while King *Henry* was in *Bologna*, he made his Will, wherein the Earl of *Hertford* Lord High Chamberlain is appointed Principal Counsellour to his Nephew : and not long after he dyeth, and leaves the Kingdome to his son, and his Son to his Uncle, whom the common Vote made Protector, and interest a Moderator of

of the Council, which the time required able, but their humours made fractious. The peace with King *Francis* and the Emperour was but uncertain; the Scots were irreconcilable, the Pope implacable, Religion unsettled, the Clergy out of frame, the People distracted, and the Nobility at variance. A great Counsellour King *Henry* leaves his Son, and a greater his Uncle makes him: "In Counsel is stability: Things will have their first or second agitation: If they be not tossed upon the Arguments of Counsel, they will be tossed upon the Waves of Fortune. But yet this Lord miscarried, in that the Council understood him better than he did them: And he advised with them rather in publick, where men speak warily, and in compliance with others humour; than in private, where they deliver themselves more freely, and agreeable to their own humours. (The Rule is, *ask an inferiour mans advice in private that he may be free; and a superiours in publick, that he may be respectful.*) But he did well, 1. In that the same matter if weighed, was never propounded and resolved the same day. 2. In that he had fixed dayes of petitions, for the peoples and his own ease. 3. In that he poyzed his Committees of contrary inclinations, that watched and balanced each other to a moderation most safe for the Kingdome and himself. 4. That he had of all Professions such at his command as opened the state of a business before any Commissioners debated it. 5. That he seldome discovered his own inclination, lest it byassed his Counsel. 6. That to prevent a Combination in the Council, he weakened their power and priviledges, their credit, their

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dependencies, either by office or expectation, their opportunities and correspondencies, so that he could easily remove any when faulty, discover any when dangerous, disgrace any when bold, and not fit to be entrusted with the *Counsels, Resolves, Deliberations, and Necessities* of the State. In order to which, he had two useful Resolutions. 1. To suppress Calumnies, 2. To encourage Accusations. His first Acts were Shew and Pomp, (necessary for Greatness; viz. The Knighting of the King, and making himself Duke. His next are *Realities*: as, 1. His modelling the Country for a Parliament, considering the temper of the people, and the pulse of the last Parliament; redressing Grievances, settling Elections by such Legal Rules, as that the people should not be corrupted with money, overborn by importunity, transported by fear or favour to an unworthy or an unsuitable choice; and taking a just time to prepare the people for the designed settlement, by his grave and sober Injunctions, by godly and good Books of Instructions, by a wholesome form of Prayer, (composed at *Windsor*) by a more exact translation of the Bible, by several Proclamations for moderation and order on all hands, by inhibiting all Preachers but such *learned, sober, grave and discreet men* as were Licensed thereunto under the Lord Protector's and my Lord of *Canterbury's* hand.

The Duke  
of So-  
mer-  
set's  
march.

2. His promoting the Match with *Scotland* first by Ambassadors, and then by an Army, whose order was this: viz. The Avant-guard of 3 or 4000 foot-men at Arms, and 600 light-horse led by the Earl of *Warwick*; the main Battle of 6000 foot, and 600 men at Arms, and 1000 light-horse, led

led by the Protector; and the Rear of half so many, led by the Lord Dacres; the Artillery of 16 Pieces of Ordnance making one Wing, the men at Arms and Demilances the other. For the Avant-guard and half of the Battel riding about two flight-shot from their side, the other half of the Battel; and the whole Flank of the Rear was closed by the Carriages, being 12000 Carts and Wag-gons; the rest of the men at Arms and Demi-an-ces marching behind. A few skirmishes and strag-ragems passed, when a Trumpeter is sent by *Hung-ley* to challenge the Protector; to whom the Pro-rector replying like a wise man, *That it was not for a person of his trust to duel it with a private man*; The Earl of Warwick said, *Trumpeter, bring me word that thy Master will perform the Combat with me, and I'll give thee 100 Crowns.* Nay, rather, said our Duke, *bring me word that he will give us Battle, and I will give thee 1000 £.* But in 25 days he gains a greater a Battle, over-runs the Country with the loss of no more then 65 men, to that of 25000 Scots.

3. His third Exploit was, Dispensing *b* Honours so nobly, that they were due encouragements to Virtue; though yet so warily, that they should not be either a burden or a danger to the Crown.

4. He gave the Commonalty great content, in pulling down Enclosures by Proclamations; and the Nobility no less, by setting up Land-improvements by Rule.

5. He engaged both, by a good bargain of Church-lands, confirmed by this Parliament.

6. He weakneth the Papists, 1. By conniving at them until they broke out to such outrages as

*Edw. 6.*

*a The same day that 30. years ago they were beaten at Flodden. b He made the first and last Ban-nerers.*

*Edw. 6.* made them lyable. 2. By dividing them when engaged, with hope of mercy on the one hand, and fear of his Army on the other.

7 The *French* taking the advantage of our seditious to break off their Treaty, and proclaim a War, he confiscates their Estates, and secures the persons of as many of them as lived in *England*.

But Greatness is fatal; and his Brother that should have supported this great man, ruins himself and him. He had married a Lady high in spirit; his Brother the Queen-Dowager, higher in place: the Ladies quarrel first, and then (as it must needs follow) the Lords. *Thomas* the Admiral is questioned for aiming at the Crown, 1. By marrying the Lady *Elizabeth*, and then by seizing the Kings person and the Government: so honest this Protector, (a plain man, and of no over-deep insight into practices) that he gave way to his Tryal, saying, (though somewhat ominous as it happened) *I'll do and suffer Justice*: so Uxorious, that he sealed his death. And now he stands alone, wanting his Brothers cunning to reach *Warwick*, or his resolution to check *Norfolk*. The people are troubled at that one weak and unjustifiable Act of his, The pulling down of so many of Gods Churches in the City, to build one *Somerse*-house in the *Strand*.

The Earl takes notice of their discontent, and assembles eighteen discontented Counsellours, who arm themselves and their c followers, calling the City and the Kingdome to their assistance by a Proclamation. The Protector fleeth with the King and a Guard to *Hampton-Court*: the City some-

c *Wm*  
th *ypu*  
in *new*  
*Liberts*.

sometimes resolved to assist the Lords, out of malice to the Protector; sometimes to forbear out of such consideration of its many misfortunes in opposing Kings, let forth not with more Integrity by *George Stadlow*, then Eloquence and Life by *John Ayliffe*. They delay: Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Captain of the Guard persuades the King of the Lords moderation and Loyalty; the Duke is to answer for himself: the Lawyers charge him with removing *Westminster-Hall* to *Somerset-House*, where he kept a Court of Request, and determined Title of Lands; the Souldiers with the detaining of their pay, and betraying our French Garisons; the States-men with the engrossing of all Authority. The Earl of *Warwick* vigilantly but closely manageth all discontents to his designe with this great advantage, that we was subtle, close, and implacable; while the other was free-spirited, open-hearted, humble, hard to distrust, easie to forgive. His friend the Lord *Russel* is absent: he is first tryed and acquitted, but with the loss of his Protectorship, Treasure-ship, Marshallship, and 2000 L. of Land more.

But *Warwick's* designe for the Crown ripening, and *Somerset* being the most eminent obstruction in his way, having weakned, before he ruins him, now he chargeth him with Treason, to make a noise; and with *Felony*, to do execution: the Council is packed, he looseth his life (for a small crime, and that on a duice point, subtilly devised and packed by his Enemies) forgetting to ask the benefit of the Clergy, that had saved it. This person, as one charactereth him, was religious himself, a lover of all such as were so, and a great promoter

dFor contriving the death of a Privy Counsellor.



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moter of the Reformation : Valiant and successful, generally beloved by Souldiers, envied by Statesmen, though the most conscientious of them all; doing nothing irregularly, but in compliance with the necessities of Government; open to dangers, as one that could not be jealous; better to act, than design; to perform, than plot. When he was discharged of Treason, there was so loud a shout in *Westminster-Hall*, as was heard to *Long-Acre*; when condemned of Felony, there was a silence and amazement for three hours. It is observed of some, that they have despised the benefit of their Clergy while they lived; and by a just providence of God, could not make use of it when they were to dye: It was pitty that this Noble person should forget to crave that benefit of the Clergy, which might have saved him; when he was so unwilling to enjoy any benefit of the Clergy, which might Incommode them. The controversie between him and the Earl of *Warwick* is like that between *Demades* and *Phocion*; *Demades* threatned *Phocion*, that the *Athenians* would destroy him when they fell into their mad fits; and thee *Demades* [saith *Phocion*] when they return to their right minds: it appearing afterwards, that what he was charged to have design'd against others, he did only in his own defence, *cum moderamine. Inculpa- ta cautela*, in whose behalf *Cicero* had pleaded thus, *Si vita nostra in aliquas Insidias, si in vim, in tela aut latronum, aut in imicorum incidisset; omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis; hoc & ratio doctis, & necessitas barbaris, & mos gentibus, & feris natura ipsa præscripsit, ut omnem semper vim quæcumq; ope possint a corpore, a capite, a vitâ suâ propulsare: nitantur.*

Be-

Beheaded he was on *Tower-Hill*, with no less praise for his piety and patience, than pity and grief of the spectators. His Death was attended with many signes and wonders, and his Name with an indelible character, his house being called *Somerset-house* to this day, though solemnly proclaimed by King *James* *Denmark-house*, because inhabited by the King of *Denmark* and his Sister. Surely (saith my Author) *this Duke was well beloved, since his Name made such indelible impression on his house, whereof he was not five years in possession.* Death hath this also, That it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envy. *Philip* asked *Demetrius* if he did not fear to lose his head? He answered, No: for if he did, the *Athenians* would give him one immortal; He should be statued in the Temple of Eternal Fame.

*Nil non Mortale tenemus,*

*Pecioris exceptis ingeniiq; bonis :*

*En ego, cum Patria caream vobisq; demq;*

*Raptaq; sint, adimi quæ potuere mihi,*

*Virtute attamen ipse mea comitorq; fruorq;*

*Cæsar in hoc potuit juris habere nihil.*

*Quilibet hanc salvo vitam mihi, finiat ense,*

*Me tamen extinctâ fama perennis erit.*

*“ All that we hold will die,*

*“ But our brave Thoughts and Ingenuity :*

*“ Even I that want my Country, House and Friend,*

*“ From whom is ravished all that Fate can rend,*

*“ Possess yet my own Genius, and enjoy*

*“ That which is more than Cæsar can destroy.*

*“ Each Groom may kill me : but whensoever I die,*

*“ My Fame shall live to mate eternity.*

**Brave**

Edw. 6. Brave men never die : Worth begets in weak and base minds, Envy ; in the Magnanimous, Emulation : in Posterity, Renown : *A Renown that is as the beams about the Sun , or the glory about an holy picture that shews it to be a Saint , though it be no essential part : it riseth from the body of that Virtue , which cannot chuse but shine , and give a light through all the clouds of error and distraction. And though sometimes the mists and vapours of the lower earth impede the light it gives , yet there will be apperent Rays , that shew there is Desert unseen , which yeilds those gleams of brightness to the whole Horizon , that it moves and shines in , which survive to a glorious kind of immortality , when the Good Man is dead and gone ; a Good Name being the embalming of the Virtuouse to an eternity of love and gratitude among posterity. For my own Honour (saith the Royal Martyr) I am well assured , that as mine Innocence is clear before God in point of any calumnies they object ; so my Reputation shall like the Sun ( after Owls and Bats have had their freedome in the night ) rise and recover its self to such a degree of splendour , as those feral birds shall be grieved to behold , and unable to bear.*

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Obfer-

*Observations on the Lives of the Pars.*

Sir William Par Uncle and Lord Chamberlain *There was*  
 Seco Queen Katharine Par, was by King Henry *another of*  
 the Eighth created Baron Par of Horton: he left *his name*  
 two Daughters onely, married into the Families *Sheriff,*  
 of Tressum and Lane. His Relation called him to *Nephew*  
 Court, but his Age forbid him the pleasures, and *to this*  
 his own Reservedness the freedom of that place; *Knight, in*  
 before which he preferred the pious, peaceable, *25<sup>th</sup> H.8.*  
 and hospitable way of the Countrey, where Popu-  
 larity affected him, more than he affected it; No  
 man being more beloved by the vulgar, no man  
 less in love with them: It being his Observation  
 rather than his Countrey-man Sir Edward Moun-  
 tague's saying, *That if you do the common sort of peo-*  
*ple nineteen courtesies together, yet you may lose their*  
*love, if you go but over the stile before them.*

His Cousin Sir William was brought by his Sister  
 to Court, and advanced by his Brother to Honour;  
 being for his Maesties sake as well as his own, made  
 Lord Par of Kendal, Earl of Essex by King Henry  
 the Eighth, and Marquess of Northampton by King  
 Edward: Queen Mary deprived him of his Estate  
 and Honour for siding with the Lady Jane, and  
 Queen Elizabeth restored him to both, for favour-  
 ing the Protestant Religion.

His Delight was Malick and Poetry, and his Ex-  
 ercise War; being a happy composition of the hard-  
 est

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est and softest Discipline, equally made for Court and Camp, for Delight or Honour: But his skill in the Field answered not his industry, nor his success his skill: Yec King Edward called him *His Honest Uncle*; and King Henry, *His Integrity*. The whole Family was made by a *Marriage*, but died *Issueless*.

The common Rule of Favourites is, to bring in all their Relations about them, to adorn and support them: but this Marquis would say, *A wall that hath a firm Bottom, had need of no Buttress; and that which wants it, is often rather thrust down than upheld by it.* The Antiquaries crouch, as though they upheld the Church, when they are upheld by it: Clients are more a burden than a strength; and when the chief Favourite dares not displease his Sovereign because he is so near him, they dare, because he is between them and Majesty. His Followers were not gaudy, to render him suspicious; nor discontented, to breed ill blood, and a misunderstanding; nor too open, to discover him: but *deserving*, to honour him; and *hopeful*, to be advanced by him. Active men were recommended by him to King Henry's busie Occasions, and Virtuous to King Edward's pious Inclinations.

In his last years he found that there was little love in the World, and least of all among Equals; and that that which war, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose fortune may comprehend the one the other. To ease his minde therefore, to satisfy his Judgement, to observe his oversight, he adopted Sir *William Cho'mley*, bringing him first to his House, and then to his Heart, to shew him that impartially, which he could not discern in him-

himself. There is no such Flatterer as a mans self : and there is no such Remedy against Flattery of a mans self as the liberty of a Friend : Counsel is of two sorts ; (to go on in my Authors words) the one concerning manners, the other concerning business : for the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health, is the faithful admonition of a friend : The calling of a mans self to a strict account, is a medicine sometime too piercing and corroding ; reading good Books of Morality is a little flat and dead ; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case : but the best receipt (best I say, to work, and best to take) is the Admonition of a Friend.

*Lord Bacon's Essay.*

So much solid Worth he had, that he had no use of Ambition ; so much Modesty, that he made little use of his Worth : Mean thoughts he entertained of himself, and as mean thoughts did he by his down-cast though grave look, his sparing though pertinent discourse, and his submissive though regardful carriage, suggest of himself. But a well-manag'd boldness is the Virtue of Monarchick Courts, and a discreet submission that of a Republican ; no advantageous admission into the one, without the first, nor safety in the other, without the second : Here, if you are bold, you must look for an *Outraged* ; there, if you are modest, for *Neglect* : Yet a sober and moderate man may be in fashion once in an Age. The Souldier and the Gentleman are the Warlike Princes Darlings ; Church-men, the Religious ; Physicians, the Sickly and Old ; Scholars, the Learned ; Exchequerers, the Poor, Covetous, or Prodigal ; Lawyers, the Just ; and They of a Healing, Soft and Pliable Temper, (King James his character and commendation

on

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on of my Lord Bacon) the Settling and the Peaceable, such as Edward the VI, in whose Reign he was advanced, and Queen Elizabeth, in whose Reign he was restored.

It was in pursuance of King Henry's Statute, that he closed with King Edward's Will: For this Clause he produced for himself:

*Provided, That if the Lady Mary do not keep nor perform such Conditions, which shall be limited and appointed, as aforesaid, that then and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the Kings Body, and the said Lord Prince, lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises, shall be, come and remain to such Person and Persons, and of such Estate and Estates as the Kings Highness by his Letters Patents sealed under His Great Seal, or by His last Will in Writing, signed with His Hand, shall limit and appoint.*

Isocrates was a man of an excellent Wit, but finding himself destitute of countenance, gesture and confidence, he never durst speak in publick, contenting himself to teach, even to his decrepit days; and commonly saying, *He taught Rhetorique for a thousand Ryals, but would give more than ten thousand to him that would teach him confidence:*

This Marquets brought up many a Courtier, yet had not the face to be One himself, until Queen Elizabeth, who balanced her Council in point of Religion in the beginning of her Reign, as she did her Court in point of Interest throughout, threatened him to the Council-Board first, and then to her Cabinet; where none more secret, to keep counsel;

none

none more faithful, to give it; and more modest, *Edw. 6.*  
to submit. A sincere, plain, direct man; no:  
crafty nor involved. *W*

*Observations on the Life of Sir John Cheek.*

Sir John Cheek, born over against the Markers-Cross in Cambridge, became Tutor to King Edward the Sixth, and Secretary of State: Not so meanly descended as Sir John Heyward pretends, (who writes him, *The Son of his own Deserts*) being a Branch of the Cheeks of *Moston* in the Isle of Wight, (where their Estate was three hundred pound a year, three hundred years ago, and no more within this thirty years :) happy in his Father, Mr. Peter Cheek, whose first tuition seasoned him; happier in his good *a* Mother, (that grave *a* *A Duf-*  
Matron) whose good *b* counsel & Christian charge scild, *b* *Recom-*  
when he was going to Court, settled him; and *c* *mending*  
happiest of all in the place of his birth, where he *d* *to him the*  
fell from his Mothers VVomb to the Muses Lap, *e* *care of*  
and learned as soon as he lived, being a Scholar *f* *three*  
sooner than he was a man. A German had the *g* *things:*  
care of his younger studies, and a Frenchman of *h* *1. His*  
his carriage; his parts being too large to be con- *i* *God.*  
fined to the narrowness of English Rules, and too *j* *2. His*  
sprightly to attend the tediousness, and creep by *k* *Soul.*  
the compass of an English method. The same day *l* *3. His*  
was he and Mr. Ascham admitted to St. Johns, and *m* *Company.*  
the same week to Court, the one to the Tuition  
of



*Edw. 6.* of *Edward* the sixth, the other of *Queen Elizabeth*: there they were both happy in their Master Doctor *Metcalf*, who though he could not (as *Themistocles* said) *fiddle*, yet he could make a little Colledge a great one, and breed Scholars, though he was none: His advice deterred them from the rough Learning of the Modern Schoolmen, and their own Genius led them to the more polite studies of the ancient Orators and Historians; wherein they profited so well, that the one was the copious Orator, the other the Greek Professor of that University.

A contest began now, between the Introducers of the New, and the Defenders of the Old Pronunciation of the Greek: the former endeavoured to give each Letter, Vowel and Diphthong its full sound: whilst Doctor *Caius* and others of the Old stamp, cried out against his Project, and the Promoters of it; taxing *It* for novelty, and *Them* for want of experience, and affirming Greek itself to be barbarous, so clownishly uttered; and that neither *France*, *Germany* nor *Italy* owned any such Pronunciation. *John Cheek* and *Thomas Smith* maintained that this was no Innovation, but the ancient utterance of Greek, most clear, and most full. Chancellour *Gardiner* then interposed against the Pronunciation, and the Authors of it: But custom hath since prevailed for the use of the one, and the due commendation of the other.

*Sir John Cheek's* Authors were *Isocrates* and *Thucydides*; his Auditors the youngest that came thither, for Language; and the oldest that heard him, for his Discourse and Policy: The one preferred

ferred him to the ample Provostship of *Kings*, the *Edw. 6.*  
 other to the great trust of Secretary of State: Prince  
*Edward* studied not his Book more sedulously, than  
 he studied him, that his Rules might comply with his  
 Inclination, & his Lectures with his temper: Lectures,  
 that were rather Discourses instilled to him Majestically,  
 as a Prince; than Lessons beaten into him pedantiquely,  
 as a School-boy. The wise Man would not be debasing his  
 Royal Pupils mind with the nauseated and low crumbs of a  
 Pedant, but ennobling it with the free and high Maximes of  
 a Statesman; sugaring the more austere parts of Learning  
 with the pleasures of Poetry, Discourse, Apologues; and so  
 deceiving the Royal Youth to an improvement before his own  
 years, and others comprehension. His very Recreations were  
 useful, and his Series of lighter exercises (for he observed a  
 method in them too) a constant study; his Table, his School;  
 his Meat, his Discipline: the industrious Tutor filling up each  
 space of his time with its suitable instruction; it being his  
 Maxime, *That Time and Observation were the best Masters,*  
*and Exercise the best Tutor.* While others doated over their  
 Rules, his Pupils practised them; no day passing without his  
 Letters to the King, as that, *Literæ meæ unum semper habet Argu-  
 mentum (Rex Nobilissime & Pater Illustrissime) hoc est,*  
*in omnibus Epistolis ago tibi gratias, &c.* or to the Queen,  
 as that, *Quod non ad te jamdiu scriberem in causa fuit non  
 negligentia, sed studium; non enim hoc feci ut nunquam  
 omnino scriberem, sed accuratius scriberem, &c.* I have two  
 Tutors, (said King *Edward* to *Cardan*) *Diligence and Moderation,*  
*Sir Jo. Cheeke and Doctor Cox.* So exact an account he gave  
 Prince *Edward* of his Fathers Kingdom,

*Edw. 6.* and its Interest, that King *Henry* designed him for Secretary, and King *Edward* made him one.

Three years he had that place; and in that three years did *England* more service, so great his Parts, Learning and Religion! more kindness, such his eminency in both! and gave the People more satisfaction, such his Integrity and Dexterity! than all that went before him, and most that came after him. He was the first that brought in the use of a Diary, and his Pupil the next that practised it: His Aphorism it was, That a dark and imperfect reflexion upon Affairs floating in the memory, was like words dispersed and insignificant; whereas a compleat view of them in a Book, was like the same words pointed in a period, and made significant.

Much did the Kingdome value him, but more the King: for being once desperately sick, the King carefully enquired of him every day; at last his Physician told him there was no hope for his life, being given over by him for a dead man: *No*, said the King, *he will not die at this time; for this morning I begged his life from God in my Prayers, and obtained it.* Which accordingly came to pass; and he soon after, against all expectation, wonderfully recovered. This (saith Doctor *Fuller*) was attested by the old Earl of *Huntington*, (bred up in his childhood with King *Edward*) to Sir *Tho. Checke*, who anno 1654. was alive, and 80. years of Age.

But though his Prayers saved his Tutors Life, none could save his; who died with the Protestant Religion in his heart and arms: and Sir *John* had died with him, but that being outed of all his preferments, he outed himself from the Kingdome: loving to all the *English Exiles at Strasburgh*, and well beloved

all over *Germany*; until trusting to the Stars too much, (would he had either not gone so high, or gone a little higher for advice) and his friends too little, he went to meet his dear Wife in *Brabant*; where neither my Lord *Paget's* promise, nor Sir *John Mason's* pledges, nor Abbot *Fecknam's* intercession, could excuse him from being unhorsed and carted, imprisoned and tortured, vexed with all the arts of power, and perplexed, until his hard usage meeting with some fair promises, brought him to a Recantation that broke his heart; and after much melancholick sighing and silence, brought him to his Grave; The great example of Parts and Ingenuity, of frailty and infirmity, of repentance and piety. Forced he was to sit with *Bonner* in his Courts, but forced he would not be to joyn with him in his judgment: look on he did, but weep and groan too.

A good Christian he was, witness his pious Epistles; an excellent States-man, as appears by his *True Subject to the Rebel*; a Book as seasonably republished (by Doctor *Langbaine* of *Queens College* in *Oxford*) in the excellent King *Charles* his troubles, as it was at first written in the good King *Edward's* commotions.

*Vespasian* said of *Apollonius*, That his Gate was open to all Philosophers, but his Heart to Him: And Sir *John Cheeke* would say to Father *Latimer*, I have an Ear for other Divines, but I have an Heart for You.

A Country-man in *Spain* coming to an Image enshrined, the extruction and first making whereof he could well remember, and not finding from the same that respectful usage which he expected, You need not (quoth he) be so proud; for we have known you from a Plum-Tree. Sir *John Cheeke* one day discoursing

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of the Pope's Threats, said, *He need not be so high; for we have known him a Chaplain.* He took much delight in that saying of *Herod the Sophist*, when he was pained with the Gout in his hands and feet: *When I would eat, (said he) I have no hands; when I would go, I have no feet: but when I must be pained, I have both hands and feet.* Applying it thus: When we would serve God, we have no soul; when we would serve our Neighbours, we have no body: but when we suffer for neglecting both, we shall find we have both a body and a soul.

*Gustavus Adolphus* some three days before his death, said, *Our affairs answer our desires: but I doubt God will punish me for the folly of my People, who attribute too much to me, and esteem me as it were their God; and therefore he will make them shortly know and see I am but a man: I submit to his will, and I know he will not leave this great Enterprize of mine imperfect.* Three things *Sir John Cheeke* observed of *Edward the sixth*: 1. That the Peoples esteem of him would loose him. 2. That his Reformation should be overthrown. 3. That yet it should recover, and be finished.

As to publick Councils: 1. *Sir John* was against the War with *Scotland*, which he said was rather to be united to *England*, than separated from it. 2. He was against *King Edward's* will, saying, *He would never distrust God so far in the preservation of his true Religion, as to disinherit Orphans, to keep up Protestantism.* 3. He laid a Platform of a VVar with *Spain*. 4. He kept Neuter in the Court-factions. 5. *Bishop Ridley*, *Doctor Cox*, seconded; and *Sir John Cheeke* contrived all *King Edward's* Acts of Charity.

Obser-

*Observations on the Life of Sir  
Thomas Wentworth.*

**S***Ir Tho. Wentworth of Nettlested in Suffolk, of*  
“a younger Family, ( confessed by the *Cres-*  
“*cent* in his Coat ) descended from the *Wentworths*  
“of *Wentworth-wood-house* in *York-shire*, and was  
“created *Baron Wentworth* by King *Henry* the viii.  
“He was a stout and valiant Gentleman, a cordial  
“Protestant, and his Family a Sanctuary of such  
“Professors; *John Bale* comparing him to the  
“good Centurion in the Gospel, and gratefully ac-  
“knowledging him the cause of his conversion from  
“a *Carmelite*. The memory of this good Lord is  
“much ( but unjustly ) blenished, because *Calis*  
“was lost the last of *Queen Mary* under his Go-  
“vernment: The manner was huddled up in our  
“Chronicles, ( least is best of bad business ) where-  
“of this is the effect: The *English* being secure by  
“reason of the last Conquest at *St. Quintin*, and the  
“Duke of *Guise* having notice thereof, he fate  
“down before the Town at the time ( not when  
“Kings go forth to, but return from battle ) of  
“mid-winter, even upon *New-years-day*. Next  
“day he took the two Forts of *Risebank* and *New-*  
“*man-bridge*, ( wherein the strength of the City  
“consisted ) but whether they were undermined or  
“overmoneyed, it is not decided, and the last left  
“most suspicious. VVithin three Days the Castle  
“of *Calis*, which commanded the City, and was  
“under the command of *Sir Ralph Chamberlain*,

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“ was taken, the *French* wading through the Ditches, (made shallower by their artificial cut) and then entering the Town, were repulsed back by Sir *Anthony Ager* Marshal of *Calis*, the only Man, saith *Stow*, who was killed in the Fight, (understand him, of note) others, for the credit of the business, accounting four-score lost in that service. The *French* re-entering the City the next Day, being *Twelfth-day*, the Lord *Wentworth* Deputy thereof made but vain resistance, which (alas) was like the wrigling of a Worms tayl after the head thereof is cut off; so that he was forced to take what terms he could get, viz. That the Towns-men should depart (though plundered to a Groat) with their Lives, and himself with 49 more, such as the Duke of *Guise* should chuse, should remain Prisoners to be put to ranfome.

“ This was the best news brought to *Paris*, and worst to *London* for many years before: It not only abated the Queens cheer the remnant of *Christmas*, but her mirth all the days of her life. Yet might she thank her self for loosing this Key of *France*, because she hung it by her side with so slender a string, there being but Five Hundred Souldiers effectually in the Garrison; too few to manage such a piece of importance. The Lord *Wentworth* the second of *June* following, was solemnly condemned for Treason, though unheard, as absent in *France*: which was not only against Christian Charity, but *Roman* Justice; *Festus* confessing it was not fashionable amongst them to deliver any Man to die, before he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have licence

“ cence to answer for himself concerning the crime *Edw. 6.*  
 “ laid against him. It was well for this Lord that  
 “ he was detained in *France* till his ranfome was  
 “ paid, and Queen *Mary* dead, who otherwise  
 “ probably had lost his life, if he had had his liber-  
 “ ty. But Queen *Elizabeth* coming to the Crown,  
 “ he found the favour, or rather had the justice to  
 “ be tryed again, and was acquitted by his Peers;  
 “ finding it no treachery, cowardise, or carelesness  
 “ in him, but in Sir *John Harlton*, and Sir *Ralph*  
 “ *Chamberlain*, the one Governour of *Risebank*,  
 “ the other of *Calis-Castle*: for which they were  
 “ both condemned to die, though their Judgment  
 “ was remitted. This Lord was the only Person  
 “ I have read of, who thus in a manner played  
 “ Rubbers, when his Head lay at stake; and having  
 “ lost the fore, recovered the after-game. He di-  
 “ ed a very aged Man, 1594. Thus far *Mr. Fuller*.

Two ways a Courtier advanceth himself: the first, that more leisurely, slow, though sure, of watching Offices, Preferments and Dignities that may by steps bring them to the Kings Presence; The second, that more quick and short, but most practised, of following the Court for such extraordinary Commissions and particular services to the Empire, as may (without the danger of delays that must be fatal amidst so many Competitors) recommend him to his favour. It was below Sir *Thomas* his Estate to stoop to that first method; it suited more with his activity to embrace the second. Two usually-inconsistent qualities he had, The closeness of an Agent, and The Valour of a Souldier. To *Rome* he was sent in disguise, and to *Treport* with an



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Army: so graceful his carriage, so insinuating his affability, so clear and well-weighed his discourse, so searching and comprehensive his Judgment; so gravely Aiery, so Majestically pleasant his countenance, so becoming his gate and apparel, so watchful his Negotiations, so winning his Addressees, so discreetly smart his Reparties, (darting a suddain lustre and vigour to the darkness and heaviness of his graver Discourses, neither common nor unfavoury, neither affected nor far-fetched, neither abusive of others, nor mis-becoming himself) so discreet and well-managed his complaisance, (with reference to circumstances, Person, Place, Time, matter and cause) that he had Cardinal *Senhault's* Secretary, to bring him to the *Pope's* Closet; the Emperour's Agent *Randolphus*, to introduce him to Court; that he won Fryar *Paul*, to shew him the mysteries of the Church; Engineer *Palvino*, to represent the *Pop's* Cities, Towns, Fortifications, Havens, Harbours, Antiquities, Seminaries, Exercises, Ships, Treasure, Armories, Arsenals, Magazines, (having always by him a Card of the Territories) and the *Pope's* Bed-chamber-man, to shew him all the Papers and Transactions that concerned *Henry* the eighth. So well experienced his Conduct, so well disciplined his Army, so watchful and industrious his Nature, so good his pay, (though he pawned, at once in *Normandy*, his own Estate to satisfy his Souldiers) so noble his rewards of valour and service, (it being his rule, That every man should enjoy as much as he could conquer) so prevalent his example, that he did more with 2000 Men in three Moneths, than the Duke of *Suffolk* had done with 8000 in three years. The Duncery and idleness

## the Life of Sir Tho. Wentworth.

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ness of the Monks in his time, (as he writes himself) made *Erasmus* a Student: the sloth and carelessness of Commanders in Sir *Thomas* his time, made him a Souldier.

*Edward* the third of *England* having sent to *France* to demand the Crown by Maternal Right, the Council there sent him word, *That the Crown of France was not tied to a Distaff.* To which he replied, *That then he would tie it to his Sword.* Sir *Thomas Wentworth* demanding *Normandy* in right of the Dukes thereof, Kings of *England*, was told, *That Dukedomes were never given away in France by the Wills of the Dead:* Nay then, replied he, *we will have them against the Wills of the Living.*

It's writter of our *Henry* the fifth, that he had something of *Cesar* in him, which *Alexander* the Great had not, That he would not be Drunk; and something of *Alexander* the Great, which *Cesar* had not, That he would not be Flattered: Sir *Thomas* had both their Virtues, none of their Vices; *Non tam extra Vitia, quam cum summis Virtutibus.* Though he could not avoid misfortune, and prosper; yet he could yield to it, and retire: (that experienced File that could not withstand the enemies shot, could fall down and escape it.) Privacy at once secured and supported this unfortunate Gentleman: It is much to know how to lead and bring on successfully; it's more to retreat, and come off handsomely, and give over a bad game.

Since he heard ill, I hear no more of him but this: One being designed an Agent, waited upon this knowing and experienced Lord for some Directions for his conduct and carriage; he delivereth himself (saith my Author) thus: *To secure your self,*

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir Clement Paston.*

**S**ir Clement Paston was a Souldier, and a Souldiers Son; Valour running in the Blood for three Generations, and maturated by Noble and Heroick Actions for Glory and Success. Designed he was by his Friends for the Gown, but by his own Nature for Armour: Born for Action rather than Contemplation. When his Father asked him what he would desire of him, he desired a Horse and a Sword. He was tried in the King of France his service in Henry the Seventh's time, for his overthrow in Henry the Eighth's. He was the first that made the *English* Navy terrible, and the last that made our Army so: He took the Admiral of France: and saved him of England: 30000 Crowns he received by way of Ransome from the first, and 1000*l.* by way of Gratitude from the other: A Cup he would shew that the first gave him every Holy-day, and a Ring of the seconds every Christmas.

Two Kings made use of his Person, and two Queens of his Counsel, which he gave even on his Death-bed. His advice was short, but resolute:

his

his words few, but pertinent: his discourse commanding, and Souldier-like: his word, the Decree of the Medes. King Henry the Eighth called him *His Champion*: the Protector, in Edward the sixth's time, *His Souldier*; Queen Mary, *Her Sea-man*; and Queen Elizabeth, *Her Father*. VVhen Wyat was overthrown, he would deliver himself up to a Gentleman, and therefore only to Sir Clement Paston.

The two great Interests of Souldiers is Pay and Honour: He mortgaged his Estate twice, to satisfy them for the one; and pawn'd his credit at Court often, to encourage them for the other; getting his Commanders always power and authority enough to do their Masters business, but never enough to do their own.

There being always a contest between the Populacy and the Souldiers, ("whom nothing reconciles, but downright force and necessity") it was death to his Followers to be irregular, because one of their miscarriages exasperates a million, and distastes a Kingdom; so necessary is a strict Discipline in the Camp, and an impartial Justice in the Countrey.

Outward occasions help Fortune, a Man's own temper makes it, when there be, as my Lord Bacon writes, no stops or restiveness in a Man's mind, but that the wheels of that keeps even with those of fortune. Sir Clement and Cato Major were both of a make, both having *tantum robur corporis & animi, ut, quocunque loco nati essent, fortunam sibi facturi viderentur.*

*Observations on the Life of the Lord Rich.*

**H**E must needs be preferred, who was so richly descended and nobly allied, as to shew at Court upon his first appearance sixty Noblemen and Knights of his Relation, and a hundred and fifty thousand Pound a Year Revenue among his Friends. He was more beholding to the Temple for his Law, than to the Universities for his Learning. His severe and active Nature aspiring above the pedantiqueness of a Scholar, to the usefulness of a States-man: *I could never endure (saith he) those Studies that furnish me only with unactive thoughts and useless discourse, that teach me only to think and speak.*

His staid and solid parts commended Him to Cromwel, and Cromwel recommended him to King Henry the Eighth: He was Solicitor-General to His Majesty, and Steward to his Master: Cromwel was the Maw, and Rich the Hammer of Abbeys: He laid open to the Monks their faults, and his Master made use of it to force them to a surrendry: For as he said, when those Religious Societies saw they had faults enough discovered to take away their Lands, they had wit enough to give them up. His Counsels overthrew Popery, and his Deposition cut off Sir Thomas More: for being sent to Sir Thomas, after much discourse with him, he asked him this subtle Question, *Whether he would acknowledge the King Supream Head, if it were enjoyed* by

by an *Act of Parliament* ? Sir *Thomas* asked him again, If the *Parliament* enacted that God should not be Lord, whether he should consent to it ? And those words undid him. He saw that the Protestant Religion was the Interest of *England*, as well as the Doctrine of Scripture ; and therefore he carried it on in point of policy, as Archbishop *Cranmer* did in point of conscience. King *Henry* the eighth admired his distinct reasoning, and stayed judgment ; and Queen *Anne Bullen* was taken with his graceful eloquence, and ingenious discourses : In the morning his plyant soul, that could answer all the turnings and windings of business, was as reserved and solid as that of a demure States-man ; in the evening, as chearful and merry as that of a Debonair Courtier. He was the wisdom of the Court in the Presence, and its wit in the Closet ; its Oracle there, and its pleasure here.

King *Henry* the eighth made him one of his Legators, and King *Edward* the sixth one of his Council : Under him he carried on the Protestant Religion in point of conscience, which others managed in point of interest. He designed the degrees of the Reformation, and he set out its method, than whom none more zealous in things necessary, none more moderate in things indifferent. Active he was, but wary ; stirring, but cautious. To him the Reformers resorted in point of Law, as to *Cranmer* and *Ridley* in point of Religion. Such his Prudence, that the Protector made him his Friend ; such his Integrity, that the King made him Chancellour : where his Decrees were just, his Dispatches quick, his Judgments speedy, his Sums of Debates full and satisfactory, his Sentences

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tences irreverfible; his Affiftants in the Rolls, and other Courts, able and honeft. None more compliant to Reason, none more ftiff in things againft Reason: He would do any thing for King *Edward* the fixth's intereft, nothing for Duke *Dudley's* ambition; therefore he obferving the courfe of Affairs, would rather refign his Place, than his Integrity: when he could not with a fafe confcience keep it, he with a contented mind parted with it; being honoured with the Barony of *Leez*, and enriched with the *Western Abbies*; it being the Prudence of that time to intereft the Nobility in the Papal Revenues, that fo they might be engaged againft the Authority.

*R. Rich* Lord Chancellour, (faith my Author) then living in *Great St. Bartholomews*, though outwardly concurring with the reft, began now fecretly to favour the Duke of *Somerfet*, and fent him a Letter, therein acquainting him with all paffages at the Council-board, fubfcribing the fame (either out of haft or familiarity) with no other Direction fave *To the Duke*; enjoyning his fervant, a new Attendant, as newly entred into his Family, fafely to deliver it. The Man made more haft than good fpeed; and his Lord wondring at his quick return, demanded of him where the Duke was when he delivered him the Letter? *In the Charter-houfe*, (faid the fervant), *on the fame token that he read it at the Window, and fmiled thereat*. But the Lord *Rich* fmiled not at the Relation, as fadly fenfible of the miftake, and delivery of the Letter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, no great friend of his, and an utter enemy to the Duke of *Somerfet*.

Wonder not if this Lord rofe early up the next morn-

morning, who may be presumed not to have slept all Night: He hieth to the Court; and having gotten admittance into the Bed-chamber before the King was up, fell down on his Knees, and desired that his Old Age might be eased of this burthensome Office; pleading that there ought to be some preparatory intervals in States-men between their temporal business and their death: in order to which, he desired to retire to *Essex*, there to attend his own Devotions. Nor would he rise from the ground till the King had granted his Request. And thus he saved himself from being stripped by others, by first pulling off his own Cloaths, who otherwise had lost his Chancellours place for revealing the secrets of the Council-board.

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*This story is related from the mouth of his Grand-child the Earl of Warwick that last was.*

There are few places so impregnable, but Nature hath left in them some place or other by which they may be taken: none being armed at all points so well, but there is some way left whereby he may be surprized. He is the strongest that hath fewest accesses. He was a wise Man that said, *Delay* hath undone many for the other World, *Hast* hath undone more for this, *Time* well managed saves all in both.

But there is a Wheel in things, which undoeth all those that have not a Wheel that answereth it in their Souls; I mean a great capacity to comply and close with those grand Vicissitudes that with small and unobserved circumstances turn round the World, which this great Man was Master of, who had his Eye upon the turns, flexures and points of things and business, and his state and interest ready to correspond: He knew when to proceed, when to make a stand, and when to retire. It's said of

Gran-



*Edw. 6. Grandees, That they are the first that find their own Griefs, and the last that find their Faults. Our Lord was quick in both, and hath taught us this, That certainly Men of great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business have no time to tend the welfare either of Body or Soul; and that they must with-draw from this World, before they retire into another: For, Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.*

There are no more Remarques of this Noble Personage, than that he was the Father of this Apophthegme, *Well done, if warily*; and Great-Grandfather to the present Earl of Warwick.

### *Observations on the Life of Sir John Mason.*

**H**E had his Birth at *Abingdon*, and his Education at *Oxford*: His Birth commended him to *All-Souls*, and his Breeding to the Court: His Study was like his Inclination, rather active than contemplative, his present thoughts foreseeing and providing for his future Employments. But Industry and Parts may prepare a Man, it is opportunity and occasion that must advance him; and never had a Man fairer opportunity, never made a Man better use of it.

None but Mr. *Mason* would the University pitch upon, to complement *Henry* the Eighth; none but Mr. *Mason* could please him, although he was as great a *Scholar* as he was a *King*, and as much an Humorist as both: as he was inclined, so he studied; as he

he studied, so he writ; not with a Pedants impertinence, but a States-man's prudence: so elegant was his Latine, that a Critick would have advanced him Professor; so various his Learning, that *Cranmer* would have preferred him Prebend; and yet so grave and wise the matter and compolure of his speech, that the King designed him a States-man.

When King *Henry* the Eighth came to *Oxford*, Sir *John* is deputed to congratulate his coming: who considering that a Man cannot every Day speak to Kings, contrived (saith my Author) the matter of his speech most Man-like, politick and pertinent, the phrase of it polite and majestick; so that what with his comely presence, his becoming carriage, his flowing expreſſion, his graceful-elocution, he gained that applause from the Court and University, that the one was as eager to have him, as the other was loth to part with him: the University was proud of him, but King *Henry* commanded him, and disposeth of him in Forein parts, to add practical experience to his speculative studies: It was the excellent way of that time, to pick out the choice youths of both Universities, and maintain them some years abroad, to make such Observations as might render them serviceable at home.

Dwelt with Books he had long enough, now he must converse with Men, and open his recluse and retired soul, to a practicable and social temper, by debonairness and freedom, too long mewed up with study and melancholy: Think and speak he could very well already, now he must learn to act and live: Books furnished; Travel must enlarge and settle his soul.

Four things made a States-man in those Days.

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1. The

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1. The University and good Letters.
2. The City and Converse.
3. The Court and Freedom of Spirit.
4. Travel and Observation.

*It was the politick Discipline of those days to select (saith mine Author) the pregnancies of either University, and breed them in Forcin parts for publick Employments. Agreeable whereunto, Mr. Mason is sent beyond sea with Instructions to guid him, and a pension to support him: With Order,*

1. To keep exact correspondence with the Secretary at home.

2. To entertain, 1. The most eminent Scholar, who might represent the Church: 2. The ripest Undersecretary, who might decipher to him the State: 3. The ablest Souldier and Sea-man, that might open to him the Interest of both Nations

3. To take an exact account of the Havens, Forts, Cities, Avenues, Passages, Ways, Treasure and Interest of the place he lives in.

4. To follow the respective Embassadors Directions in every Court.

5. To appear in each place upon any solemnity, Civil or Military, suitable to the occasion, all charges to be defrayed from the *English* Exchequer.

His Pension was two hundred and twenty pounds a year; his Circuit was *France*, the *Netherlands* and *Italy*; his Commission was to engage any knowing person of those respective Courts, that could transcribe their Edicts or Orders, give exact Intelligence, make any Interest, or had any influence upon their respective Governments: His Rules were,

1. To correspond with his Majesties Agents.

2. To



2. To have few and choice Acquaintance.

3. To make Collections of, and Observations upon the Histories, the Laws, Customs, and the most considerable State-men, Governours, and Great Men, with their Relations and Dependencies in those Courts.

4. To give a monethly account of such Remarques as occurred, at large to the Secretary, and in brief to the King and Cardinal.

His first undertaking was in *France*, where his Gravity was too severe, beyond the dalliances of that place. His next was to *Italy*, where he shewed as great a reach in countermining, as the Inhabitants of that place do in managing their plots: *None designs* (saith the Character) *further off than the Italian*: *None seeth* (saith Sir Tho. Audley) *further off than Sir John Mason*. His last Voyage was to *Spain*, where he out-grav'd the *Don* Himself, and then returned with the Italians *quickness*, the Spaniards *steadiness*, the Frenchmans *Ayr*, the Germans *Resolution*, and the Dutchmans *Industry*: Qualities that demonstrated he understood other Countreys, and could serve his own.

There this pregnant Gentleman being at some distance, could look more inwardly into the Constitution, Situation, Interest, State and Complexion of his own Countrey; and being near, could discern those of other parts with the mutual aspect of *England* upon them, and theirs upon it. They that lived in those times say that none understood the affairs of *England* and *France*, together with their mutual advantages or disadvantages, better than Sir *John Mason*.

He that had seen the mysteries of four Courts,

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might be trusted with those of one, as he was in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, in the capacity of a Privy Counsellour; and in *Edward* the Sixth's, in the Trust of chief Secretary. At the Board, none clearer in his Proposals; in his Office, none quicker for Dispatch: *Let me hear Sir John Mason*, said the King; *Let us to Sir John Mason*, said the Subjects: so much the reputation of his prudent integrity with the one, and of his familiar access with the other!

Four things he said kept him in, under all the Revolutions, during the four Princes Reigns whom he served:

1. That he thought few Things would save a Man.

2. That he was always intimate with the exactest Lawyer, and ablest Favourite.

3. That he spake little, and writ less.

4. That he had attained to something which each party esteemed serviceable to them, and was so moderate, that all thought him their own.

When a compleat man, he was called home, to be first Clerk of the Council, a place of great Trust; secondly, Secretary of State, a place of great Employment; thirdly, Master of the Requests, an Office of great Dispatch and Business; and fourthly, Treasurer of the Household, an Employment of constant care.

No Age wanted an able man more, no Age had one more willing to secure the Universities, than that which chose him to be Chancellour of *Oxford*, at the same time that his Prince made him Treasurer of the Household. Sacriledge it self then gaping after the University-Lands, durst not tempt so honest

nest a Man, nor perswade so great a Scholar, nor fright so resolute a Statesman to betray or yield up those ancient Encouragements of Learning and Virtue. Loth was *Oxford* to part with him when a Scholar, glad to entertain him a Statef-man, with a power to protect her; well tempered with Obligations to love her; he who is now the *Father* being lately the *Son*; maintained by a part of it, as he now maintained the whole. That was a scrambling time, when it was *catch who catch can*. I find not any particular favour conferred, or benefaction bestowed by him in person on the University; but this great good he did, That his Greatness kept others from doing any harm. Many hungry Courtiers had hopes to catch Fish, (and Fish it would be, whatever came into their Nets) on this turning of the Tide, and alteration of Religion: How easie was it for covetousness in those times to quarrel the Colledge-Lands into superstition! Sacriledge stood ready to knock at their Gates; and alas! 'twas past their Porter's power to forbid it entrance, had not Sir *John Mason* vigorously opposed it, and assisted the University on all occasions.

He inciteth them to the study of the Tongues; because *sensum alicujus rei non potest ille assequi, qui rindis est Idiomatis quo traditur*: and directed the reading of *Aristotle*, *Agricola*, *Melancthon*, &c. instead of *Scotus*, *Burlens*, *Bricot*: calling for all their Charters, Donations, Statutes, Popes Bulls, with an exact Rental of their Lands, and Inventory of their Goods, which were restored intire and safe.

The University, that could not enjoy his presence, craves his protection; and foreseeing in the fall of Abbeyes, their danger, especially when Foundati-

*Edw. 6* ons erected for superstition were given by statute to the King, chose Sir *John Mason* their Chancellour, who was at once a favourite of Power and of Learning; the greatest Lay-Statesman that was a Scholar, and the greatest Scholar that was a Lay-Statesman: He was not contented to secure, but he must improve *Oxford*, gaining it New Priviledges, when it feared the loss of its old ones.

A grave and reserved Man he was, who understood the Intrigues and Motions of those dark and uncertain times, and his nimble and present Prudence could accommodate them. His Maxime was, *Do, and say nothing*: Commending the active and close man, whose performances were as private, coherent, continued and suddain as his counsels; who would not spend that time in advising, that would serve for executing: Many were his pensions to Scholars at home, more to Agents abroad that assisted either his studies or employments, whom he designed an honour to his middle, and a support to his old Age. He had a peculiar way of satisfying suiters by plain dealing and dispatch: he would divide all suits either into matter of Equity, or a suit of Controversie; or into matter of Desert, or a suit of Petition: In the first he had his Referendaries, to see the matter compounded between both parties, rather than carried by either: In the second, he preferred all suitably to their Abilities. No Man understood better the nature of Court-places than he, and none saw further into Court-persons.

Two things, he said, always promoted a matter:

1. Secresie: (Boasting, which is the way of some Courtiers, though it discourageth some Com-

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Competitors, yet it awakeneth Others.)

2. Timing of it, with an Eye to those about us.

He would advise a Man to begin with a little and mean suit : For though (as my Lord *Bacon* observes) *iniquum petas & æquum feras*, is a good Rule, where a Man hath strength of favour ; yet otherwise a Man had better rise in his suit : For he that would have ventured at first to have lost his *Suitor*, will not in the conclusion lose both the *Suitor* and his own former Favour.

It's from him, while he lived, that we learned Celerity is the best Secresie ; Prudence and Resolution is the only Fortune ; Converse is the great Education ; Boldness a Man's surest Success ; Good Nature is the eminent Nobility ; and a well-weighed Honesty the only Favourite.

It's by him, when he died, we are taught that Moderation out-lasts Violence, Modesty Ambition, a publick Spirit a private One : That to act alone may be as profitable as Honourable, but to joyn with others most safe : That to study the nature of a Prince, may for the present advance ; but to understand the Interest of his Kingdom, is always secure : The one way being as uncertain as the frail Person it depends upon, the other as sure as the lasting State it serves.



*Observations on the Life of Sir  
William Stamford.*

Sir William Stamford was of *Straffordian* extraction; Robert his Grand-father living at Rowley in that County: but William his Father was a Merchant in London, and purchased Lands at Hadley in *Middlesex*, where Sir William was born, August 22. 1509. He was bred to the study of our Municipal Laws; attaining so much eminence therein, that he was preferred one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. His most learned Book of *The Pleas of the Crown*, hath made him for ever famous amongst Men of his own Profession. There is a spirit of retraction of one to his Native County, which made him purchase Lands, and his Son settle himself in *Straffordshire*. This worthy Judge died Aug. 28. and was buried at Hadley in this Shire, in the last year of the reign of Queen Mary, 1558.

King James had a Judge that would give no money, and King Henry had one that would take none. "There have been those Lawyers that turned the point of Law upon the Law it self; that wounded the Eagle with a feather from his own Wing, and stabbed the person of Princes with their Authority; that dethroned Kings with a moot-point, and overthrewed a Government at a Reading. This Judge understood, that as the Law is the security of the people, so Prerogative is the strength of the Law; and that that is the best temper of

Go-



Government where Kings have so much power to do evil, that they may be able to do good.

Miserable experience hath taught us, that since power hath been wrested from Princes, that neither they nor their people can be safe, if both be not in such a way as the Law hath intrusted the publick safety and welfare; which consists in a full power belonging to the King, to secure Liberties, preserve Property, and protect their People in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented. He sets himself good Rules, as well to create good presidents, as to follow them; reducing things to their first institution, and observing wherein and how they have degenerated: yet still taking counsel of both times: of the ancienter time, what is best; and of the latter, what is fittest. He made his course regular, that Men might know what to expect; but not peremptory, that Knaves might not know how to impose upon him: always expressing himself well, when he digressed from his Rule. Preserve the right of his place he would, but not stir Questions of Jurisdictions; rather assuming his right in silence, and *de facto*, then voice it with claims and challenges. He directed in most Affairs, but was busie in none: none readier to give, none readier to take helps and advices. His speech was more discreet than eloquent; rather particularly suitable to the present things and persons, than generally orderly and artificial. He could speak quick and deep too, never using many circumstances, lest he were tedious; ever some, lest he were blunt: so warily did he deliver what he knew, that he was sometimes thought to know what he did not,

*Edw. 6.* not. He knew what *might* be said, so good his fancy; and he knew what *should* be thought, so great his judgment: commanding the discourse where-ever he was, by that prudence that could bring it on and off; and that variety that happily intermingled Arguments with Tales, Reasons with Opinions, and earnest with jest. His Decrees were the Hedges of Propriety, his Dispatches cool, his Cases rightly stated; his Reports favour of Integrity and Prudence, of Books and Men. How discreetly would he moderate the rigorous circumstances of petty and penal Laws! how exactly observe the design and drift of the more fundamental and reasonable! Here no Intrigues to perplex, no Attendance to tire, no Hazards to discourage, no Checks or Delays to vex, no surreptitious advantages to surprize; no defeats of hopes, or falseness of friends to disappoint; no negligence of Agents, or interest of parties to betray; no Oratory or Sophism to varnish or hide a matter: all things clear as Justice, and smooth as Integrity.

By diligence and moderation, with their gentle degrees and augmentations, and his own watchful observance, he climbed to Excellency. A man is neither good, nor rich, nor wise at once; it being a double work to be great: 1. To remove Obstruction, and accommodate Adversaries: 2. To watch and assume the advantage. What is longest in proving, is longest declining: the Rose that buds one day, withereth the next. The Oak that is an Age a growing, is five stand. He had those lower Virtues that drew praise from the Vulgar, which he neglected, (knowing that they were more taken with appearances than realities) he had middle that



that they admired, and good Men observed; he had his highest Virtues, which they perceived, and great Men honoured: In a word, a fragrant fame he had, that filled all round about, and would not easily away. Although he despised the Flatterers praise, as base; and avoided the Cunnings, as dangerous; yet he would say of a deserved Fame, That being nothing, or but ayr at best, it doth all: for it's sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on substance.

He observed of himself, that he came very hardly to little Riches, and very easily to great Riches: For when a Man's flock is come to that, as my Lord *Verulam* observes, that he can expect the prime of the Market, and overcome those Bargains which for their greatness are few Mens Money, and be Partners in the Industries of younger men, he cannot but mainly increase with those two Advancers of Gain, 1. Diligence; and, 2. A good Name.

He hath left these two Principles behind him for those of his own profession:

1. That they should reduce every Statute to the Common Law and Custome whereon it is grounded.

2. That they should as well look into the History of former times for the Reasons and Circumstances of our Laws, as into their Law-books for the matter of them.

Some Lawyers assert the Subjects Liberty, and retrench the Prerogative (as too much power to be trusted for a mortal Man) within the known Limits of Law, that so Subjects may be at a certainty how

*Edw. 6.* How to square their Loyalty and Obedience. He always upheld that Prerogative, saying, *That the discretion of the Scepter as Guardian for the general good of the Common-weal h, must be trusted against all Emergencies, with the management of its own might : Concluding always thus ; Submission is our Duty, and Confidence our Prudence.* Bishop Bancroft of Oxford said in King Charles the first his time, *Et tempore occubui quo mallem Episcopatus rationem coram Deo dare, quam Episcopatum coram hominibus exercere.* Judge Stamford said in Q. Mary's time, *In qua reservamur tempora ! det Deus ut Magistratus rationem coram eo reddam potius quam Magistratum coram hominibus exerceam.*

His Book containeth two parts ; One of *The Pleas of the Crown*, the other of *The Kings Prerogative*. In him (saith Mr. Fulbeck) there is force and weight, and no common kind of stile ; in matter very few have gone beyond him, in method none have overtaken him : in the order of his writing he is smooth, yet sharp ; pleasant, yet grave : and surely his method may be a Law to the Writers that succeed him. Heavy saith he is the weight of innocent blood, consider we either the inward fears attending the guilt of it ; or the outward providence of God watching for the discovery of it ; one that was before him, having apprehended a Fishes head in the Platter, for the head of him whom he had murdered ; and another, after a horrid murder, being observed to have his Hand continually upon his Dagger. ....

*Observations on the Life of Sir  
John Jeffrey.*

Sir *John Jeffrey* was born in *Sussex*, where he left behind him a fair Estate to his Daughter. He so profited in the Study of our Municipal Law, that he was preferred secondary Judge of the Common Pleas, and thence advanced by Queen *Elizabeth*, in *Michaelmas-Term*, the Nineteenth of her Reign, to be Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer : which place he discharged for the Term of two years, to his great commendation. He left one Daughter and Heir, married to Sir *Edward Montague*, (since Baron of *Boughton*) by whom he had but one Daughter, *Elizabeth*, married to *Robert Barty* Earl of *Lindsey*, Mother to the truly honourable *Montague* Earl of *Lindsey*, and Lord great Chamberlain of *England*. This worthy Judge died in the 21. of Queen *Elizabeth*.

This was he who was called the Plodding Student, whose industry perfected Nature, and was perfected by experience. He read not to argue only ; for that is vanity : nor to believe and trust ; for that is easiness : nor to discourse ; for that is idle : but to weigh and consider ; for that is prudence. He had his Studies for pleasure and privacy, for ornament and converse, and for judgment and business. To spend too much time on his Book, was sloth ; to talk by Book, was affected ; and to act by it, was humourfome and Scholar-like.

## OBSERVATIONS on

Four things he would say helped him.

1. His Inclination : (*It's a great happiness to a Man (saith Aristotle) when his Calling is one of the τὰ αἰνεία τῇ φύσει, of those things that agree with his nature.*)

2. Method.

3. Religion, with that just and composed mind that attends it.

4. A great happiness in all the four faculties that make a Lawyer : 1. A sharp invention, and clear apprehension to search all the circumstances of a case propounded. 2. Judgment to examine and weigh the particulars invented and apprehended : for truth lieth in things, as Gold in Mines. 3. Memory to retain what is judged and examined. 4. A prompt and ready delivery of what is conceived and retained, set out with ingenuity and gravity. *Oratio prompta non audax.* What he said, was close and pinching, and not confident and earnest ; allowing passion not to *disturb* either the method or delivery of his discourse, but to *quicken* it. To speak well and much, he said, was not the work of one man : yet if a Philosopher be eloquent, said *Cicero*, we must not despise him ; if he be not, he must not affect it, so that he can comprehend in words what he conceiveth, and speak them plainly, that he may be understood. His Latine and *French* were Grammatical, his Rhetorick Natural, his Logick Reason : The first, opened the terms ; the second, pressed the Vigour ; the last, collected and disposed of the Axiomes, Grounds, and Rules of the Law, and all prepared him for that comprehensive Profession : in the ashes whereof, the sparks of all other Sciences were raked up.

His

His gesture and habit was grave, but not affected: *Edw. 6.*  
 speaking as much to the eye, as his tongue did to the ear: (the gesture being a great discoverer of the constitution, and a great direction to business: what a man misseth in the speech, he may sometimes find in the looks.) His temper was moderate and sober; a Virtue, and a seasoning of all others, attended with the Lawyers gift, and that is Patience. Modest he was, but not fondly bashful; his prudence, and not his softness. His humility begat affableness; his affableness, society; that, conference; conference, parts, and they acquaintance; and that, practice; and practice, experience; experience, renown; and that, preferment.

Sir John's inclination was studious; his mind, constant, solid, and settled, and able to dive into the Whirl-pools of that intricate and perplexed Faculty; his thoughts being *orderly*, and his conceptions *methodical*: his search comprehensive, avoiding Epitomes, as the banes of Learning. *Nullus illi per otium dies exit, partem noctium studiis vindicat; non vacat somno, sed succumbit, & oculos vigilia fatigatos cadentesq; in opere detinet.*

Considerable were the parts he had, but more so the making up of those he had not: his covering of his defects being of no less importance than the valuing of good parts, which he did three ways:

1. By caution, ingeniously and discreetly waving and putting off things improper.
2. By colour, making his Defects his Virtues, and his Faults his Endowments. And,
3. By that freedom of Spirit that daunts the weakest, and prevaieth with the wisest.

He proposed to himself five things to enquire  
 into,



Edw. 6. into, in order to that compleatness he arrived unto :

1. The ancient Maximes and Principles, or the more ancient Customs that make up the Common Law of *England*.

2. The Acts and Constitutions that make up its Statute-Law.

3. The particular Priviledges, Liberties, Immunities and Usages of Counties, Burroughs, Cities, &c. that do swerve from this Law.

4. The ancient Grounds and Reasons (as far as History can direct) of all these : our Law being an exact Reason.

5. The most satisfactory explanations of the Law : 1. From Commentaries, as *Bractions* : 2. Abridgments, as *Statbams* : 3. History, as the years and terms of the Common Law : And 4. From more particular Tracts, that handled their peculiar subjects, as *Fortescue*, *Glanvil*, *Britton*, *Fleta*, *Littleton*, which he thought not unprofitable to read, though dangerous to rely upon : (with the Lord *Cooke*, not liking those that stuff their mindes with wandering and masterless reports : For, as he said, they shall find them too soon to lead them to error :) Beginning with the terms of Art, and then to the matter ; perusing what is antiquated, and observing what is suitable to the present constitution and complexion. It's my Lord *Cook's* Rule, "That  
 "for the most part the latter Judgments and Re-  
 "solutions are the surest, and therefore fittest to  
 "season a man withal in the beginning ; both for  
 "settling of his Judgment, and retaining them in  
 "memory ; yet as he goeth on, out of the old fields  
 "must spring and grow the new Corn,

Our

*theLife of Sir John Jeffrey.*

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Edw. 6.

8

Our Lawyers course was slow and leisurely, his reading digested and deliberate: His considerations wary, and distrust his way to knowledge. He that begins with certainties, ends in doubts: and he that begins with doubts, ends in certainties, and looketh into the bottom of things.

Upon serious and solid Books he bestowed a double reading; the one cursorily, by way of preparation; and the other exact, by way of digestion.

Three things made him a Pleader:

1. Reading.
2. Observation.
3. Exercise.

And indeed, in ancient times, the Sergeants and Apprentices of Law did draw their own pleadings, which made them good Pleaders.

Vid. Cok.  
in Littl.  
Prefat.

He observed the affections, the intent, the analogy, the validity of the Law, putting all his reading to writing; having the places he was most to handle in all the variety that could be, with his Rules and Maximes, as far as reading, hearing, meditation, conference and memory could help him.

Thus his first thoughts were upon his Profession, until that advanced him to the highest Eminence; and his last upon his Interest, until that was improved to as much fortune as lieth in a well-laid Estate and Alliance.

*The End of the Observations upon the Lives of the  
Statesmen and Favourites of England, in the  
Reign of King Edward the Sixth.*



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ing Leases, Rents, Distresses, Replevins,  
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*A. M.*

Q 3

Arithme.

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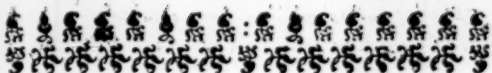
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*An Advertisement.*

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or others.

**W**Hereas *Samuel Speed* Bookseller, hath lately disposed himself to a whole-Sale trade for Books, not making any appearance of that imployment, as formerly he did. These are to Certifie, That those persons that please to apply themselves to him for Books, shall be as well used as by any person whatsoever: and whosoever hath any Study, or Library of Books, or Copies, either in Manuscript, or such as have been already Printed, to dispose of, shall receive from him the full value thereof, to the said Parties ample satisfaction.

*F I N I S.*



T H E  
States-Men & Favourites  
O F  
E N G L A N D,  
I N  
The Reign of Q. MARY.

*Observations on the Life of Sir William Cordell*

**S**IR William Cordell, where ever he was born, *Q. Mary;*  
had a fair Estate at Long-Melford in Suff-  
olk; and hech buried in that fair Church,  
under a decent Monument: We will tran-  
state his Epitaph, which will perfectly ac-  
quaint us with the great Offices he had; and good  
Offices he did to Posterity.

*Hic Gulielmus habet requiem, Cordellix avitos  
Stemmata qui clarus, clavior ingenio:  
His Studiis primos consumpsit fortiter annos;  
Mox & causarum strenuum actor erat.*  
A a Tanti

*Q Mary. Tanta illi doctrina inerat, facundia tanta,  
 Ut Parlamento publica lingua foret:  
 Postea factus Eques, Regina arcana Maria  
 Consilia, & Patria grande subibat opus.  
 Factus & est Custos Rotulorum; urgente senectâ,  
 In Christo moriens cepit ad astra viam.  
 Pauperibus largus victum vestemque ministrans,  
 Insuper Hospitiis condidit ille domum.*

*" Here William Cordel doth in rest remain;  
 " Great by his Birth, but greater by his Brain:  
 " Plying his studies hard, his youth throughout,  
 " Of Causes he became a Pleader stout,  
 " His Learning deep such Eloquence did vent,  
 " He was chuse Speaker to the Parliament:  
 " Afterwards Knight Queen Mary did him make,  
 " And Counsellour, State-Work to undertake;  
 " And Master of the Rolls: well-worn with Age,  
 " Dying in Christ, Heaven was his utmost Stage.  
 " Diet and Clothes to poor he gave at large,  
 " And a fair Alms-House founded on his charge.*

He was made Master of the Rolls *November* the fifth, in the fifth of *Queen Mary*, continuing there in till the day of his death, the 23. of *Queen Elizabeth*. Eight weeks and upwards passed between the Proclaiming of *Queen Mary*, and the first Parliament by her assembled; during which time, two Religions were together set on foot, Protestantism and Popery; the former hoping to be continued, the latter labouring to be restored: And as the Jews Children after the Captivity spake a middle Language, betwixt *Hebrew* and *Ashdod*; so during the foresaid Interim, the Churches and Chappels in *England*

*Q. Mary.*  
~~~~~

England had a mixt celebration of their Divine Service between Reformation and Superstition: The same day there was a Mass sung for *Edward* the Sixth's soul in the Tower, and the English Service for his Burial in *Westminster*. No small justling was there between the zealous Promoters of these contrary Perswasions: The Protestants had the Law on their side, and the Papists the Prerogative: These the Queens Opinion, the other her Promise. Besides, seeing by the Fidelity of the *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* Protestant Gentry, the Queen was much advantaged for the Recovery of her Right; they conceived it but reason, that as she by them regained the Crown, so they under her should enjoy their

*Fuller Eccl. Hist. B. 8. Cent;*

Consciences: Thus it is in the Evening Twilight, wherein Light and Darknes at first may seem very equally matched, but the later in a little time doth wholly prevail. The Catholick canvass for the next Parliament, upon the Queens credit and authority: the Reformed, upon the Nations Inclination.

The Body of the Kingdom meets, and chuseth our Knight for Speaker, whose temper was a Representative of the Parliament, as that is of the Kingdom: A temper made up of an equal mixture of Loyalty and Piety; that could at once stand to their Religion, and submit to their Sovereign; *Render to Cæsar what was Cæsars; and to God, what was Gods*: Long did he expect that the Queen would comply with the Parliament; and as long did she stay for their compliance with her: Unite they could not unanimously among themselves, dissolved they are therefore peaceably by her.

But *Cordel* was too Popular to be neglected, and too honest to be corrupted: Useful Parts will finde

*Q. Mary.*

Preferment, even when the Dissenting Judgement findes not Favour. The Speaker of the unhappily *healing* Parliament was made Master of the Rolls in *Queen Marias* days, and of a more happily *healing* one was made so in *Charles* the Second's Reign: The one was of that Primitive Faith that was before the Modern names of *Papists* and *Protestants*; the other of a Moderation that was elder than the new Heats of *Disciplinarians* and *Anti-Disciplinarians*.

The miscarriages of Authority are chiefly six:

1. Delay.
2. Faction.
3. Roughness.
4. Corruption.
5. Ambition. And
6. Private Designs.

No delay hindred: where set times of hearing were observed, access was easie, the order and method of business uninterrupted. No corruption, where there durst be no suspicion of it; intomuch as that it was heinous to offer a Bribe to him, as to take it in another. Here was severity that awed men to a discontent, but no austerity that sowed them to discontent; all was smooth and grave, pleasing and becoming, yet nothing easie or soft; it being worse to yield to importunities that are daily, than to be bought with money, which comes but seldom.

Virtue in Ambition is violent, but in Authority, as here, it was calm and settled. He sided with no Faction in his rise, but balanced himself by all: He had no design when he lived, but to be spent in the Publick Service; and none when he dyed, but to spend himself in publick charity, a charity that is at  
once

Q Mary.

once the continued blessing and grace of that wor-  
shipful Family. *Cato Major* would say, *That wise*  
*men learn more of fools, than fools do of wise men :*  
And *King Charles* the first would say, *That it was*  
*wisdom in fools to jest with wise men, but madness*  
*for wisemen to jest with fools :* And *Sir william*  
*Cordel* bequeathed us this Observation, *There is no*  
*man that talks, but I may gain by him ; and none*  
*that holds his tongue, but I may lose by him.*

*Observations on the Life of Sir Anthony Cooke.*

**S***ir Anthony Cooke*, great Grandchilde to *Sir*  
*Thomas Cooke* Lord Mayor of *London*, was  
born at *Giddy-Hall* in *Essex*, where he finish-  
ed a fair House begun by his great Grandfather,  
as appeareth by this Inscription on the Frontispiece  
thereof :

*Ædibus his frontem Proavus Thomas dedit olim,  
Addidit Antoni cætera sera manus.*

He was one of the Governors to *King Edward*  
the sixth when Prince, and is charactered by *Mr.*  
*Cambden*, *Vir antiqua serenitate.* He observeth  
him also to be happy in his Daughters, learned a-  
bove their Sex in *Greek* and *Latine* : namely,

*Cambd.*  
*Elix. 40*  
*1576.*

Q. Mary

|              |         |                                  |
|--------------|---------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Mildred   |         | { William Cecil, Lord Treas-     |
|              |         | urer of England.                 |
| 2. Anne      |         | { Nicholas Bacon, L. Chan-       |
|              |         | cellour of England.              |
| 3. Katherine | married | { Henry Killigrew,               |
|              | unto    |                                  |
| 4. Elizabeth |         | { Thomas Hobby, } K <sup>t</sup> |
| 5.           |         | { Ralph Rowlet, }                |

Sir *Anthony Cooke* dyed in the year of our Lord 1576. leaving a fair Estate unto his Son, in whose name it continued till our time. Gravity was the Ballast of his Soul, and General Learning its Leading. In him met the three things that set up a Family.

1. An Estate honestly gotten in the City.
2. An Education well managed in the University. And,
3. Honor well bestowed at Court.

Yet he was some-body in every Art, and eminent in all the whole circle of Arts lodging in his soul. His Latine, fluent and proper; his Greek, critical and exact; his Philology, and Observations upon each of these Languages, deep, curious, various and pertinent: His Logick, rational; his History and Experience, general; his Rhetorick and Poetry, copious and genuine; his Mathematicks, practicable and useful. Knowing that souls were equal, and that Women are as capable of learning as Men, he instilled that to his Daughters at night, which he had taught the Prince in the day; being resolved to have Sons by Education,

for

for fear he should have none by birth; and lest he wanted an Heir of his body, he made five of his mind, for whom he had at once a Gavel-kind of affection, and of Estate.

His Childrens maintenance was always according to their quality, and their employment according to their disposition; neither allowing them to live above their fortunes, nor forcing them against their natures. It is the happiness of Forreigners, that their Vocations are suited to their Natures, and that their Education seconds their Inclination; and both byas and ground do wonders. It's the unhappiness of Englishmen, that they are bred rather according to their Estates, than their temper; and Great Parts have been lost, while their Calling drew one way, and their Genius another; and they sadly say, *Multum incola fuisse anima nostra, we have dwelt from home.* Force makes Nature more violent in the return; Doctrine and Discourse may make it less importune; Custom may hide or suppress it, nothing can extinguish it: Nature even in the softer Sex runs either to Weeds or Herbs: careful was this good Father therefore, seasonably to water the one, and destroy the other. Much was done by his grave Rules, more by his graver life, that Map of Precepts. Precepts teach, but Examples draw. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia,* was Cato's Maxime. Three things there are before whom (was Sir Anthony's saying) I cannot do amiss; 1. My Prince. 2. My Conscience, 3. My Children. Seneca told his Sister, *That though he could not leave her a great portion, he would leave her a good pattern.* Sir Anthony would write to his Daughter Mildred, *My example is your inheritance,*



*Q. Mary.* *ritance, and my life is your portion.* His first care was to embue their tender souls with a knowing, serious and sober Religion, which went with them to their graves. His next business was to inure their younger years to submission, modesty and obedience; and to let their instructions grow with their years. Their Book and Pen was their Recreation; the Musick and Dancing School, the Court and City, their accomplishment; the Needle in the Closer, and House-wifery in the Hall and Kitchens their business. They were reprov'd, but with reason that convinced and checked, that wrought as well an ingenious shame, as an unfeigned sorrow, and a dutiful fear. Fondness never loved his Children, and Passion never chastised them; but all was managed with that prudence and discretion, that my Lord *Seymour* standing by one day when this Gentleman chid his Son, said, *Some men govern Families with more skill than others do Kingdoms*; and thereupon commended him to the Government of his Nephew *Edward* the sixth. Such the Justice of his looks and gate, that Awgovern'd; such the reason and sweetness, that love oblig'd all his Family: a Family equally afraid to displease so good a Head, and to offend so great. In their marriage they were guided by his Reason, more than his Will; and rather directed by his Counsel, than led by his Authority. They were their own portion: Parts, Beauty and Breeding bestow themselves. His care was, that his Daughters might have compleat Men, and that their Husbands might be happy in compleat Women: never promising, yet always paying a great Dowry. Their spirit and business kept them from that weak passion of

of love that embaseth Mankind; their Noble converse improved that friendly love that perfecteth it; and their marriage compleated that Nuptial love that makes it. He said first, and his Grandchilde my Lord Bacon after him, That *the Joys of Parents are Secrets, and so are their griefs and fears*, Children sweeten Labours, but they embitter Misfortunes: they encrease the care of Life, and mitigate the remembrance of Death. Very providently did he secure his Eternity, by leaving the image of his nature in his Children, and of his mind in his Pupil. The Recreations he indulged were moderate, lawful, sober, becoming, useful, and seasonable: the Expences he allowed, not so illiberal as to acquaint them with shifts, make them sort with mean company, nor surfeit when they came to plenty; nor yet so prodigal, but that they were taught how to live in the world. The Books he advised were not *many*, but *choice*: the business he pressed was not reading, but digesting. The King of *Sweden's* men were but six deep; and Sir *Anthony's* exercises were not thick, but methodical and armed: the Diet he prescribed, moderate: in Apparel he allowed for necessity, for decency, and in some cases for magnificence, provided that it were neither too costly, nor too vain; neither above the Purse, nor beyond the Calling, nor besides the Estate.

Sir *Anthony* took more pleasure to breed up States-men, than to be one. Contemplation was his Soul, Privacy his Life, and Discourse his Element. Business was his Purgatory, and Publickness his torment: yet so serviceable was he in *Edward* the sixth's time, that he was an Exile in *Queen Maries*

*Q. Mary Maries.* What though he and others were useful and peaceable in the Commonwealth? What though they were sound in the Faith, and cordially embracing the Doctrine of the Catholick Church? What though those in this condition were many, and such as in whose peace and industry the welfare of the whole Nation was exceedingly concerned? What if they offered to be instructed by any who would take that work upon them, in the things about which their differences are? What if they plead conscience towards God, and that alone, in their dissent, it being evidently against their whole Temporal interest? What if they have given evidence of their readiness in the ways of Christ and the Gospel, to oppose even error that seemed pernicious to the souls of men, or of an evil Aspect to Publick peace and tranquillity? all is one, they are upon some odde jealousies of future events to be forborn, neither joyntly nor severally, no one nor all of them in a case that concerns the interest of a predominant party, though the hands of a thousand be by those means taken off from labour, their stocks from employment, their minds from contrivances of industry in their own concerns, the revenues of those under whom they live decay'd; in all which the common good hath no small interest, fulness and plenty in the mean time diverting the thoughts of such who might remedy these things, before the stock of the Nation is wasted, and the affairs of it intrangled beyond remedy, from taking notice of them, or keeping off any impression on their minds and judgements, from what is represented concerning them; though men should look well to the ground of their actings, in things wherein they proceed

proceed against the common consent of mankind, expressed in all instances of the like occasion, that have occurred in the world; which is as great an evidence of the light and Law of nature, as any can be obtained: For what all men generally consent in, is from the common nature of all, who have by a common experience found, that the inward power of Religion always prevailed upon the world, and its greatest opposition, more than any outward force: And men do not consider aright, what a secret influence into the enervating of Politick Societies, such Intrenchments upon the principles of the light of nature will assuredly have: for those things which spring up in the minds of men, without arguing or consideration from without, will insensibly prevail in them against all Law and Constitution to the contrary, force from the prevalent influence of a particular interest to the contrary, —*Pessimus diuturnitatis Custos*—will not always prevail, nor ever at any time, without great regret and commotion in the minds of men, who have no concern in that interest, but act unavoidably according to that principle which sooner or later will perform its work; which is to make a judgement of a mans self and his actions, with reference to the future judgement of God, which men must be suffered to do (notwithstanding the abuse of that presence of Conscience by brain-sick or Enthusiastick persons in their Paroxysms, which is to take no place in consideration of what becomes a guidance of the actions of Mankind one toward's another) in things belonging properly to its cognizance; unless, which all that have exercised any reflect acts upon themselves, and know that neither they nor others can;  
and

*Q. Mary* and that God himself (who procures the assent of men onely by conviction and evidence to what he revealeth) will not force mens minds.

A wicked design it is of putting out Gods great Vice-gerent out of his place and Throne, and to act not in a pious way of Imitating the holiness, wisdom and clemency of God, in an ambitious way of usurping his Sovereignty, who yet enjoyneth not the belief of any thing he proposeth as an object of Faith; nor obedience in any thing which he commandeth, as matter of duty, till he hath given, what no man can, sufficient evidence of reason for the one; and warrantry of Authority for the other; for Religion is a matter of choice, and he that chooseth not his Religion hath none. Alledge, that any sort of men may act otherwise, and impose upon men practices, without reference to the judgement of God, is to suppose, that he hath set up an authority against himself; provided that the pretences of Conscience, shrowd not any practices that may interfere with the common light of Nature or Reason of Mankind, the Fundamental Articles of Christian Religion, Moral honesty, Civil Society, and Publick Tranquility, the Church and Commonwealth standing on the same bottom, and their interest being of the same breadth and length, and to be mutually narrowed or widened by each other, like *Hippocrates* his Twins, not onely being born and dying, but laughing and crying together, as equally affected with their mutual concerns. I mean, those most fixed and considerable; otherwise to build the unchangeable interest of a Nation, which should be obnoxious to nothing, but the over-ruling Providence of the most High, much less

to the impressions of various opinions, which will always be in the world, upon Laws mutable and changeable, according to mens experience of their use or inconvenience: And though various state of things, is a thing of so evil an aspect toward the solid foundation of the Polity of that Nation, in shaking its settlement in the minds of men, and as things may happen, narrowing its interest unto a scantling unproportionate unto its Superstructure, as undoubtedly, those who are principally concerned that the Kingdom should not be a floating Delos, are obliged not to admit an avowance of it, being dangerous, and scarce consistent with the prudence that should steer the peace of the world, to bring any one of the numerous and disputable apprehensions, that will be likely to the end of the world among men, to be the Constitution of a Government, as to its Civil Interest, to which otherwise all men of all persons profess they are born, and indispensably engaged to an obedience to and observance of, as exposing that (an awful reverence whereof groweth up with all men, their Temporal concerns being wrapped up in it, so far as to free it) to all the uncertain events of Religious Controversies, especially when the principles owned by the Government, and suited to the interest of a few men, are so far from being diffused among a people, that the greatest part of them must unavoidably, and will resolutely dissent from them, who otherwise acquiesce in the *Civil Government*; and abating those opinions of not great concernment, as to the substance of Religion, or the peace of the Nation, are willing to their utmost endeavours to the welfare thereof, which is hoped consisteth not in the impossibility of a precise

*Q. Mary* precise determination of the differences in the minds and Consciences of men, who are generally confirmed in their own persuasions, and into a further alienation from the things they are compelled to by compulsion and penalties; and who if brought to an outward Conformity, without inward persuasion, without which rigour hath little influence on the minds of men, will not be wanting to any opportunity offered, to ease themselves of a condition, which being contrary to their strong inclination, they will cast off, as we have known thousands do, as their insupportable burthen. Experience hath baffled the attempt of rigour and imposition, without reason and inward satisfaction, it never succeeding any where to extinguish the persuasions and opinions it was designed to extirpate, which returned in a short space to make it manifest, that violence hath onely laid in provisions for future troubles, oppositions and animosities, by ruining some, provoking many, obstructing trade, by discouraging and hindring men to exercise their faculties or stocks, inforcing few to an hypocritical compliance, compassion stirr'd up in all who after the subsiding of the impetuous impressions of provocation, abhor severity about small opinions, so deeply rooted in the minds of men for a longtime with great success and advantages against men, come up to a resolution to suffer, as appears every day by what they suffer, and forget the utmost of their earthly concerns, than live and dye in an open rebellion to the commanding light of God in their Consciences; and think it strange, that noble disposition, thoughts, counsel and care in uniting men by Indulgence to Loyalty and Gratitude (which can  
be

be united to nothing else, save an unanimous discontent under the impositions they may undergo) should be all sacrificed to the interest or prejudices of any one party of men whatsoever, upon pretence of that tranquility and peace, to which there is not a greater enemy, than the fears and restlessness of oppressed multitudes; nor a better friend, than the satisfaction and contentedness of all men, having no fears when indulged, but of the disturbance of the Government, which hath by its condescensions, secured to them all their principal Interests in the world, and made it unlikely, that if they have any Conscience, which their great sufferings give evidence of, or reason, they will joyn with any sort of men to trouble that State of things, wherein they have that Liberty, which they have been taught to value, by their miserable condition under the want of it: A way of obliging, real, sensible and effectual to many thousands, without the least semblance of disadvantage to any one man: Yea, attended with assurance of peace to all, upon the admission of counsels impartially tending to the good of all, uninfluenced by a mixture of fears and jealousies, against which former settlement were established;

Q. Mary

*Res dura & regni novitas cum talia cogunt.*

Contrary to that experience, and those second thoughts, which a new consideration of things may suggest unto them, to alter their resolutions in compliance with the alteration of affairs, always provided, it be in subordination to the great Establishment, which may be secured by the truth and order settled in it, the abilities and worth of it, the publick



*Q Mary* lick favour of Authority, the persons maintaining it, the legal priviledges and encouragements promoting it; the supposed inconsiderableness of the persons opposing it, and the things for which they do it, the great inconveniency, disadvantage and charge of carrying on the dissenting, though indulged ways if it have any foundation in the Consciences or minds of men, and stand not onely, which is a secret not to be published, on the props of Law and Power: It being (whatsoever some may imagine, who have scarce a better argument of the truth of their own Religion, than their inclination to suppress those of the contrary) so far from being an evidence of truth in any, that they are ready to destroy those who are otherwise minded, that it is a sign of error and superstition, which being conscious of its own weakness, is generally heightened to more or less cruelty and revenge, according as men by them are steeped in folly and blindness,

*Immortale odium, & nunquam sanabile bellum  
Ardet adhuc Ombos & Tentyra summus utrinque  
Inde furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum  
Odit uterque locus—*

and what was the ground and occasion of the quarrel?

— *Crocodilon adorat  
Pars hac, illa pavet satiram Serpentibus ibin.*

All other Nations, as *France, Holland, Poland, the Palatinate, Brandenburg, Haffia*, some parts  
of

of *Denmark*, the Empire, and most of the free *Q. Mary's*  
Cities of it, indulging their numerous and divided  
Dissenters, upon their sustaining all Offices and  
burthens in the Commonwealth equal with o-  
thers, with a freedom from Ecclesiastical Courts,  
Censures, Offices, and all penalties for their dis-  
sent, and an allowance for the Worship of God  
in their own Assembly, provided by themselves, and  
known to the Magistrates under whose Jurisdiction  
they are; though considering the temper of the  
people of this Nation, the impression of the prin-  
ciples of dissent, in multitudes; the resolution that  
their spirits are raised to; the value they put up-  
on their Consciences, and liberty of it, there is no  
people under Heaven, to whom forbearance would  
be more welcome, useful, acceptable, or more sub-  
servient to Tranquility, Trade, Wealth and Peace.  
An Exile, whose exemplary resolution supported  
Religion, whose obliging Authority maintained  
Peace, and whose inexhaustible Charity provided  
for the poor at *Zurick* and *Frankford*. A *Sussex*  
(and not a *Kentish*) Knight, having spent a  
great Estate at Court, and brought himself to one  
Park, and a fine House in it, was yet ambitious to  
entertain not the Queen, but her Brother at it;  
and to that purpose had new-painted his Gates with  
a Coat of Arms, and a Motto overwritten, thus,  
*OMNIA VANITAS*, in great Golden Letters:  
Sir *Anthony Cooke* (and not his Son *Cecil*) offering  
to read it, desired to know of the Gentleman what  
he meant by *OMNIA*? who told him, it stood for *Om-  
nia*. Sir *Anthony* replied, Sir, I wonder having  
made your *Omnia* so little as you have, you notwith-  
standing make your *Vanitas* so large. King *Edward*

*Q* *Mary* would say of his Tutors, That *Radolph* the *German* spake honestly, *Sir John Cheek* talked merrily, *Dr. Coxe* solidly, and *Sir Anthony Cooke* weighingly : A faculty that was derived with his blood to his Grandchilde *Bacon*, which informs the world of this great truth, That Education doth much towards Parts ; Industry more ; Converse, Encouragement and Exercise, more yet ; but a sound temper and nature, an wholesome blood and spirit, derived from healthful and well-constituted Parents, doth all.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir David Brooke.*

**D**avid Brooke Knight, born at *Glassenbury*, Son to *John Brooke* Esq; who was Serjeant at Law to King *Henry* the Eighth. Our *David* was also bred in the Study of our Laws, and in the first of Queen *Mary* was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer : but whether dying in, or quitting the place in the first of Queen *Elizabeth*, I am not informed. He married *Katherine* Daughter of *John Lord Chandois*, but dyed without issue.

A Lawyer, and a Lawyers son ? yet one whose zeal for the Religion of that time advanced, rather than his Law ; to serve rather his Princes interest, than his Court ? that being the happy, shall I say ? or unhappy time, when the Sovereign and the State did often consult with Judges, and the Judges more often consult with the Sovereign and State. Yet although a particular respect raised, a general fair carriage

carriage kept him up; He observed not onely things, but times; not onely times, but persons: therefore when old Penal Laws came before him, he confined them in the execution, that that which was made for *terror*, should not be for *rigour*; and the Instrument of Government should not be the snare of the People. When Informers of that Court were too busie, he checked them: when violent prosecution, cunning advantages, combinations, power, or great counsel balanced an honest cause, he set all things *even*. His invention was good to improve his Mistresses Revenue, his conscience was as tender to diminish it. *Q. Mary* was ready of her own inclination, but readier upon Sir *David Brookes* motion, to part with the Church-Profits. Patient and grave he was in hearing, sparing and weighty in speaking: None would direct an Evidence more orderly, none moderated the length or impertinency of Pleadings more discretely? None would recapitulate, select, collate the material points of what had been said, more exactly; none gave judgement more satisfactorily, always commending a good Lawyer that miscarried; a good way to uphold in the Client the reputation of his counsel, and beat down in him the conceit of his cause. He dyed with some projects in his breast for the Revenue, and some for the Law; whereof one was a composition for the Purveyances, and another a regulation of the Wards: both at that time thought, till regulated, as unprofitable for the Crown, as they seemed to be burthensome to the subject. He had a close way of discovering Concealments, as he had a severe one of punishing frauds. His word was, *One Law executed, is worth*

*Q. Mary.* twenty made. None more austere in case of others wrong, none more mild in that of his own; and he would say, *What is done, is done.* Weak men concern themselves in what is past, while the wise take care of what is present and to come. *If a man wrongeth me once, God forgive him* (saith the Italian:) *if he wrongeth me the second time, God forgive me.* Others may be even with their enemies in revenge, he would be above them in forgiveness. An enemy, I say, though otherwise to a perfidious and unworthy friend, he was much of *Cosmus Duke of Florence* his temper, who said, *you shall read that we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.*

Many have inveighed against Usury, none have done more against it than this Knight; who if he had lived, was resolved to reduce it to these Rules.

1. That it should be declared unlawful.
2. Being declared so, if any practised it (as men must do, or Traffick will fall) that there should be a penalty upon the Usurer, which might amount to an Excise or Custom that would arise from that money, if employed in merchandize.
3. That yet if any exacted above five in the hundred, they should lose the principal. A rate that on the one hand would keep up the necessary Commerce of Lending and Borrowing among the Old and the Idle, and yet direct men to that more necessary of buying and improving Land, and other Commodities that are more industrious and ingenious.

4. That

4. That none yet presume this, but in some principal places of merchandizing: for then (as my Lord Bacon hath projected it) they will hardly be able to colour other mens money in the Country: for no man will lend his money far off, or put it into unknown hands.

Or, Lastly, That there be no money lent out upon terms but to the State, which may make its advantage of it.

Indeed, considering on the one hand that usury decayeth the Kings Custom, bringeth money to few hands, damps Industry and Invention, beats down the price of the land, and by eating up private Estates, breeds a publick poverty: It were to be wished it were forbidden. And on the other, That Borrowers trade most; that, No usury, no young Merchants; that, Without usury men must sell their Estates at under-rates, more sad than usury; that, No borrowing, no living; no usury, no borrowing: It were wished it were regulated, so that the inconveniences of it were avoided, and the advantages retained, and extortion be checked, as Traffick is encouraged.

Thus he that hath no private care, advanceth the publick Good, and the childless man is most thoughtful for Posterity: Certainly the best Works and of greatest merit for the Publick, have proceeded from the unmarried, or the childless man; who both in affection and means have married and endowed the Publick: He that hath Wife and Children, hath given Hostages to Fortune: For they are Impediments either to Vertue or Mischiefe.

*Q. Marjō*

A fat man in *Rome* riding always upon a very lean Horse, being asked the Reason thereof, answered, *That he fed himself, but he trusted others to feed his Horse.* Our Judge being asked what was the best way to thrive; said, *Never do anything by another, that you can do by your self.*

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*Observations on the Life of Doctor Thomas Wilson.*

**T** *Thomas Wilson* born in *Lincolnshire*, was Doctor of Laws, bred Fellow of *Kings College* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards was Tutor in the same University to *Henry* and *Charles Brandon*, successively Dukes of *Suffolk*. Under *Queen Elizabeth* he was made Master of the Hospital of *S. Katherine* nigh the Tower of *London*. At last he became Secretary of State to the Queen for four years together. He dyed *Anno 15*. To whose various and yet deep knowledge, not of the surface of Arts and Sciences for shews, but of inside and ground of them for use, not onely apprehending the frame, but perceiving the power and importance of them. There is no character that ever I read, so agreeable as that which the most Eloquent *Cicero* gave the most Learned *Varro*, *Tu atatem patria, tu descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum jura, tu sacerdotum, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum, humanarumq; rerum nomina, genera, officia,*

*officia, causas aperuisti: plurimumq; Poetis luminis attulisti, elegans poema fecisti, Philosophiamq; multis locis inchoasti.* An argument of a great capacity in a man of his great place, and greater Employment; whose candor was yet equal with his parts, ingenuously passing by the particular infirmities of those who contributed any thing to the advancement of a General Learning; judging it fitter that men of abilities should joyntly engage against ignorance and Barbarism, than severally clash with one another; giving this advice to all men concerned in publick Writings, that they might avoid both censure from others, and trouble to themselves, *temperanter rem gero*: and this he recommended, not only to Scholars in general, but to some peculiarly discreet persons in particular; knowing that that which toucheth all, usually reacheth none: admonishing like wise his friends, to use no words, but such as had some correspondent things, and to take care that their conceptions should answer their expressions; there having been of late in the world, a way of Learning that overthrew Knowledge, consisting of opinions remote from mens cogitations, which men spake, but thought not, thinking they had invented new things, when they found out new words. The reason why his Writings excelled so much in the worth and use of the subject; in the exactness of the method, in the ingenuity of the design, and in the temper of the Writer, who discoursed not, but demonstrated, framing first the disordered minds of men to an exact way of reasoning, and afterwards digesting things to a strict form of argument; which a man learneth not from Precepts, but by use, and reading such Books as are



*Q Mary.* compiled, not with a loofefancy, but a fevere reason, especially fuch Politick Books as are made up of experience, which is our recollecting of things past; and prudence, which is our expectation of things to come, according to our experience of things past, especially fuch as have the happinefs of perceiving things exactly as they are, and expreffing them clearly and orderly as they conceive them.

He had the breeding of Courtiers fo long, until he was one himfelf: At once reading *Machiavel* for my Lord *Burleigh's* Inſtruction, and obſerving it for his own uſe. His Parents deſigned him for ſtudy, his nature for buſineſs. His preſence aſſiſted his inclination, and his compliſance his preſence; and his good nature, both: A good nature that would have ſpoiled a Politician in any other but Doctor *Wilson*, whole wiſdom was the largeneſs of his Soul, not the narrowneſs of a ſhift. He had that comprehensive and penetrating judgement, that he could at once ſhew the greateſt prudence in laying his deſign, and the greateſt Integrity in managing it, as rather *ſecurely knowing*, than *warily cloſe*. " But he " that is onely real, had need have exceeding great " parts of Vertue; as the Stone had need be rich, " that is ſet without foil: Therefore he was ſome- " thing a Courtier. There are ſmall matters that " win great commendation, becauſe they are con- " tinually in uſe; whereas the occaſion of any " great action cometh but on feſtivals, and it is e- " nough to attain ſo much ceremony and courtſhip, " not to deſpiſe it. He had a way of conveying effectual and imprinting paſſions among complements, ſuitable to perſons and buſineſs: He had his familiarity to Inferiors, that made him not cheape his

his State among Equals, that made him not envied : and his obſervance to Superiors, that made him no Flatterer : His behaviour like a well-made ſuit, not too ſtrait, or *point-de-vie*, but juſtly meſured, and free for exerciſe or motion. He had a ſlow, but a ſure way to honor, which was nothing elſe in him but a diſcovery of his Vertues and Worth upon any occaſion, without any diſadvantage.

It was his intereſt as well as his gift, to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plauſible, more conſiderate than active. His thoughts were as his inclination, grave ; his diſcourſe as his reading, ſubtile ; his actions as his Education, well weighed, regular as his temper, even and ſmooth as cuſtom, and reſolved as a habit gotten in that advancement of virtue, a well-diſciplined Society ; where Example teacheth, Company comforteth, Emulation quickeneth, Glory raiſeth : None had a more ſkilful method to ſway nature in others, none more prudent minutes and ſeaſonable degrees to check it in himſelf ; his Rule being, Never to praктиſe any thing until perfect : for ſo he might exerciſe his weakneſſes as well as his abilities, and induce one habit of both.

Three things he aimed at :

1. The ſearch of Truth by Induſtry.
2. The attainment of it by apprehenſion.
3. The enjoyment of it by aſſent.

He is a happy man that is above the troubled and conſuſed Regions of Opinions, Fancies, Prepoſſeſſions, in that clear and undiſturbed one of Truth and Reality : Though yet my Lord *Verulam* obſerveth, That if there were taken out of mens minds vain opinion, flattering hope, falſe valuations and imaginati-  
 ons,

*Q. Mary ons, as one would, and the like, &c. it would leave the mind: of a number of poor men poor shrunk things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves.*

Neither took he greater pleasure in knowing than in relating and doing what is true, sound and plain, without those crooked courses that shew a creeping rather than a raised nature ; and, as Mr. *Montaigne* observes, is a bravery and facing of God, and a shrinking from, and being coward before man.

He said, what all great men know, That he was six times a Slave :

1. To Himself and his Inclination, till he had advanced Reason.

2. To the World and its Insolence, till he had improved his Fortune.

3. To his Pupils and their Tempers, till he understood their Genius.

4. To Fame and its Reports, till he was known in the World.

5. To his Sovereigns and their Humors , till he found their Interest. And

6. To his Business, till he had attained Experience.

Thus it is with all *Grandeess*, who exchange their power over themselves for that over others, and with great pains come to greater.

Two things he wished when called to the world, Power and Resolution. A *naked* man is contemptible (for it's Power that begets Fear , it's Fear that makes Gods, and rules the world ) an easie man is useless : a facile-natured man may be a good Companion for a private person, but no Servant to a Prince : Remissness and Connivance are the ruines of  
of

of unsettled Governments. The Game of Authority will not admit of too open a play.

In a word, he was one that knew the resorts and falls of business, though he could not sink into the main of a matter; being one that packed the Cards better than he played them.

Three things compleated this Secretary:

1. Quick dispatch and industry.
2. Constant intelligence and correspondence.
3. A large and strong memory.

Queen *Elizabeth* would needs at first favour my Lord of *Leicester* against the Earl of *Sussex*, which this Doctor and my Lord *Burleigh* dissuaded upon this account, Because if she who should be the common Mother of all, inclined to one party, and leaned to a side, the Ship of the Commonwealth would be as a Boat overturned by too much weight on the one side, and too little on the other. *Take heed* (said the Royal Martyr to his Son our Sovereign) of abetting any Faction, or applying to any publick Discrimination: your partial adhering as head to any one side gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to go on in the Kings way) as it loseth you in others, who think themselves first despised, and then persecuted by you. Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality: or so order affairs in point of power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any faction: for if ever you stand in need of them, or stand to their courtesie, you are undone.

His Place called upon him to suppress with severity such seditious reflexions upon the State, as came to his knowledge: but his inclination was to dissipate

*Q. Mary* dissipate them with connivance and contempt. To be opposed, renders a Faction considerable; to be despised (and wretched) ridiculous: *To go about to stop the first appearances of sedition, is (saith my Lord Bacon) but to make wonder long-lived.*

His knack was a politick and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes; and keeping men in suspense is one of the best Antidotes against the poison of discontent: it being observed by the foresaid States-men, to be a certain sign of a wise Government and Proceedings, to hold mens hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory, but that it hath some outlet of hope: which is the easier done, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to boast what they believe not.

In a word, although he made not so much noise as other men, yet he as effectually promoted the three main Supporters of this Nation, 1. Its Native Commodities, 2. Its Artificial Manufactures, 3. Its Vesture and Carriage; and so dyed with that content and resolution, that they do who are overtaken by Fate in the pursuit of great Actions, and publick Designs.

*Observations on the life of Sir John Portman.*

**J**ohn Portman Knight, was born of wealthy and  
worth-ful Extraction at *Portman's Orchard* in  
*Somersetshire*, a fair Mannor, which descended  
to him by inheritance, the Heir of the *Orchard*  
being match'd into his Family. He was bred in  
the study of the Common Law; attaining to such  
eminency therein, that *June 11. 2d* of *Queen Ma-*  
*ry*, he was made Chief Justice of the Kings Bench,  
continuing two years in the place, and dying therein  
for ought I find to the contrary; and a Baronet of  
his Name and Linage flourisheth at this day with a  
great and plentiful Estate. No doubt but he dyed in  
his place, there being none of those things that car-  
ry disgrace and downfal with them, incident to him.

For the first thing that ruins a Courtier, is a  
boasting of his own service; and than our Knight,  
none more modest.

*The things  
that over-  
throw a  
Favourite.*

The second, is an undutiful observation of our  
Princes actions; and none more faithful and meek.

The third, is the revealing or abusing of secrets;  
and none more reserved and civil.

The fourth thing, is either provoking the Nobil-  
ity against *himself*, or dividing them among *them-*  
*selves*: he was too wise for the one, his design be-  
ing rather alliance than quarrel, to add interest to  
his Estate, and honor to his Riches; and too quiet  
for the other. *Many have an Opinion not wise,*  
*(saith that Oracle) that for a Prince to govern his*  
*Estate,*

*Q Mary.* Estate, or for a great Person to guide his Proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy: whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things that are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with, or correspondence to particular persons one by one. Mean men in their rising must adhere; but Great men that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral.

\* The first of these loved Alexander in secret, the other his person.

The fifth particular that pulleth down a man, is a misunderstanding of his own interest, or the Princes: Our Judge understood both, being equally made up of \* *Craterus* and *Hephestion*, faithfulness and compliance.

The sixth, is the hatred of the many (whom this persons integrity always obliged, there being no herd more feral than an enraged multitude) or the envy of the great, whom his wariness disobliged not: it being more fatal to incense a Favorite who would be above all affronts by his greatness, than a Prince who is so by Law.

The seventh misfortune, is to be too much concerned in the secrets of Princes; wherewith Sir *William* never meddled without assistants, never acted without a Warrant.

The eighth, is unsuccessful Counsel; and our Knight went the safe and middle way, neither to be feared nor envied, which he was always present to second, prosecute or correct, as he saw most cause.

His sharp and sound judgement to distinguish Persons, Affairs and other Circumstances, and accordingly how to order the manner of his Proceedings,

things, was much; his well-weighed and wary, though quick apprehension and experience from Men and Books, more; his particular memory, and its minute observation for his conduct and business, most of all. His care of vain and idle Prepositions balanced his soul, his temper managed it: his love was choice and cautious; his hope moderate and knowing; his confidence slow, but certain; his desires and joys allayed and checked, or quickened by the edge of his anger, or the caution of his fear; and all sedate with his foresight.

Nature did this person some wrong in his Body, but made him amends in his Soul: the *fails* of the one, are *foils* to set off the other: the first comes off with more Glory, by the pully and defect of the second! Besides that the unkindness of *Nature* puts men often upon being eminent in *Art*; that the happiness of this, may divert men from observing the unhappiness of that.

But of all the Vertues his constant and growing Soul raised him to, this was one, That he durst not entertain a Gift, which (as he said) *conquers both the foolish and the wise*: which in publick places is a Vice to accept, and not a Vertue to offer: It being a *snare* rather than a *favour*.

His next was Diligence: Neglect wastes a man as insensibly as Industry improves him: We need no more but sit still, and Diseases will arise onely for want of exercise. Man's a Watch that must be looked to and wound up every day: the least incuriousness steals to improficiency or offence, which degreely weighs us down to extremity: Diligence alone is a fair Fortune, and Industry a good Estate.

There



Q *Mary*

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There are five mens Activities that raise to Estates,

1. The Divine to a small, but an honest one.
2. The Physician to a competency, but uncertain.
3. The Courtier to a great one, and an honorable.
4. The Citizen to a large one, but not lasting. And
5. The Lawyer to one large, and firm too.

Seldom doth his Family fail, who is sure to rye his Estate to his Child by an *Entail*, and his Child to his Estate by an *Education* and an *Employment*. When we observe the several alterations in Gentry, we find four principal Actors on the Theatres of great Families; the Beginner, the Advancer, the Continuer, and the Ruiner.

1. The Beginner, who by his vertues refineth himself from the dross of the vulgar, and layeth the foundation of his house.

2. The Advancer, who improveth it.

3. The Continuer, who conveyeth it to his Posterity as he received it from his Ancestors.

4. The Ruiner, that degenerates from his Fathers. Our Judge began not, but advanced that excellent Family, whose original I cannot find, so ancient it is; and whose end I hope none will see, it is so noble.

Obser=

*Observations on the Life of William Howard.*

**W**illiam Howard, son to *Thomas Howard*, second of that Surname Duke of *Norfolk*, was by *Queen Mary* created Baron of *Effingham* in *Surrey*, and by her made Lord Admiral of *England*; which place he discharged with credit. He was one of the first Favourers and Furtherers with his Purse and Countenance of the strange and wonderful discovery of *Ru'a*. He died *anno Dom. 1554.*

This Noble Person had his plainness from his Father, his ingenuity from his Mother, his experience by Travel and Navigation: his Blood endeared him to his Sovereign, and his Abilities advanced him to her service: He promised no less to his Mistress, than his Father and Uncle had performed to her Father. The Ancestors merit is security for Posterities, who will hardly forfeit that favour with one a St of their own unworthiness, that was gamed by so many of their Predecessors service. Like a well-drawn picture this Lord had his eye on all round: on his Queen, to be faithfull; on his Country, to be publick spirited; on his Family, to be honourable; on the present Age, to be active; and on the future, to be renowned.

The Old Lord *Burleigh*, sometime Treasurer of *England*, coming to *Cambridge* with *Queen Elizabeth* when he was led into the publick Schools, and had much commended their convenience,

*Q Mary* beauty and greatness, together with their Founder *Humphrey* the good Duke of *Glocester*; *Yea, marry*, (said he) *but I find one School wanting in our Universities, and that is the School of Discretion.* When private Tutors had initiated, publick Schools had seasoned, and the University had improved this Gentlemans sprightly and noble parts, yet did his Father observe one great defect in his Education, and that is Discretion: Discretion in Carriage, for which he sent him to Court; Discretion in Business, for which he sent him to travel and fight. Not long had he been abroad to furnish himself with experience, but he is called home to ennoble himself with action. The *Alves* of *Spain* were for four Generations together Commanders by Land, and the *Howards* of *England* for as many, Admirals at Sea. None ever had *more* power, none used *less* than he: The more Authority he had allowed him over others, the more Command he obtained over himself.

Twice did he mortgage his Estate for his followers pay; many times did he venture his life for their encouragement. None directed more skillfully, and yet none acted more resolutely. Equally did he divide the profit, equally share the honor with his followers, who under him never dared, and never feared a danger. Manners make a man, saith the Courtier: Money makes a man, saith the Citizen; Learning makes a man, saith the Scholar; but Conduct makes a man, saith the Souldier. This Lords spirit never put him on so forwardly, but his wariness took care how to come off as safely. He that fights should despair, but he that commands should hope. The Souldier among the *Persians*

Is drawn with his eyes before him, and the General with his behind him. Young men in the manage of Affairs embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet, flee to the end without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles; and extreme remedies they have chanced upon rashly; which they will neither confess nor reform. Old men object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldome pursue things home to their full period. My Lord was an happy composition of both himself, and had of either about him, that the coldness and wariness of Age might correct the heat of Youth, and the activity of younger might be directed by the experience of riper ones: The one gave *Authority*, and the other *Life* to his Actions. He himself was better to invent than to judge, fitter for Action than Counsel, and readier for new Projects than for settled business. The Lord *Clinton's* prudence served him in old and usual matters, but in new things abused him: My Lord *Howard's* was quick for present Emergencies, but not comprehensive of ordinary transactions. Of the three Admirals of those times, we may say as they did of the † three Kingdoms, *Liste* was wise before the Action, my Lord *Howard* in it; my Lord *Clinton* after it.

*France*  
*Spain and*  
*England*

*England* without a freedom of commerce, was but a larger Prison: others opened the Trade to the *Indies*, to *Asia*, and other parts of the world; but we wanted the Hemp, the Flax, the Pitch, the *Firr*, and the other usual Commodities of *Russia*; serviceable to our selves, and more to our Ships. His purse in this case did much, his direction more,

Q. Mary.

his servant *Jackson* most of all, who made curious observations of *Russia*, set forth a Geographical description of it, and was the first of the English, that sailed through the *Caspian Sea*. With his assistance the *Muscovia Company* was set up in *Queen Mary's* days; and with his servants it obtained the Privilege of sole Traffick into the Northern Parts of *Russia* in *Elizabeth's*.

Cicero.

*Nihil habet fortuna magna majus. nec natura bona melius quam ut velis bene-facere quam plurimis.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Edward  
Mountague.

**E** *Edward Mountague*, Son of *Thomas Mountague*, born at *Brigstock* in *Northamptonshire*, was bred in the *Inner Temple* in the study of the Laws, untill his ability and integrity advanced him Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, in the Thirtieth of *Henry the Eighth*. He gave for his Motto, *Aequitas Jusitia Normat*. And although Equity seemeth rather to relent of the Chancery than the Kings Bench, yet the best Justice will be Wormwood without a mixture thereof.

"In his times though the golden showers of *Abbeys* Lands rained amongst great men, it was long before he would open his lap, (scrupling the acceptance of such Gifts) and at last received but little, in proportion to Others of that Age.

"In the thirty seventh of King *Henry the Eighth* he was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,

a

"a descent in Honour, but ascent in Profit; it being given to old Age, rather to be thrifty than ambitious: Whereupon he said, *I am now an old man, and love the Kitchen before the Hall; the warmest place best suiting with my Age.*

"In drawing up the Will of King Edward the Sixth, and setting the Crown on the Lady Jane, for a time he swam against the tide and torrent of Duke Dudley, till at last he was carried away with the stream.

"Ousted of his Judges Office in the first of Queen Mary, he returned into Northampton-shire, and what contentment he could not finde in Westminster-hall, his Hospital-hall at Bonghton afforded him. He died Anno 1556, and lieth buried in the Parish Church of Weekly.

His well-managed Argument in Dodderige his Case, brought him to Cromwell's knowledge, who was vexed with his reason, but well pleased with his Parts. Cromwell's recominendation and his own modest nature set him up with Henry the Eighth, who could not endure two things: 1. A Lawyer that would not be guided: 2. A Divine that would not be taught. Yet as modest as he was, he was honest; and though he would submit to the Kings Power, yet would he act by his Law: For his Apophthegm was, *Mentem est Jus dicere, potius quam Jus dare:* It's my duty to interpret rather than give Law.

He never denied or delayed Justice; alwayes discouraging those cunning Laws that perplexed a Cause, those contentious Clients that delayed a suit, and those nice Cummin-seed men that trained inferences, and wrested instructions,

*Q. Mary* Patient, stayed and equal he was in hearing, grave in speaking, pertinent in interrogating, wary in observing, happy in remembring, reasonable and civil in interposing. The Council durst not chop with him, neither would he chop with the Council, unless he defended his cause over-boldly, urged indiscreetly, informed slightly, neglected grossly, renewed the debate unseasonably, or ensnared his Adversaries cunningly; in those and other the like cases, he would do the Publick Right by a *check*, and the person by an *admonition*.

Six sorts of persons he discountenanced in his Courts :

1. The scandalous Exactors.
2. The *sle* shifters, that, as that Chancellour observed, pervert the plain and direct courses of Courts, and bring Justice into oblique lines and labyrinths.
3. Those that engaged Courts in quarrels of Jurisdiction.
4. Those that made suits.
5. Those that hunted men upon Penal Statutes.
6. Those that appeared in most Testimonies and Juries.

His Darling was, The honest Clerk, who was experienced in his place, obliging in his carriage, knowing in Presidents, cautious in Proceedings, and skilful in the affairs of the Court.

Two things he promoted in King *Henry's* days;

1. The Law against Gaming. And
2. The Order against Stews.

And

And two in King Edward's:

1. That Act against foretelling of Prophecies.
2. That Statute against embasing of Coyn.

But King Edward's Testament and the Duke of *Northumberland's* Will is to be made: The pious Intentions of that King wishing well to the Reformation, the Religion of *Queen Mary* obnoxious to exception, the ambition of *Northumberland* who would do what he listed, the weakness of *Suffolk*, who would be done with as the other pleased, the flattery of the Courtiers most willing to comply, designed the Crown for the Lady *Jane Grey*. Mr. *Cecil* is sent for to *London*, to furnish that Will with Reason of State; and Sir *Edward* to *Serjeants Inn*, to make it up with Law. He according to the letter sent him, went with Sir *Jo. Baker*, Justice *Bramley*, the Attorney and Solicitor-General to *Greenwich*, where His Majestie before the Marquess of *Northampton*, declaring himself for the settlement of Religion, and against the succession of *Queen Mary*, offered them a Bill of Articles to make a Book of; which they, notwithstanding the Kings Charge, and the reiteration of it by Sir *William Peter*, declared upon mature consideration, they could not do, without involving themselves and the Lords of the Council in High Treason, because of the Statutes of Succession.

The Duke of *Northumberland* hearing of their Declaration by the Lord Admiral, comes to the Council-Chamber all in a rage, trembling for anger; calling Sir *Edward* Traycor, and saying, *He would fight in his shirt with any man in that Quarrel.*

The old man is charged by the King upon his



*Q. Mary* Allegiance, and the Council upon his Life, to make the Book; which he did, when they promised it should be ratified in Parliament. Here was his obedience, not his invention; not to *devise* but *draw* things up according to the Articles tendred unto him. Since shame is that which ambitious Nature abhorreth, and danger is that which timorous Nature declineth; the honest man must be resolute. Sir *Nathaniel Brent* would say, A Coward cannot be an honest man; and it seems by this Action, that modesty and fear are great temptations. Give me those four great Vertues that makes a man:

1. A clear Innocence.
2. A comprehensive Knowledge.
3. A well-weighed experience. And
4. The product of all these, A steady Resolution.

*What a Skein of Ruffled Silk (saith the ingenious Resolver) is the incomposed man!*

*Observations on the Life of Sir Edward Fines.*

**E**dward Fines Lord Clinton, Knight of the Garter, was Lord Admiral of England for more than thirty years. He was wise, valiant, and very fortunate, as appears by his *Master-piece* in *Musleborough field*, in the reign of King Edward the sixth, and the Battle against the *Scots*. He was afterwards created Earl of *Lincoln*, where he was born, *May 4. 1474.* and where he had a proportionable Estate to support his Dignity, which

he much increased, beside his Paternal Inheritance. He died *January 16. 1558.* and lieth buried at *Windsor*, in a private Chappel, under a stately Monument, which *Elizabeth* his third Wife, Daughter to the Earl of *Kildare*, erected in his remembrance. His Fortune made him a younger Brother, and his Industry an Heir; coming to Court, where they that have Estates, spend them; and they that have none, gain them. His recreation was at Court, but his business in the Country; where notwithstanding the Statute in *Henry* the seventh's time against Pasturage for Tillage, he Grazed 1000 Acres of Ground: then a noble and gaining Employment, that advanced many a Family in one Generation; and now a saving one, that hath kept up as many *ten*.

The best tempered Swords will bend any way, and the best metall'd men will comply with any occasion. At *White-hall*, none more affable and courteous than our Lord; at Sea, none more skilful; in the field, none more resolute; in the Country, none more thrifty and hospitable. His Entertainments were orderly and suitable, made up of solid particulars, all growing upon his own Estate. King *Charles* would say, *Every man hath his vanity, and mine* (speaking of the Sovereign) *is Building: Every man hath his humour, and mine* (said he, speaking of the Fens) *is Drayning.* Adding wicthal, *He that would be merry for a day. let him be trimmed; he that would be merry for a week, let him marry; he that would be merry for a year, let him build; he that would be merry for Ages, let him improve.* Now you would have him among his Workmen and Stewards in *Lincoln*, anon among the

† He meant  
Land.

Com.

*Q Mary.* Commissioners either in *France* or *Scotland*; by and by before *Bulloign* or *Calice*, and a while after at *Spiers* or *Muscleborough*, and on a sudden at a Mask in Court. Neither was his Soul less pliable to persons than things: as boisterously active as King *Henry* could expect, as piously meek as King *Edward* could wish, as warily zealous as Queen *Marys* times required, and as piercingly observant as Queen *Elizabeths* perplexed occasions demanded. It was by him and my Lord *Bacon* said of business, *That it was in business as it is in ways, that the next and the nearest way is commonly the foulest; and that if a man will go the fairest way, he must go somewhat about.*

Sitting in a Committee about invading *Scotland*, whereof Sir *Anthony Brown* then Viscount *Montacute* presented a Draught, there arose as great a debate between him and my Lord in Council, as afterwards in the Field, about the point of Entrance; *Nay*, said my Lord in the heat of the Discourse, with as much power on others passions, as command over his own, *We stand quarrelling here how we shall get in, but here is no discourse how we shall get out.*

It's a Rule, Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn, either by vertue or malice; and my Lord having some disadvantage from Nature, made it up by Art: None more bold, none more industrious and more successful, because that disadvantage took off envy on the one hand, and jealousy on the other: so that upon the matter, in a great Wit, Contempt is a great advantage to rising.


Judge

Judge Brooke had a Project against Usury, which came up to the Lords House: this rich Peer upon the first motion of it, stands up, and saith, *Shew me a State without Usury, and I'll shew you a State without Mew and Trade.*

Q. Mary

Rich he was for expence, and expend he did upon honor and good action; his ordinary expences were the third of his Estate, and his extraordinary none of it; his Rule being, Extraordinary disadvantages must be balanced with extraordinary advantages. He would not stoop to petty gains, but he would abridge petty charges: but his occasions calling him often from his Estate, he turned it all to certainties; often changing his Servants, who being unacquainted with him and his Estate, were less subtil, and more timorous. Much behind-hand he was when he came to the Estate, and as much before when he left it. Neither was he too sudden or too slow in paying his Debts; equally avoiding a disadvantageous sale on the one hand, and devouring interest on the other: and so inuring himself by degrees into an habit of frugality, he gained as well upon his mind, as upon his Estate. For husbanding the English Treasure in Scotland, he was Knighted in the Field, May 11. 34 H. 8. by the Earl of Hertford: for the Clause concerning Scotland he put in at the Treaty of Guisnes, 35 H. 8. he was made Baron by Patent: for his discreet Conduct in demanding the young Queen of Scots, together with the performance of the Articles made in Henry the eighth's time, with 60 sail of ships before the battel of Musceleburgh, he had 600 l. a year assigned him by the Protector: for his great experience at Sea, his interest in Sea-men, and his

Re-

*Q. Mary* Renown among the Neighbour-States, he was made  
 Earl of Lincoln.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Barnaby Fitz-Patrick.*

**B**arnaby Fitz-Patrick had the honour of being King Edward the sixth his Proxy at School, and one of his Bed-chamber at Court. In King Henry the eighth's time he was sent to School, in King Edward the sixth's to travel, where he had these Directions following from that King, how he might learn fashions there, and send intelligence hither.

EDWARD,

**W**E understand by your Letters received the eighth of this present month, your good entertainment, being glad ther eof; and also how you have been once to go on Pilgrimage: Wherefore we think fit to advertise you to desire leave to go to Mr. Pickering, or to Paris, in case hereafter any such chance happen. And if that will not serve, to declare to some person of estimation, with whom you are best acquainted, that as you are loth to offend the French King by reason of his kind usage of you; so with safe conscience you cannot do any such thing, being brought up with me, and bound to obey my Laws: also, that you had commandment from me to the contrary. Yet if you be vehemently procured, you may go as waiting upon the King, not as intending to the abuse, nor willingly see  
the

the Ceremonies: and so you look on the Mass, but in the mean time regard the Scripture, or some good Book, and give no reverence to the Mass at all.

Furthermore, remember when you may conveniently be absent from the Court, to tarry with Sir William Pickering, to be instructed by him how to use your self. For Women, as far forth as you can, avoid their company; yet if the French King command you, you may sometime dance, so measure be your mean: else apply your self to Riding, Shooting, Tennis, or such honest Games: not forgetting sometimes (when you have leisure) your Learning, chiefly reading of the Scriptures. We would not have you live too sumptuously as an Ambassador, but so as your proportion of living may serve you, we mean, because we know many will resort to you, and desire to serve you. I told you how many I thought convenient you should keep. After you have ordered your things at Paris, go to the Court, and learn to have more intelligence if you can; and after to the wars, to learn somewhat to serve us. By your Letters of the second and fifteenth of April, we perceive that you were at Nancy, ready to go together with Mr. Pickering to the French Camp; and to the intent you might be better instructed how to use your self in these Wars, we have thought good to advertise you of our pleasure therein. First, we would wish you; as much as you may conveniently, to be in the French Kings presence, or at least in some part of his Army, where you shall perceive most business to be; and that for two causes: One is, because you may have more experience in the wars, and see things as might stand you in stead another day: The other is, because you might be more profitable in the Language. For our Ambassador, who may not wear Harness, cannot well

come

*Q. Mary* come to those places of danger, nor seem so to serve the French King, as you may, whom we sent thither for that purpose. It shall be best for you therefore hereafter, as much as you may, to be with the French King and so you shall be more acceptable to him, and do your self much good. This I write, not doubting but you would have done it, though I had not written, but to spur you on.

Adding withal, To learn the Tongue, to see the manner of the Court, and advertise His Master of Occurrences, keeping close to the King of France, to whom he shall offer his service in the Wars, where he is to observe the fortifications of the Cities, the Conduct of the Armies, the advantages and disadvantages of both Parties; their Skirmishes, Battels, Assaults, and the Plots of the chief Towns, where any enterprizes of weight have been done. His Exercises were to be Hunting and Riding; his Company few, but choice, &c.

This Gentleman after his return out of France, was created by the King Baron of Upper Ossory in Ireland; where he dyed a good Protestant, a Publick-spirited Patriot, and an honest man.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Fitz-Alane,  
Earl of Arundel.*

**H**IS first appearance in the World was to adorn the Court, his next was to serve it. First his Estate and Train attends King Henry *Anno R<sup>egis</sup> 8. 24* to the Interview with France, and a while after his valour and Conduct is commanded by him to the War.

Equally prepared is he to please and awe that Countrey: The Duke of *Suffolk* is made General for his Popularity, and the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Marshal, for his Spirit and Prudence; and both being before *Bulloign*, this Noble Lord run up his Squadron under a running shelter about eleven at night, to the very Walls of the City; which being battered down by the Canon, which was mounted some forty yards higher, opened to the close Besiegers a passage that gained the whole Town by composition.

Neither was he less active in Peace than War. A piercing apprehension, a strong memory, a large and capacious judgement, a dexterous prudence, a discerning wisdom, was the least of his happiness: For to his sufficiency and capacity, he added a good disposition and integrity; and to that, vigour and gracefulness. He was the excellent Personage, that 1. Discerned, 2. Embraced and performed what was Noble and Publick: (*To know, to will and effect what is good, make up a God.*) To these were added a strong nature, a deep study, and a very great



*Q Mary* great Experience; qualities separated in others, but united in him: Nature will out, Education is rude; Education without Resolution, is loose; Resolution without Experience, is heady; Experience grounded upon particular Events, is uncertain without the study of General and Immoveable Principles: Knowledge of things in their sources and original causes, without Nature, is a Burden: All these without Exercise, are a Notion.

This Nobleman thus furnished, derived much Honor from his Ancestors, more to them; ennobling that Blood to a Glory, which some had debased to a Blush. That great Name after four hundred years shining in that Honour with various lustre, setting in him as the Sun he bore with a full splendour: The last effort of Nature is a Master-piece; the last blaze of the Candle a shine.

Other noblemen were made: King *Edward's* Overseers for their Integrity; he one of his Assistants for his Ability: When an Enemy was to be awed to a submission, he was General, such his Fame! When the Countrey was to be obliged to a loan, he was Agent, such his Popularity! The first advanced him to the Comptrollership under *Henry* the Eighth; the second to the Chamberlainship under *Edward* the Sixth.

Nature hath provided that ravenous Beasts should not associate, lest they should be too hard for it; and Government, that prime Counsellours should not agree, lest they overthrow it: *Warwick* envied the Protector's Greatness, and *Arundel* would limit his Power: both with the rest of the Council declare against him. But lest he should urge the same things against *Warwick*, that he did against

against

against *Somerset*; they, who love the Treason, but hate the Traytor, turn him first out of Favour, and then out of Council; untill Queen *Maries* time, when he as an antient Nobleman of *England*, (that owned no upstart-designs against the old way of succession) stood for her Right, and as a stiff Catholique promoted her Religion: So that *July 21. 1553.* he came from the Queen to *Cambridge*, where the Duke of *Northumberland* was, and entering his Chamber, the Duke fell at his feet, desiring him for Gods sake to consider his case, who had done nothing but by Warrant from the Council: *My Lord,* (said the Earl) *I am sent hither by the Queen to arrest you. And I* (said the Duke) *obey your Arrest; beseeching your mercy for what I did by Commission. You should have thought of that sooner,* (said the Earl) Here you might have seen at once the vicissitude of Fortune, the frailty of Man, the dejectedness of Guilt, the bravery of Innocence, who would neither be trampled on by Greatness, nor trample on misery; of an equal temper between pity and resolution. As long as his Youth bore it, we find him for Action; but when years came upon him, we find him in Council, as with *Wotton* at the great Treaty at *Cambray*: Yet not so unactive, but that as *Sir William Pickering* for his sweet De-meaner, so he for his Estate was voiced an Husband to Queen *Elizabeth*.

When the rest of the Council were for dealing with the Queen of Scots underhand and at distance, he was for treating with her plainly: and said in the Queens presence, *The wisdom of the former Age was so provident that it needed not, and so plain that it endured not shifts.* *Leicester* would perswade the

*Q. Mary* Duke of *Norfolk* to court the Queen of Scots, but *Arundel* would not hear of it without the Queen of *England's* consent : Experience is always wary, yet hath its weakneses, wherein it may be surprized. For this Nobleman's kindness to his Friend, balancing his Duty to his Mistress, brought him, the Earl of *South-hampton*, the Lords *Lumley*, *Cobham*, *Piercy*, &c. to a *Præmunire* : whereupon he said, *He is never wise, that is not distrustful.*

Fear, that betrayeth the succours of Reason, when predominant, guardeth them when moderate, and is more safe, though not so Noble as that valiant confidence that bequeaths a dilated Freedom to all faculties and senses.

But of all his Actions this is most remarkable : Treating with the Scots, he writ to his Majesty King *Henry* the Eighth, what he had gained already, requiring to know his farther pleasure : The King takes advice with his Council, who all agree that the Peace should be concluded : Whereupon the King caused his Secretary the Lord *Paget* to write to him to that purpose ; but withal, he called Mr. *Cecil* secretly to him, bidding him tell my Lord, That whatsoever he had written in his Letter, yet with all speed possible he should break the Treaty. Mr. *Cecil* replying, That a message by word of mouth being contrary to his Letter, would never be believed ; well (said the King) do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his choice, Upon Mr. *Cecil's* arrival, the Earl of *Arundel* shewed the other Commissioners as well the Message as the Letter ; they are all for the Letter ; he said nothing, but ordered that the Message should be written before, and signed by his fellow-Commissioners, and thereupon

on immediately broke up the Treaty, sending *Cecil* *Q. Mary.* with the advertisement of it to the King; Who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, *what, will he do it, or no?* *Cecil* replied, that his Majesty might understand that by the inclosed. But then the King half angry, urged, *Nay tell me; will he do it or no?* Being then told it was done, he turned to the Lords and said, *Now You will hear news, The fine Treatie is broken;* Whereunto one presently answered, *That he who had broke it deserved to lose his Head;* to which the King straitly replied, *That He would lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged, rather than one such Servant as had done it;* and therewith commanded the Earl of *Arundel's* Pardon should be presently drawn up, the which he sent with Letters of Thanks, and assurance of Favour.

Five things must a Statesman comprehend.

1. The Law.
2. The Government.
3. The Time.
4. The People. And
5. The Prince.

Under an active Prince, you must regard the Prerogative; under an easie one, the Law; under a compleat one made up of a just measure of Greatness and Goodness, those two things are distinguished only in the nice discourses of some *Specularis*; being but one great Rule in the solid actions of that Prince.

## OBSERVATIONS on

*Observations on the Life of Sir John Dudley  
Duke of Northumberland.*

*Mach:  
Prince,  
p. 36.*

**H**is favour was first purchased by his Fathers blood, and improved by his own cunning. King Henry sacrificed Sir Edmund Dudley to allay the Peoples rage, and raised his Son to appease his Ghost. He that disobligeth a multitude, must fall himself; *but he that in so doing serveth his King, may advance his Posterity.* Something high he was in the Kings favour, because standing on his fathers Grave; but higher as he stood on his own Merit: He knew his Fathers service made his way to favour; his own education therefore must prepare him for employment. Favour without Parts is a reproach; Parts without Favour are a burden. The King restored him to his Fathers blood, and his own industry recovered his Abilities. There are those that under the notion of wisdom commit the greatest folly, either in too much conversing with the world without, or in too much reflecting on themselves within: Sir John was made up of both; some time he allowed for Action, more for Consideration. *There is not any thing so prejudicial to Action, as to be bent upon Action without intermission: for as the eye seeth not the Objects touching it, but those only more remote: so the understanding continually plunged in Affairs, is not so quick-sighted in occurrences, as his who sometime retireth himself from publick Action, beholding it aloof off by consideration.*

tion. In the heat and tumult of Affairs, Reason hath not that power as may give conduct and motion to active life: besides, experience teacheth us, that the eye having lost its quickness with too much looking upon the light, recovereth it again in the dark: the spirit in like manner dazzled, weakened, transported and distracted among the multitude and variety of Affairs, ought to recollect and recover its force in the privacy of some small retreat; which Sir John made to Italy, the seat of policy and experience; whence I pray God he brought no more (saith my Author) than his closeness and reach.

His Sovereign saw he deserved Honour, but saw not without offence to the Populacy how to confer it, until the subtle Youngster shewed him a middle way, (upon the strange death of the Viscount Lisle, who lost his life for joy that it was saved) by petitioning for that honour as a favour, which upon his Mothers account was his right: The crafty Youth entered himself of the Cardinals Retinue first, and then of the Kings. Much was he employed by him at Sea, as an Overseer of the Navy; more in the Field, as Director-General; most of all in the Romish and French Court, as a Spy. He was too good a Proficient in his School to fall with him, therefore we immediately observe him rising with Cromwel, until the King made him Admiral, and he with his 200. sail upon the Coast of Scotland made himself renowned; insomuch that the King left him the next year Viceroy of France, and Deputy of Calice and Bullign: where to revenge the French attempts upon the Isle of Wight, he drew his Fleet up to the Coasts of Normandy; landed

## OBSERVATIONS *on*

*Q Mary* 6000 men at *Treport*, burned the Suburbs of that Town with the Abby, destroyed 30 Ships there in the Haven, and then returned, not having lost above fourteen persons in the whole Voyage: inso-much that in a Treaty between *Ard* and *Gnifnes* wherein he was Commissioner with the Earl of *Hertford*, Secretary *Paget*, and *Dr. Wotton*, the French were contented that we held *Bulloign* till they paid us 800000 Crowns within the term of eight years. For the further Establishment whereof, he and the Bishop of *Duresm* are employed to take Oath of the French King and the *Daulphine*. His Master *Henry* dieth, but not his designe with him: *Norfolk* is out of his way; *Seymour* will be so: he is now Executor of King *Henry's* Will, he will be of his own. But as Nature, so Policy works by degrees; first the graft, then the tree; after that, the blossom; next that, the fruit; first meaner Essays, and then higher Actions. There was nothing to be attempted at home, until we were secured and feared from abroad; he therefore leads the Vanguard against the *Scots* so successfully, that he is made Earl of *Warwick*. Here his spirit had ensnared him, had not his conduct brought him off. When the Protector refused a Combat as not becoming him, *Warwick* offereth one: *Bring me word* (said he to the Herald that brought the Protector a Challenge from the Lord *Huntley*) *that thy Master will perform the Combat with me, and thou shalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains*. But a publick Conduct becomes a General better than personal Valour; and he must so far onely remember he is a Souldier, as not to forget he is a commander, and so a whole Army too.

Against

Against the Rebels in *Devonshire* so happy he was, Q Mary.  
that upon his discreet Overture of Pardon, (Mercie is a Vertue with Valour, and but a Weakness with Cowardize) and coming in person to assure them of it, they saying, They *knew him so honourable, that if he came himself they would embrace it*; threw down their Arms, and submitted to Mercie.

Against the French, that took the opportunity of those Turmoyle, he was so prosperous, that he sent them home from *Jersey* and *Guernsey* with the loss of two thousand men.

Honour he had enough, and Power too, yet not what he aimed at; (our Souls are infinite as in their duration, so in their capacity.) Ambition is like cholar, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not stopped; but if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous; So aspiring men, if progressive and successful (their passage to advancement being clear) are rather active than perilous; but if curbed with some obstructions, their secret discontent casts an evil aspect upon all persons and actions, and becomes rather dangerous than serviceable.

This great Earl's greater minde was usefull, when prosperous abroad; but at home troublesome, when finding a plain man in his way to height, great in his power, greater in his Sovereigns affections and greatest of all in his knowing brother; whose spirit bare up his Authority, as his Authority supported *His* Courage: In that *b* mans Brest there was a Prudence that could reach, and a stoutness that could b Viz. The Lord Tho. Seymour.  
balance this at once close and fierce man.



*Q Mary*

Interest and Blood united these Brothers so strongly, that there was no dividing of them, but by practising on their Wives, whose Humours were above their Interest, and Fancy above their Relation. Their precedence is made a question at Court, where it bred first a distance, and upon an Interview contrived in this Lords house, a difference; that difference is improved to an animosity, (ne can do little that cannot blow up a spark in a Womans Brest to a flame) that animosity to malice, and malice cannot dwell long in those weaker breasts without a mischief; mischief they cannot do themselves: ) The Ivy cleaves to the Oak, and these Women to their Husbands, though both ruine the things they cling to: ) What suggestions! What insinuations! What pretty fears and jealousies! What little tales and passions! Yet *continual droppings wear a Stone*: The Womens discords derive themselves into the Husbands hearts, until the Admiral falls, and leaves the Protector to his own Integrity: Whose large Trust and infinite Business could not burbeworthy him to some Errour, as his great Power did to much Envy, that first divested him of that Power, and then of his Life.

There is not a more admirable Wisdom directing the contrarieties of Nature to an Harmony, than there is a close teach in some men to reconcile variety of Humours, Affections, Oppositions, Rancours, Events and Changes to one Design. The Protectors easiness is betrayed to confidence; his too late fears, to a confidence at first, and at last to irregularities: the hopes of some were encouraged the grievances of others were aggravated and pitied, the envy of a

soul

soul in all and every part of the action. *The Protector was free-spirited, open hearted, humble, hard to distrust, easie to forgive: The Earl was proud, subtil, close, cruel and implacable; and therefore it was impar congressus between them, almost with as much disadvantage as between a naked and armed person. Two nets are laid to take the Protector; the one breaks, the other holds: The Treason was onely to give a Report, the Felony for designing the death of the Earl of Warwick a Privy Councillour, did the execution.* *Q. Mary.*

He being removed out of the way, this Earl of Warwick, as his Predecessor, meditates the honour of King-making. To this purpose he joyns himself by alliance to the best Families, and advanceth his children by employments to the greatest trusts; particularly (what Sir Richard Baker saith had been better if it had never been) his Son Robert (afterward Earl of Leicester) was sworn one of the six ordinary Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber: upon which particular the foresaid Historian observeth, *That after his coming into a place so near him, the King enjoyed his health but a while.* The Duke of Somerset is trained by his enemies to such fears and jealousies, as transport him beyond his own good nature, to an attempt one morning upon the Earl of Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, abed; where being received with much kindness, his heart relented, and he came off *re infecta*. At his coming out, one of his company asked him if he had done the deed? he answered, *No*. Then said he, *You are your self undone.* And indeed it so fell out for when all other Accusations were refuted, this onely

*Q Mary*, onely fluck by him, and could not be denyed; and so he was found guilty by a Statute of his own procurement, viz.

*That if any should attempe to kill a Privy-Councellour, although the fact were not done, yet it should be Felony, and to be punished with death.*

This, notwithstanding many Divertisements used, went so near the consumptive Kings heart, that he prepares for death. The Duke now within ken of his design, considering the Kings affection for Reformation, the Lords and other Purchasers kindness for Church-lands, the Judges fear, the Courtiers compliance, carried on a Will with a high hand, (trembling with anger, saith Judge *Mountague*, if any opposed him; yea, saying, *That he would fight in his Shirt with any that contradicted it*) wherein the Crown was bestowed on *Jane Grey*, his fourth Sons Wife, (the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* being laid aside.) But he forgot (as what man, though never so reaching, can consider all things?) that there is an invisible Power in *Right*, that there is a natural Antipathy in English men against usurpation, and as great an inclination for the succession: *A Point they had conned so well of late out of the Statute made for that purpose, that they could not well be put out of it by this new-started Designe.* The People stand by *Queen Mary*: the Council notwithstanding their Engagement to stand by him at his going away, (when he observed in *Shore-ditch* that the People gazed on him, but bid him not *God speed*; and he

told

told the Lords, *They might purchase their safety with his ruine.* To which one of the Lords replied, *Your Grace makes a doubt of that which cannot be: for which of us all can wash his hands clear of this business?* ) proclaimed the Queen at London, as he doth at Cambridge; where yet the Earl of Arundel ( who offered his life at his feet when he marched out: O the Vicissitudes of this lower world ? ) arrests him resolutely, and he submits weakly, first to an Imprisonment, and then to a Tryal and Execution.

*The first night he came to Cambridge, all the Doctors supped with him; and Doctor Sandys is appointed to preach before him next day. The Doctor late at night betakes himself to his Prayers and Study, desiring God to direct him to a fit Text for that time. His Bible openeth at the first of Joshua, and ( though he heard no voice with St. Augustine, saying, Tolle & lege ) a strong fancy inclined him to fix on the first words he beheld, v. 16. And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest us we will do; and whithersoever thou sendest, we will go: A Text he so wisely and warily handled, that his Enemies got not so full advantage against him as they expected.*

*The next day the Duke advanced to Bury with his Army, whose feet marched forward while their minds moved backward. Upon the News brought him, he returned to Cambridge, with more sad thoughts within him, than valiant Souldiers about him. Then went he with the Mayor of the Town, and proclaimed the Queen; the Beholders whereof more believing the grief in his*

*Q. Mary his eyes when they let down tears, than the joy professed by his hands when he threw up his Cap. Slegge Sergeant at Arms arrest him in Kings-Colledge; and when the Proclamation of Pardon set him at liberty, the Earl of Arundel re-arrests him, at whose feet he craves mercy; a low posture in so high a person! But what more poor and prostrate than Pride it self, when reduced to extremity? Behold we this Duke as the Mirrour of Humane Unhappiness!*

Hist.  
Camb.  
p. 131.

*As Nevil Earl of Warwick was the make-King, so this Dudley Earl of Warwick was the make-Queen. He was Chancellour of the University, and Steward of the Town of Cambridge; two Offices which never before or since met in the same person.*

*Thus as Cambridg: was his Vertical Poynt, wherein he was in the heighth of Honour: so it was his Vertical, where he met with a suddain turn, and a sad Catastrophe. And it is remarkeable, that though this Duke (who by all means endeavoured to aggrand his Posterity) had six sons, all men, all married, none of them left any issue behind them. Thus far better it is to found our hopes of even earthly happiness on Goodness, than Greatness. Thus far the Historian.*

*It was Lewis the eleventh's Motto, Pride and Presumption go before, Shame and Loss follow after. In three sorts of men Ambition is good:*

1. In a Souldier, to quicken him.
2. In Favourites, to balance others.
3. In great States-men, to undertake invidious Employments: *For no man will take that part except*

except he be like a seeled Dove, that mounts and  
mounts because he cannot see about him. And  
in these men it's safe if they are mean in their origi-  
nal, harsh in their nature, stirring in many little,  
rather than in any great business. Greater in his  
own interest than in his Followers. Humility so-  
journeth with safety and honour, Pride with Dan-  
ger and unworthiness. No man below an Anointed  
One, is capable of an unlimited Power; a tempta-  
tion too great for Mortality, whose highest Interest  
if indulged, is *Self*; and if checked, *Malice*. Dan-  
gerous is the *Power* of an aspiring Person near a  
Prince, more dangerous his *Disguise*, as who acts  
all things against his Master by his Authority.

Let no man upon this example ever repose so  
much upon any mans single Counsel, Fidelity or  
Discretion, as to create in himself or others a  
diffidence of his own judgement, which is likely  
to be most faithfull and true to a mans own *Interest*.  
Let every man have some things that no man shall  
obtain, and some things that no man must dare  
ask; because you see here, if we let all go without  
reserve, our Reputation is lost in the world by the  
Reputation our Favourite gains with us-

There was in *Rome* a certain man named *Enati-  
us*, somewhat entred in Age, and of natural con-  
dition mutinous, ambitious, and troublesome: *A-  
drian* being advertised that he was dead, fell into  
a great laughter, and sware, That he could not but  
wonder he could intend to die, considering what  
great business he had night and day; Considering  
how many Affairs he had to manage, how many  
cross accidents to accommodate, I wonder what  
time he had to die: And considering his many pre-  
tences

*Q. Mary* tences for the Protestant Religion, especially that for King *Edward's*, I wonder with what face he could die a Papist.

But I have forgot my self : for there are two sorts of persons in *Machiavel* that must either not believe, or not profess any Religion : The first, the States-man, that acts in publick Affairs ; the second, the Historian, that writes them.

*Observations on the Life of Sir William Peter.*

**H**E was born in that great Nursery of Parts *Devonshire*; and bred in a greater, *Exeter-Colledge*. That Colledge made him a Scholar, and *All-Souls* a Man. His capacity was contemplative, and his Genius active; observing, rather than reading; with his eye more on men, than Books; studying behaviour, rather than notion; to be accomplished, rather than knowing; and not to erre in the main, rather than to be excellent in circumstance. His Body set off his Parts with a grave dignity of presence, rather than a soft beauty of aspect: His favour was more taking than his colour, and his motion more than favour; and all such, as made his early Vices blush, and his riper Vertues shine.

The Earl of *Wiltshire* first pitched upon him for his Sons Tutor, and then for his own Companion. *Noble Families* set off hopeful Parts, and improve them.

*Cromwel's* quick eye one day at my Lord, spyeth his

his Personage, and observes his Carriage. (*He was ~~Q. Mary~~ a man himself, and understood one.*) Nothing would satisfy him, but that the young Gentleman should come to Court, and go to Travel. King Henry loved any *All-souls* man; but was enamoured with him, in whom concurred the three Perquisites of that Society.

1. A Gentle Extraction.
2. A graceful Behaviour.
3. Competent Learning.

The young man designed for business, was to travel for Education, and the Scholar for Experience.

1. His Pension is allowed him, 125 *l.* a year.
2. His Tutor is assigned, who had been there before, and could instruct him what he should see, where he should go, what acquaintance to entertain, what exercise or discipline to undergo.

3. His Instructions were drawn up: as,

1. That he should keep a Diary of what the chiefest places and the eminent persons, either apart or in Conventions, yielded worthy of Remarque and Observation.

2. To have before him a Map or Card of every place he goeth to.

3. Not to stay long in any one place.

4. To converse with no Englishmen but Agents, Embassadors, or such grave persons as his Majesty would direct him to.

5. To endeavour after Recommendations from persons of quality in one place, to those in another; keeping still his correspondence with the most publick and eminent persons of every respective place.

Wich



*R Mary* Within five years he returned a compleat Gentleman, correcting the Vices of one Country with the Vertues of another; and being one happy Composition of every Region, *Sir John Philpot* was not so much the worse, as *Sir William* was the better for travel; He returning to the shame of all Nations; of his own, by his weakness abroad; of others, by their follies at home: This coming home the honour of his own by his abilities abroad, of others by his perfections at home.

Two things improved his travel:

1. An Artificial and careless freedome, that opened others.

2. A natural gravity, that shut him up, and was more capable of observing their Vertues, and escaping their Vices.

*Peter* Earl of *Savoy* came to do his homage to *Otho* the fourth in a double attire; on the one side Cloth of Gold, on the other shining Armour: the Emperour asked him what meant that *Lindsey Woolsey*? he answered, *Sir, the attire on the right side is to honour your Majesty, that on the left is to serve you.* *Sir William Peter* returns with those Gayeties of carriages on the one hand that might adorn a Court, and with those abilities on the other that might support it. His first employment was the Charts, the Latin Letters, and the Forreign Negotiation: the next, was Principal Secretary: In which Office, *Wriothesly* was rough and stubborn, *Pages* easie, *Cecil* close, *Mason* plain, *Smith* noble; *Peter* was smooth, reserved, resolved, and yet obliging. Both the Laws he was Doctor of, and both the Laws he made use of; the Civil Law to direct

direct Forreign Negotiations, and the other to give light to Domestick Occasions.

In the Kings absence in France 1554. *Craumer* and *Thorleby* are to assist the Queen in matters of Religion; the Earl of *Hertford* in Affairs of War; the Lord *Parr* of *Horton*, and Doctor *Peter*, in the Civil Government; (whose Maxime it was, *It is the interest of the Kings of England to be the Arbiters of Christendome.*) Thus much he was to the Queen by *Henry* the eighth's Deputation, and no less to King *Edward* by his Will.

A man would wonder how this man made a shife to serve four Princes of such distant Interests as King *Henry*, King *Edward*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*; untill he recollects the French King, who enquired of a wise man how he might govern himself and his Kingdome? the wise man took a fair large sheet of Paper, and instead of an infinite number of Precepts, which others use to offer upon that subject, he onely writ this word, *Modus, A Mean.* In King *Henry*'s time he observed his Humour, in King *Edward*'s he kept to the Law, in Queen *Mary*'s he intended wholly State-affairs, and in Queen *Elizabeth*'s she was religious, his years minding him of death, and his death of his faith. He moved with the first Movers in most transactions to his apparent danger; yet he had motions of his own for his real security. Aile he was at home; and very dexterous abroad; particularly at *Bulloin*. The Philosophers exercising their Gifts before an Ambassador, he asked one that was silent what he should say of him? *Report to your King* (saith he) *that you found one among the Grecians that knew how to hold his tongue.* Ah, (said Mounseieur *Charillon*) we had

*Mary*. gained the last 200000 Crowns without Hostages, had it not been for the man that said nothing, (meaning Secretary Peter.)

Neither was he better at keeping his own counsel, than at discovering other mens; as appeared by the intelligence he had, that the Emperour had sent ships to transport the Lady *Mary* into *Germany*, in case the King would not allow her the practice of her Religion, (though three men knew not that Designe in the German Court) whereupon he fetched her two *Leez*; and thence, under the notion of preparing for Sea-matters, he sent over five thousand pounds to relieve the Protestants.

Active he was about the Will in compliance with his duty to King *Edward*, but as nimble in his intelligence suitable to his Allegiance to Queen *Mary*; whom he assisted in two Particulars. 1. In making the March: 2. In searching the bottom of *Wiat's* Insurrection: therefore,

1. When the Church-lands went against her conscience, Sir *William Peter* must be sent for.

2. When the Pope sent another Legate to turn out *Pool*, he must be sent for; (who advised her to forbid him this Land, as she very resolutely did.)

As serviceable was he to Queen *Elizabeth*, till his Age not being able to go through the difficulties, and his Conscience being impatient of the severities of those busy and harsh times, he retired to *Essex*, where his Estate was great, and his Charity greater: both which he bequeathed his Son *John*, who was by King *James* made Baron of *Wristle* in *Char* County.

*Observations on the Life of Cardinal Pool.*

**H**is Extraction was so high, that it awakened King Henry the Eighth's Jealousies; and his Spirit so low, that it allayed it: When he reflected on his Royal Relation, he was enjealousied to hard thoughts of restraint and security; when he observed his modest Hopefulness, he was obliged to those more mild of Education and Care, as more honourable than the other, and as safe: Religion and Study would enfeeble that spirit to quiet contemplation, which more manlike exercises might ennoble for Business and Action. It was but mewing him up in a study with hopes of a *Mitre*, and there would be no danger of his ambition to the *Crown*. The Privacies of the School and Colledge made him a stranger to the transactions of Court; and he was too follow his Book, that he might not understand himself.

*\* His Mother was Daughter to the Duke of Clarence, and Grandchild to Edward the IV.*

His preferments were competent to content him; and yet but mean to expose him.

Three things concurred to his escape from King Henry's Toyl.

1. His Relation's ambition, that could not endure he should be wrapped in Black, that was born to be clothed in Purple.

2. His own Inclination to adde Experience to his Learning.

3. The Kings Policy, to maintain him abroad, who could not safely keep at home.

*Ec 2*

*No*

OBSERVATIONS <sup>ON</sup>436  
Q. Mary.

No sooner arriveth he at *Paris*, than the Pope ca<sup>n</sup> reflect him as a person fit to promote his Interest: The House of *Tor* supports him, as one that kept up their Claim; and the general Discontent crieth him up as one that was now the hope of *England*, and might be its Relief.

That he might not come short of their Expectation, or his own Right, his large capacity takes in the Learning of most Universities, observeth the way of most Nations, and keeps correspondence with all eminent men: The first of these improved his Learning, the second his Experience, the third his Converse.

The Marquess of *Exeter*, the Lord *Mountacute*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Geoffery Poole*, would have made him a King, (but to gain him a *Crown*, they lost their own *Heads*) and Pope *Julius* made him a Kings Fellow; but he was never Head of this Church since he put the Red Hat on this Cardinal.

The King had him declared for a Traytor in *England*, and he him excommunicated for an Heretick at *Rome*. His Friends are cut off by the King at home, and the Kings Enemies cherished by him abroad.

But Princes are mortal, though their hatred not so: For before the Kings death, he would needs be reconciled to *Pool*, and as some thought, by him to *Rome*; wherefore he sends to him now in great esteem in *Italy*, desiring his opinion of his late Actions clearly, and in few words: Glad was *Pool* of this occasion to dispatch to him his Book *de Unione Ecclesiarum*, inveighing against his Supremacy, and concluding with an advice to *Henry* to reconcile him-

*Q. Mary.*

himself to the Catholick Church, and the Pope as Heads thereof. Our King having perused this, and knowing it could not lie hid in *Italy* (though *Pool* had promised not to publish it) sends for him by Post to come into *England*, to explain some Passages thereof: but *Pool* knowing that it was declared Treason there to deny the Kings Supremacie, refused; desiring the King nevertheless in Letters to him and *Tonstal*, to take hold of the present time, and reintegrate himself with the Pope; whereby he might secure his Authority, and advance it with the honour of being the cause of a Reformation of the Church in Doctrine and Manners.

King *Edward* is King of *England*, and the Cardinal like to be Pope of *Rome*, keeping pace with the Royal Family; He Head of the Church Catholick, They of that in *England*: but King *Edward's* weakness of Body suffered him not long to enjoy his Throne, and the Cardinals Narrowness and easiness of spirit suffered him not at all to sit in his chair.

For upon *Paul* the Third's death, the Cardinals being divided about the Election, the Imperial part, which was the greatest, gave their voice for Cardinal *Pool*; which being told him, he disabled himself, and wished them to chuse one that might be most for the glory of God, and good of the Church, Upon this stop, some that were now friends to *Pool*, and perhaps looked for the place themselves, if he were put off, layed many things to his charge; among other things, That he was not without suspicion of Lutheranism, nor without blemish of Incontinence: but he cleared himself so handsomely, that he was now more impowered to take the place than

*Q Mary* before, and therefore one night (they say) the Cardinal came to him being in bed, and sent word they came to adore him, (a circumstance of the new Popes Honour) but he being waked but of his sleep and acquainted with it, made answer, That *this was not a work of darkeness, and therefore requir'd them to forbear until next day, and then do as God should put in their minds.* But the Italian Cardinals attributing this put-off to a kind of stupidity and sloth in *Pool*, looked no more after him, but the next day chose Cardinal *Montanus* Pope, who was afterwards named *Julius* the Third.

I have heard of many that would have been Popes, but could not; I write this man one that could have been one, but would not.

But though he would not be Pope of *Rome*, yet when *Mary* was Queen, he was one of *England*; where he was *Legate*, and if it had not been for the Emperour, had been King: For as soon as she was in the Throne of *England*, he was sent for out of *Italy* into the Chair of *Canterbury*; but *Charles* the Emperour, by the Popes power, secretly retarded his return, fearing it might obstruct the propounded marriage between his Son and the Queen. Indeed the Queen bare the Cardinal an unfeigned affection for six reasons:

1. For his grave and becoming presence, that endeared him no less to those that saw him, than his parts and prudence did to those that conversed with him: The Diamond is then orient, when set in Gold.

2. For his disposition, as calm as her Majesties, and as meek as his Profession.

3. For

3. For his Age: being about ten years older, the proportion allowed by the Philosopher between Husband and Wife. *Q Mary.*

4. For Alliance: she being daughter to Henry the Eighth, and he Grandchild to Edward the Fourth.

5. For his Education with her, under his Mother.

6. For his Religion, for which he was an Exile, as she was a Prisoner, and both Confessors.

But now when the marriage with Prince Philip was consummated, Pool at last got leave for England; and to wipe away all suspicion of Lutheranism, wherewith he was formerly taxed, he became a cruel, that he might be believed a cordial Papist: For meeting in Brabant with Emanuel Tremelius, requesting some favour from him, he not only denied him relief, but returned him rayling terms; though formerly he was not only his very familiar Friend, but his God-father too, when of a Jew he turned Christian. Arrived in England, (as the Historian goeth on) he was first ordained Priest, being but Deacon before, and then consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, the Queen being present, at Bow; where rich in costly Rybes, and sitting on a gilded Throne, his Pall was presented to him: Adorned, he presently mounts the Pulpit, and makes a dry Sermon of the use and honour of the Pall, without either Language or matter; all admiring the jejuneess of his Discourse, as if putting off his Parts, when putting on his Pall.

Full. Hist.  
Cent. 19.  
P. 142

He made the breach formerly between England  
Ec 4 and



*Q Mary and Rome*, by exasperating both sides: he now reconciles it, obliging many by his carriage, awing as many by his presence, dazzling all by his pomp and splendour. Now he confirmeth the Institution of Clergy-men into their Benefices; he legitimates the Children of forbidden marriages; he ratifieth the Processes and Sentences in matters Ecclesiastical; and his Dispensations were confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Two things he was intent upon:

1. The Church-Privileges; whereof one he procured was, That the Clergy should not shew their Horses with the Layty, but under Captains of their own chusing.

2. The *Spanish* Interest; and therefore *Paul* the fourth, who was as intent upon the *French*, and looked upon the Legate as the principal Promoter of the last War in *France*, sends Cardinal *Peito* to ease him of his Legantine Power in *England*. But the Queen so ordered the matter, that by her Prerogative she prohibited *Peito* entrance into *England*, and got the foresaid Power established and confirmed on Cardinal *Pool*, as she did likewise 1000 *l.* a year for his better support out of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. The more he lived in *England*, the more he was Italianized; conversing with their Merchants, and practising their thrife; his Pomp being (saith my Author) rather gaudy than costly, and his attendance more ceremonious than expensive. Fearfull he was of a Bank here, (if *Queen Mary* died) careful of one beyond Sea if he lived: therefore as he sends all his Estate to *Italy* by his Will when he died, so he did most of it by Bills of Exchange while he lived: the first was judged his Policy,

Policy, of (the heart whereof is preveation) the second his Gratitude, bestowing his Superfluities on them who had relieved his Necessities. Of all his Estate, *Aloisius Priol* took but the Breviary he had alwayes in his Pocket, so devout he was and the Diary he had alwayes in his Closet, so exact he was to observe what was done by others, and recollect what had escaped himself. Die he did not of Italian Phyfick wilfully taken by himself, as Mr, *Fox* suggests; nor of English Poison; given him by the Protestants, as *Oforius* affirms; but of a *Quartain* Ague, then Epidemical in *England*, and malignant above the ordinary nature of that Disease. This man was a Catholick in his Interest and Charity, and a Protestant in his Conscience. *We cannot* (was his saying) *give too much to God grace, nor too little to our own merits.* He said when he came to *England*, *I came hither not to condemn, but reconcile; not to compel, but desire.* He would burn the Ashes of one or two Protestants when dead, to avoid the suspicion of Heresie; but the Bodies of none when alive, to contract the real guilt of Cruelty. In Council sound were his Debates for the main; circumspect his Suggestions of Circumstances; reaching his foresight of Consequences; wary his Precautions of Impediments; moderate and soft his Advices; prompt and steady his Expeditions; happy his Memory; many his Observations; large his Reading; strong his Spirit; solid his Judgement; sharp his Apprehension: fluent, but weighed; full, but pertinent: grave, but quick his Discourse: what he pronounced, was a Decree with *Queen Mary*; what he said, was Law with King *Philip*: His naked Proposition was Demonstration: his Word

*Q Mary.* Word Reason, fetched from the Principles of things, and grounded on their Causes. His Modesty never sued for Greatness, though that sued for him: for great men he said were Slaves to six things: 1. To mens humours; 2. To business; 3. To Fortune; 4. To their own Followers; 5. To Fame; and, 6. To the Publick. I will say no more of him, but that *Modesty undoeth a Maid*, and is the fool onely that puts Vertue out of Countenance. Bashfulness is at best but a weak and treacherous Vertue.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir John Russell.*

**H**IS Name and his Valour is as ancient as the Conquest; Vertue flowing in every Age of that Family with its Honour and Worth, keeping pace with their Advancements. In every man that we meet with, there are three things that immediately offer themselves to our Consideration:

1. The Mind.
2. The Behaviour. And
3. The Person.

His Mind was befriended by Nature with a quickness and a capaciousness, helped by publick Education to a solidity and stayedness; improved in Travel with Observation, and raised by the slow, but happy degrees of his Preferments to Skill and Experience. *They had need be slow and wary in that place where there is no failing the second time, the first*

*first error being irremediable:* therefore well-ordered Policy imitateth Nature, which worketh slowly, and step by step, causing the Blade to come from the Grain, the Tree from the Graft, the Blossom from the Tree, and Fruit from the Blossom: so (saith my Author) ought Policy to raise great persons from one degree to another; to the end, that having made their Essays in meaner matters, they may finish their Master-pieces in more eminent Affairs, 2. He that demeans himself well, is ever ushered in by a friend that recommends him to the company that knew him nor.

Sir John had a *moving* beauty that waited on his whole Body, as that standing one doth upon the Face and Complexion: Such a grace and comeliness waited on His Noble Men, as exacted a liking, if not a love from all that beheld him.

A midling Clarity and quickness is best in Wine, that is, neither too thick upon the Lees, nor yet too quick: our Knights comportment and carriage was neither dull nor vapouring, neither gross nor affected, but of a becoming temper, at equal distance with the Clown and the Pedant, what's contemptible, and what's invidious. 3. But both these were set off with his Person, of a middle stature, neither tall to a formidableness, nor short to a contempt: straight and proportioned, vigorous and active, with that pure blood and spirits that flowed and flowred within his swelling Veins, and disposed him to those natural and innocent, those manly and noble Exercises of Dancing, &c. Dancing, I say, which he was not exquisite in, for that is vanity: nor ignorant of, for that's meanness: but a graceful exercise, (wherein he was carelessly easie,

*Q. Mary* as if it were rather natural motion, than curious and artificial practising) which endeared his severer Vertues to that place where the worth that riseth must be complaisant and pleasing, as well as serviceable and useful. But the favour which proceeds from personal grace and comeliness, although it seem to be doubly united, yet it is that which is soonest dissolved and dissipated, there being nothing so inconstant as mens humours, which not onely change through Ages, but also by some small occasion or accident which may arise: Sir *John* therefore brought himself into Court by what humour'd, but kept himself in there by those things that did oblige him; and stood not upon his Majesties pleasure, but his Interest; adding to his more airy Courtships, more solid Employments. From the softer Court therefore we must follow him to the Camp, and that before *Terwyn*, where we finde him daring and active: 1. In skirmishing the French every day; 2. In recovering the red Gun overthrown in a Line from 10000 French, under the Earl *S. Paul* as General, with 250 resolute Reformades under himself but Captain; although he was once taken Prisoner, as before *Calice*, where he redeemed himself from the Officer that had taken him for 250 Crowns, on condition he would conduct him safe from the French Quarter, as the man did, until they were gone so far, that Sir *John* takes him Prisoner, compelling him to the Reimbursement of his money, with 200 Crowns more, to be bestowed on the Common Souldiers. As severely active was he at the siege of *Tournay*, as the oldest Souldier; and yet as innocently pleasant at the Mask there, as the youngest Courtier.

One of the sixty he was that went with the King to cut off the Passage between that City and the Army, and one of the eleven that went with his Majesty to entertain the Ladies at *Lisle*. From serving one King in *France*, he had the honour as it was thought to kill another in *England*, (I mean *James of Scotland*) and challenge a third in *Paris*. The same thing raised him, that advanced *Wolsey*: for he being sent to *Maximilian*, (after Treasurer *Naphant* had brought him to Court) dispatched his business so soon, that the King chid him for not being gone, when he was returned; and withal asked him, Whether he had seen the Post that he had sent after him about a circumstance that had escaped him? He answered, He met him in his return; but he had presumed to adde that particular of his own head, for which he asked his Majesties pardon, and had his favour too for the Deanery of *Lincoln*, and the Almonership. Sir *John* was commanded with 1500 men to cut off the Convoy to *Termyn*: which he performed with that speed and success, that when the King saw him, he said, *I, I, Sir John, while we are fooling, the Town is relieved. So it is indeed,* (said he) *for I have sent them 2000 Carcasses, and they have spared me 1200 Wagons of Provision. I but,* said the King, *I sent after you to cut off the Bridge Dieban. That,* replied the Knight, *was the first thing I did: wherefore I am upon my knees for your Majesties grace and pardon. Nay then,* (said the King) *by Lady, thou hast not my pardon, but my favour too.* "He is the  
 " man for a Princes service, whose minde is present,  
 " and prudence is ready to meet with sudain oc-  
 " casions, and accommodate unexpected emergen-  
 " cies."

*Q. Mary*

cies. The first effect of that favour, was his Nomination for one of the sixteen that answered the French challenge at the Lady *Mary's* Marriage, at *Paris*, November 7, 1513. which shewed his manhood, and how valiant he was. The second was, that he was one of the Forty five that were to be about his Majesty at the instant of his Interview with the King of *France* at *Guifnes*; which was an Argument of his presence, and how goodly a man he was. The third was, that he was one of the Twenty two that with the Earl of *Surrey* Lord Admiral, and Sir *William Fitz-williams* Vice-Admiral, proposed that secret, and therefore successful Designe upon *Britain*, under pretence of *Scouring the Narrow Seas*, ( for now he is as good in the Sea as he had been in the Field ) for which he and eight more of his fellow-Captains, Sir *John Cornwallis*, &c. are Knighted by the aforesaid Lord Admiral: which speaks him a Sea-man, and indeed one of a general capacity. The fourth was, the great Trust his Majesty reposed in him, when he was sent in disguise to widen the difference that was newly broken out between the Duke of *Bourbon*, the High Constable of *France*, and the *French* King; which he managed so well, that the discontented Duke declares for the Emperour and the King of *England*, to the great encouragement of the English, the satisfaction of his Majesty, and the success of his Designe upon *Anchor*, *Boungard*, *Bray*, and other places, where Sir *John* shewed himself as active now, as he was before cunning as much surpassing the French Spirit in action, as he had over-reached their Prudence in Negotiation.

But in vain was it to serve that King, unless a  
man

man obliged the Cardinal, (he that Courts the Virgin *Mary*, must not neglect her little Saints) him he attended in his second Journey to *France*, first to honour, and then to serve him. And now after his decease, when King *Henry* had done the work of mercy (which was most proper for himself, as being most popular) upon the *Lincolnshire* Rebels, he deputed the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Francis Brians* and Sir *John Russel* to perform that of Justice, which is most distastful: wherein yet he behaves himself with that exactness, that the Country was very well pleased, and the King as well satisfied; insomuch that we finde our Knight now called from a Commander in in the Field, to be Controller at Court: where he managed his Masters Expences thrifely, reduced his Family discreetly, reformed his followers effectually, and filled up his place with the awe of his presence, and the influence of his Authority, that he was at once its support and its glory. Indeed Courts being those Epitoms where through strangers look into Kingdomes, should be Royally set of as with Utensils, so with attendance, that might possess all Comers with reverence there, and fear elsewhere.

Hir Person graced his Imployment, and therefore his Majesty honoured his Person with the Order of the Garter, and the Title of Lord *Russel*; and that his Preferment might keep pace with his Honour, he is made Lord Privy Seal, and his Nephew Sir *John Cage* Controller. His Honour slacked not his Activity, but improved it; neither was his Vertue onely violent in Ambition, and dull in Authority. Power to do good, is the true and lawful end of aspiring: therefore my Lord to his *Staff*, added his *Sword*;

*Q. Mary*

*Q. Mary*



*Q Mary*

*Governor  
of Bies.*

Sword; and to his Court-honour, his Field<sup>d</sup> service, as Lieutenant-General before *Muttre*; and Marshal before *Bulloign*; to the relief of the first whereof, he drew Mounſieur *Bies*, that his Majesty might take the second. In the Camp he drew up the Designs, in the Field he managed the Treasure, and in Action to him was intrusted the Conduct and manage. In the Kings last Will and Testament he was the fifth person, and in his Sons Council the fifth; to whom he discovered a French Plot the *first* year of his Raign; and for whom he broke the *Devonshire* Rebels; what with delays; what with stratagems, to divide them according to their several Inclinations, the *second*, for which service he was made Earl of *Bedford*: The *third*, in the Faction at home between the *Symours* and the *Dudleys*, he was Neuter: in the Treaties abroad between the French King and his Majesty of *England*, he was Principle; where he observed three Rules: 1. That there should be a general Muster at home, while this Treaty went on abroad. 2. That there should be a blow given the *Scots* before there was a Peace made with the *French*, 3. That we should first know the *French* Overtures before we made our own,

But while he was here; he discovered a Plot that the Emperour had to transport the Lady *Mary* over to his Dominions, and thereby bring her Brother to his terms: whereupon he with 200 men watcheth one Port, the Duke of *Somerſet* with 200 more a second, and Master *St. Leiger* with 400 men a third; while the Lady was fetched by my Lord Chancellor to the King. But while he was serving his Master the King abroad, his Friend the

*Pro*

Protector wanted his advice and assistance at home, *Q. Mary*  
 he being of purpose sent out of the way, while that  
 unfortunate Duke is first betrayed by his own folly,  
 and then ruined by his Enemies power. I finde  
 his hand among the rest of the Councillors in a Let-  
 ter to *Queen Mary*, but not in Arms against her.  
 He was concluded by the major Vote to a Commis-  
 sion for Peace, but not to *Action* for conscience sake.  
 Faithful he is therefore to her in Council, and ser-  
 viceable in *Spain* and *France*; from the first of  
 which places he brought her a Husband, and from  
 the second a Treasure. He understood her Right,  
 and disputed not her Religion; regarding not so  
 much her Opinion, as his own Duty; not what she  
 was, but what he should be. And thus he behaved  
 himself, until his dear Mistress *Elizabeth* took him  
 for one of her Protestant Councillours to balance  
 her Popish ones: and not onely of her Council,  
 but of her Cabinet: (for as every man must have  
 his Friend to ease his heart, so Princes have their  
 Favourites to partake of their cares) and the Mar-  
 quess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and Sir  
*William Cecil*, were the onely Persons to whom the  
 Queen communicated her designe of Reformation,  
 and correcting the Common-prayer; and they or-  
 dered affairs so, that the Protestants should be in  
 hope, and yet the Papists should not be out of  
 hope.

King *Philip* had a quarrel with the Queen for re-  
 jecting his suit, the King of *Sweden* for slighting his  
 Son, the King of *France* in his Wives Right, the  
 Queen of *Scots* in her Own, and the Pope for ex-  
 cluding his Supremacie; her Subjects were as un-  
 settled in their Loyalty as in their Religion: What

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*Mary*

*Q Mary.* remained? but that my Lord of *Bedford* and Sir *William Cecil* should make up a well-tempered House of Commons by their Interest, who should carry along an indifferent House of Lords by their Resolution?

When he had served the Queen in Parliament for the settlement of her Kingdom at home, he served the Kingdome in an Embassie to *Scotland*, to set up its correspondence abroad.

The Earl of *Leicester* aimed at the Queen of *England*, and the Earl of *Bedford*, to divert him and secure *Scotland*, design'd him for the Queen of *Scots*; whom he watched for two things; 1. That she should either match with an English Subject, or 2. With a soft and weak Forreigner; that either the Scots might be in league with us, or have no peace at home.

His last service I finde is a complement, when he was sent by the Queen as her Deputy, with a font of massie Gold worth 1043 *l.* to hold King *James* at his Baptism; with expresse command not to acknowledge my Lord *Darley* as King. This his service was as lasting as his life, which ended in old Age and Renown. He conveyed his Vertue and Honour to the Excellent *Francis*, as he did to the Right Honourable *William* Earl of *Bedford*; now living.

*Observations on the Life of Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester.*

**T**He tuition of the Earl of *Dorset's* Children raised *Wolsey*; travelling with the Duke of *Norfolk's* raised *Gardiner*: *Fox* his service in the quality of Secretary, made the first; and his in the same quality, made *Gardiner*.

There are three kindes of understanding; The one, that is advised by its self; the second, that understandeth when it is informed by another; the third, that neither is advised by its self, nor by the assistance of another. If this Doctor failed in the first, and his own invention, he exceeded in the second, of making use of others; for he was one of them that never heard or read what was not his own. His Profession was the Civil Law, that guideth forreign Negotiations: His Inclination was that general Policy that manageth them.

His Eminencies were three:

1. His Reservedness: Whereby he never did what he aimed at, never aimed at what he intended, never intended what he said, and never said what he thought; whereby he carried it so, that others should do his business, when they opposed it; and he should undermine theirs, when he seemed to promote it. A man that was to be traced like the Fox, and read like Hebrew, backward: if you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not.

2. His Boldness. Authority sometimes meets  
F f a with

*Q. Mary.*

with those impediments, which neither power can overcome, nor good fortune divert, if Courage and Fortitude break not through and surmount them; and the motions of the irascible faculties, such as Hope, Boldness and Choler, being well ordered, and conducted by Reason, engage those difficulties she encountereth in the execution of her designs: Reason discovered him his enterprizes, his Will enclined him to them, and the noble transports of his regular passions set out both with that ardour and vehemencie, as bear down obstacles, and compass the design: A hope he had, that never rashly engaged him in desperate undertakings; an audacity that precipitated him not weakly into impossibilities; and a choler that led him not blindly to inevitable ruines: Consideration managing the first, Discretion and Foresight the second, and Reason the third. What doth is avail a man to be wise, in knowing what is fit to be done; prudent, to invent means; just, to appropriate affairs to publick good; authorized and happy, to cause them to succeed; if a Courage, guided by Reason, accompanied with Prudence, ruled by Discretion, animated by a generous Boldness, be not diligent, quick and prompt for Execution? His nature was generous and constant: His Education (like that of the Roman Youth among Statesmen) manifold and solid: His Soul was free, and dis-engaged from any particular Design.

3. Eloquence; That added to his Parts what colours do to a Picture; state, grace and light: Reason is the Ornament of a Man, Speech the Interpreter of Reason, and Eloquence the grace of Speech; wherein the Orator excelleth other men, as much

as they do other creatures. His Wisdom advised, *Q. Mary.*  
his Prudence contrived, his Courage resolved, and  
his Eloquence perswaded; adding at once grace-  
fulness to his Designs, and vigour to his Enterpri-  
zes; as that wherewith he could satisfie mens Rea-  
sons, and master their Passions, by which he carried  
them whither he pleased: His lively Expression  
animates his Reason, his Eloquence his Expression,  
and his Gesture his Eloquence; whereby he charm-  
ed the Senses, mollified Hearts, incited Affections,  
framed Desires, checked Hopes, and exercised a sa-  
cred Empire over every man he dealt with.

These qualities improved with Travel, raised the  
Doctor to be the Chancellour's Secretary, and the  
† Legantine Courts chief Scribe at home, a sly A-  
gent in *Italy*, a successful Orator in *Germany*, and \* *Kept at*  
Leiger Embassador in *France*. In *Italy*, he with Dr. *Black Fox*  
ector Fox (having the King of *France* his Agent to  
second them) gained the Popes Commission for  
hearing of the Cause between King *Henry* the VIII,  
and Queen *Katherine*.

In *Germany* he undermined the French King, and  
in *France* the Emperour.

Upon the poor Pope (whom he found not worth  
20 l.) perplexed between the King of *England*,  
who had set him at liberty, and the King of *Spain*,  
who had maintained him, he wrought so far, as to  
gain a dubious Letter in Cypher to the King, and a  
clear promise to the Cardinal, both about the sup-  
pression of some Monasteries, and the Divorce;  
which the crafty Agent extorted from the fearful  
man, with his *Necessse est*, &c. although all this while  
he palliated this his main business, with some imper-  
tinent overtures about King *Henry* the seventh's Ca-

*Q Mary* nonization : None better understanding the just degrees, seasons and methods of Affairs, than this Doctor : Where he spoke one word for his Majesties Divorce, he spoke two for the Cardinals Advancement, having the French Kings Letter with him to that effect, in *omnem eventum* : In order whereunto he threatned the Pope from *Germany*, and *Germany* from *Rome* ; so that their mutual jealousies forced them to a compliance with his Royal and Sacred Master. A great Agent he was in this business while *Woolsey's* Secretary, a greater when the Kings ; in which capacity he writ, they say, one Book for the Pope's Supremacie in his Masters Name, and another for the Kings in his own.

He draweth the Kingdom's Remonstrance against the Pope, wherein he hath one shrew'd argument ; to this purpose those sacra or wayes of Religion that have any thing in them in any nation against the light of nature, and the being of humane society were severely animadverted on by the Romans upon this principle, that it was to be supposed that Gods Religion should interfere with government which is Gods institution, and that way of Religion which hath inwoven in it principles that make the Ecclesiasticall power a Competitor with the Civil, and the Pope's against the Kingdom : He and Doctor *Fax* are employed to gain the Vote of *Cambridge* for the Divorce ; where he brought it from the Negative to even Voices, and from even Voices to a Disputation, and upon that, to a Determination on the Kings side : for which we find him now Bishop of *Winchester*, Archbishop *Cranmer's* Assistant at pronouncing the Divorce at the Priory of *Durstable*, and one of the two Embassadors at the  
Inter-

Interview between King *Francis* and King *Henry*.

*Q. Mary.*

As he had declared himself by writing, so he drew up a Form whereby others might declare themselves by oath for the Kings Supremacy: And as he owneth the Kings Authority, so he maintaineth it in his *Apology* for *Fisher's* Death.

But because no power is lasting, when Religion is not venerable, the wary Bishop promotes the Statutes of six Articles in the House of Commons, in spite of *Cromwel* and *Cranmer*; and urgeth the retaining of some essential Latin \*words in the translation, in the Convocation; Words, for their genuine and native meaning, and for the Majesty of the matter in them contained, not to be Englished: Though he could not keep the word from shining, yet he had wit enough to keep it in a dark Lanthorn, to keep the Laity at their distance, and bear up the Will'-worship of *Rome*.

\* *As, Ecclesia, pœnitentia, Episcopus, Sacrificium, Pontifex.*

Had he kept here, King *Henry* had been satisfied; but when his success improved his boldness, and that precipitated his undertakings, he must be quarreling with the Protestant Queens, and so fall out with the Uxorious King, under whose displeasure he continued while he lived, as he did under his sons afterwards: (First, for refusing a confession of his fault, and then for not subscribing some Articles proposed unto him, though he owned the Supremacy, the Reformation, and said of the Common-Prayer, *That though he would not have made it so himself, yet he found in it such things as satisfied his conscience; and therefore he would both execute it himself, and cause others of his\* Parishioners to do it; and if he were troubled in conscience, he would reveal it to the Council, and not reason openly against it:*) so that he lost his Liberty and his Bishoprick, untill he was

\* *Viz Those of his Diocesi.*



*Q. Mary*

restored to both by Queen *Mary*, (who kissed and called him her Prisoner in the Tower) and likewise advanced him to the Chancellourship; wherein he did more harm by others than himself; keeping alwayes behinde the Curtain, and acting in *Oxford* by Visitors, in *London* by *Bonner*, and in his own Diocess by Suffragans; Onely in two Particulars he declared himself:

1. Against the Princess *Elizabeth*: saying, *In vain it is to lop the Branches, while the Root remains.*

2. Against the *Exiles*; Threatning that *he would watch their supplies, so that they should eat their nails, and then feed on their fingers ends.*

But threatened Folks, live long; and before the Confessors were brought to that Bill of fare, the Bishop was eaten of worms himself, dying suddenly and strangely; wholly a Protestant in the point of merit, who had been in other things so zealous a Papist.

One piece at once of his Prudence and Resolution, and I have done: The Lord Protector by Letters solicited *Gardiner* to resign *Trinity-Hall* to the Kings hand, who designed one Colledge out of that and *Clare-Hall*: "Most politick *Gardiner* (saith "my Author) not without cause suspecting some "design or casualty might surprize the Interval between the dissolution of the old, and the erection "of this new Foundation, civilly declined the motion, informing his Grace, That *the way to advance the study of the Law, was by promoting the "present Professors of that Faculty, (now so generally "discouraged) and not by founding a new Colledge for "the future Students thereof; seeing Trinity Hall "alone could breed more Civilians than all England "did prefer according to their deserts.*

*Observa-*

Observations on the Life of Sir William Herbert.

**H**IS Family had not endeared its self to the ancient Kings by its service, nor his Grandfather himself to King *Henry* the Seventh by his Relation, more than *He* did *Himself* to King *Henry* the Eighth by his Merit. He was a great Pattern of ancient Vertue, that in the greatest Fortune enjoyed the least Liberty: Vigilant and careful: One whose Power was attended with Sollicitude, (*there was an Eye in the ancient Scepters*) and his solicitude with Temperance; (he that commands himself, commands the World too.) While some mens imprudent integrity can do no harm, and others base cunning can do no good; Sir *william's* Prudence and integrity was equally able for both, as there was occasion. Very close and successful were his and my Lord *Sheffield's* Negotiations abroad: Very resolute and manly his Conduct at home. He was one of the twenty four Counsellours to *Henry* the Eighth while he lived, and one of the sixteen Executors of his Will when he died. All great undertakers must avoid softness and effeminacie, the bane of great Natures and Actions: For where there is love and pleasure, there is fear; and where there is fear, there is that which enchains Generosity and confines Courage.

He had his double Diary; the first for Actions, the second for Observations upon them: And indeed his and Sir *william Kingston's* Manuscripts

**Q** *Mary* give a great light to the History of those times: In which Diary we finde what actions he did against the Scots by constant alarms with three thousand *welch*, and what against *Ket's* Rebels by notable stratagems with two thousand. The man is compleat that hath a Head and a Heart.

As to the Faction in King *Edward's* time, he would not concern himself, looking on accusations in a Commonwealth as great advantages to check ambition, and vent discontent; that the one may not aspire too dangerously, nor the other break out too irregularly. And as little concern'd was he in King *Edward's* Will; his business being rather obeying the Sovereign *that was*, than determining who *should be*.

He was a thoroughly advised man; one that gazed not on the issues, but enquired into the reasons and spring of Actions.

Very useful he was in Queen *Mary's* Council, and no less in King *Philip's* War, where he got *St. Quintin* for him, and a lasting Renown for himself: who died in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, and left this plain Character behind, *That he was a noble Gentleman, of a trusty, a free and an open Nature.*

*Observations on the Lives of Sir Thomas Mannors, and Sir Ralph Evers.*

**I** Joyn them both in my Observations, because they agreed both in their dispositions:

I. Both Nobly Religious, and so blessed themselves, and being a blessing unto others: Their Religion

Religion was attended with Magnanimity, Constancy, Wisdom, Prudence, Valour and Counsel, as the Products of it; and with Success as the Issue.

2. Both famous and renowned; having Honour, as the shadow doth the Sun, going before them in their younger years, to make their way to action; keeping even with them in their middle age, to countenance and credit their proceedings; and following them in old Age to eternize and embalm them: Both making their way to Honour as *Agessilaus* in *Plutarch*, or *Epictetus* in *Strabo*, by saying what was well, and doing what was better; or with *Socrates*, by being what they appeared, and appearing no more than they were: (Vertue, though obscure, may satisfie me; it must be renowned, or it cannot serve others.) But action is the life of things, and good dispositions are rather a mans Inclinations than his Vertue. Both therefore are in their Courage regular, in their Conduct observant, in their Addresses obliging, in their Passions even, in their Enjoyments severe, and in their Services equal.

Sir *Thomas Mannors* first weakned the \* Northern Rebels, by such discreet Propositions as met with many of their Humours and Interests, and then resolved to engage them, but that the little Brook *Dun* swelled miraculously to a River, between both Armies: And at the same time Sir *Ralph Evers* held *Scarborough* Castle, where he had no Souldiers but his own Servants, nor any sustenance for twenty da ys, but bread and water. For this service he is made Lord Warden of the Marches, as Sir *Thomas* is Lord Governour of the North.

*\* In King  
H. 8's time,  
when they  
rise against  
the Reforma-  
tion.*

Both did his Majesty as much service in Peace for  
his

*Q. Mary* his Revenue, as in War for his Security: Both against the Cardinal's way of raising Money, which was but the relieving of a present need by laying the foundation of a lasting inconvenience; being very careful that their Master did not lose in the present what he gained in the money.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir John Baker.*

There is one of this Name *remarquable* in every Kings Reign since the Conquest; here is one now *renowned* in this: 1. For Integrity, to be neither awed nor corrupted: 2. For a Spirit publick as Nature, neither moved with particular respects, nor terminated in a private Design.

The French were so insolent in London the eighth year of Henry the Eighth, that when one *Williamson* a Carpenter was about to pay for two Pigeons he bought, a Frenchman takes them out of his hand, saying, *They were no meat for Carpenters, but for my Lord Embassadour*; who concerned himself so much in the case, that he had *Williamson* imprisoned: Sir John sued to the Ambassador for the man, who answered, *That the English Knave deserved to be hanged for denying any thing to a French man*. Whereupon Sir John replied, *You know not that you are in London*: A notable reply, considering that the City was up next day against Strangers, in so desperate a tumult, that none could suppress but Sir Thomas More, and none settle but Sir *William Kingston*

*Kingston* and *Sir John Baker*. No sooner had he allayed the disorder at home, but he with the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, are sent to appease a Rebellion abroad, I mean in *Denmark*, though in vain; when the Kings cruelty exceeded their apology, and *ruine* was more elegible with that people, than *duty* or *obedience*: Where he observed these six *Maximes*, in order to a newly conquer'd Kingdome:

1. That the Royal Line should be extinguished.

2. That the old Customs in Lawes and Taxes should be observed.

3. The Prince must be there to observe their humours in person.

4. That the Officers be moderate and honest.

5. That there be Colonies planted in one or two places that are the Keys of the State.

6. That the Neighbours should be weakned and divided, and the In-land Forts demolished.

As he would have composed the troubles of foreign Princes, so he served the necessities of his own, being the most successfull Commissioner for the Benevolence in the Countrey; and the most active Agent for the loan in *London*: Wherefore I finde him Chancellour of the Exchequer, *An. 1545*, and one of the assistants to the Trustees for King *Edward*, *1547*.

Judge *Mountague* was the onely person that durst dispute King *Edward's* Will: Judge *Hales* and *Sir John Baker* were the onely Councillours that durst refuse it; the first whereof stood to the Law, against Power; the second, to his Allegiance against Interest; and both to the rights of the Crown

*Q. Mary* Crown which are lasting, rather than the Designs of some Favourites that are as momentary as their Greatness, and as uncertain as their Grandeur.

This constant and firm resolution to stick to his Duty and Loyalty, brought him to his Grave in peace and honour; having been a faithful Counsellour and Servant to King *Henry* the eighth, King *Edward* the sixth, Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*.

*Observations on the Life of Sir William Kingston.*

**H**E was one of the greatest Courriers at Masks and Revels, one of the best Captains at Sea, and one of the most valiant and Skilful Commanders by Land. None more pleasing to the English Ladies, none more terrible to the French King. Cunningly did he discover the King of *Spain's* Design upon *Navarre* to his Majesty, by pretending a Revolt to that King of *Spain*; and as cunningly did he draw the French Troops into a snare, by counterfeiting a retreat towards *Britany*. His Advice had saved the Admiral at *Brest*, and his Foresight did rescue Sir *Edward Belknap* near *Guisnes*. He was Knighted for his Service at *Tour-nay*, and made Marshal for his Success at *Flodden*.

\* When the rising was there,

He was one of them that perswaded the City to its duty at \**Shoreditch*; and if that would not do, he was to command it from the *Tower*; being Commissioner in the first place, *Aug. 2.* and Lieutenant of the second, *September 6.* (*The Multitude is rather*

ther to be awed than reasoned with. Some Princes *Q. Mary* have disarmed their Subjects, others have divided them, a third sort have obliged them; others yet have kept up Plots amongst them: but all have built and commanded Fortresses to secure themselves. ) It were well if *Love* did, it's necessary that *Fear* should guide this World. The King condescended one day to Just with him; and he, though invincible, to fall by his Majesty, ( You must let a Prince be a Prince in every thing. ) So complaisant he was, that he was one of the six Maskers at Court at 50; and yet so grave, that when divers young men that were familiar with the King after the French mode were banished, he kept his Station, as one of the *stay-ed men*, at 30. He was one of the 16 that attended the King in his first Interview with the Emperour; and one of the 40 that waited on him in the two last with the King of *France*; narrowly escaping at the last that poyson as some thought, or ill vapours, as others conclude, whereof the open-hearted Lord *Brooks*, the valiant Sir *Edward Poynings*, reserved Sir *John Pechy*, and active Sir *Edward Belknap*, died: whereupon with his advice, all French-men were put to their Fines, and all Scotch to their ransome. Neither was he onely for shew, but service too, leading the Right Wing of the Army at *Guisnes*, when Sir *Everard Digby* commandeth the Left, the Lord *Sands* the Vanguard, Sir *Edward Guilford* then Marshal of *Callis* the Horse, Sir *Richard Wink-field* the Rear, and the Duke of *Suffolk* the main Battle. Where his Assaults on *Cappe* and *Roy* spake him a Souldier, as his underhand correspondence with the Lord *Istheim* argued him a States-man.



*Q. Mary*

Sir *Thomas Manners* the first Earl of *Rutland* of that Name discovered, and Sir *William Kingston* told His Majesty the Cardinals Plots against the Kings Marriage with Queen *Anne*, and his Designe to marry him to the Dutches of *Alanzon*: A Designe, that because it seemed to over-reach his Majesty in cunning, and really did cross his Inclination in malice, that incensed his Majesty to a passion which could be appeased with no less a sacrifice than the Cardinals fall: in order to which, the next service of this Knight, is as Lieutenant of the Tower to take him to custody: which he did at *Leicester* with a Noble resolution, considering that mans greatness, with a due reverence regarding his calling, and with a tender compassion respecting his condition; perswading him gently of the Kings Favour, at that very time when he was come to be an Instrument of his Justice. And what he did to a Cardinal now, he did to Queens afterwards; never Prince commanded higher services than King *Henry*, nor subjects discharging them more undauntedly than Sir *William*: because therefore he was so severe a Lieutenant in the Tower, he is made a Provost-Marshal in the Field; in which capacity, after the *Devonshire*-Rebels defeat, we have these two remarkable stories of him.

1. One *Bowyer* Mayor of *Bodmin* in *Cornwal*, had been amongst the Rebels, not willingly, but enforced; to him the Provost sent word he would come and dine with him; for whom the Mayor made great Provision. A little before Dinner the Provost took the Mayor aside, and whispered him in the Ear, that an Execution must that day be done

in the Town, and therefore he must set up two Gallows. The Mayor did so. After Dinner Sir William Kingston thanks him for his Entertainment, and then desires him to bring him to the Gallows: where when they were come, Sir William asked him, Whether they were strong enough; *I, I'll warrant thee*, saith the Mayor. *Then*, saith Sir William, *get you up upon them, I hope*, saith the Mayor, *you do not mean as you speak*. Nay, Sir, saith he, *you must die; for you have been a busie Rebel*. And so without any more ado hanged him.

2. A Miller that had been very active in the late Rebellion, fled, and left another to take his Name upon him. Sir William Kingston calls for the Miller, His Servant tells him that he was the Man. *Then*, saith he, *you must be hanged*. Oh Sir, saith he, *I am not the Miller, if you are not the Miller, you are a lying Knave: if you are the Miller, you are a traitorous one, and however you must dye*. And so he did.

Punish the Multitude severely once, and you oblige them ever: for they love that man onely for his Good Nature, whom they fear for his Resolution.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Cheyney.*

**T**Hree things advised men in King *Henry* the Eighth's days: 1. Their Extraction: 2. Their Wit: 3. Their Comeliness and Strength. For the first, his Name was up since *Battle-Abel-Roll*; as to the second, it was enough that he travelled with *Wolsey*: and touching the third, there need be no other instance than that at *Paris*, where upon the *Daulphin's* Proclamation of solemn Jufts, the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Marquess of *Dorset*, Sir *Edward Nevil* and He, answered the Challenge; as not long after he encountered King *Henry* himself at *Greenwich*, where he had the great Honour of a strong and valiant Knight and a greater of being overthrown by his Majesty.

Having engaged his Majesties Person at home, he had the Honour to represent it abroad: where his Commission was to complement the French King about his Liberty, but his Business to observe the state of that place: Where he saw that a Kingdom governed by a Prince who hath under him other independent Lords, as that of *France*, is no longer safe, than those Lords are either in Humour, or in Purse; being always in danger either from their discontent or corruption: 2. That Faction is always eager, while Duty is modest and temperate.

This Occasion ennobled his Vertue, and his Vertue improved the Occasion so well, that I finde him so eminent a Parliament-man the 22th of King *Hen-*

ry, that as Sir *Brian Tuge* had the Honour to open the several Boxes sent from the respective Universities, with their opinions about the Kings Divorce; so Sir *Thomas* had the happiness in a set Speech to insist upon them all in general, and every one in particular. And at Queen *Anne's* Coronation my Lord *Vaux*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Thomas*, and ten more, are made Knights of the Bath.

Having acquitted himself Nobly in Court and Council, he attends the Earl of *Heriford* against the Scots, as Commissary; and Sir *John Wallop* with Sir *John Rainsford*, as Marshal: for his Services in both which capacities, he is made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in *England*; and with the Comptroller, Sir *John Gage*, made Field-marshal, and Treasurer of the Army before *Bullbign*: And not long after, Treasurer of the Household, and one of the Assistants for the Over-seeing of King *Henry's* Will.

When some were joyning others with the Protector, others for limiting him, Sir *Thomas* would say, That (as *Machiavel* saith, *No Laws*, so) *No good could be done by a Governour that was not absolute, without either a Restraint or a Competitor.*

Upon the Reformation he would say, That *the disesteem of Religious Ceremonies argued the decay of the Civil Government: good Princes have first kept their People Religious, and thereby Vertuous and united: both old and new Rome stand by this.*

In a word; what makes all men, made him, A generous industry of Minde, and a well-set hardiness of Body, which were attended while he lived with Honour and Success, and since he is dead, with Reputation and Renown.

Q. *Mary.*

Where eminent and well-born Persons out of a habit of sloath and laziness, neglect at once the Noblest way of employing their times, and the fairest occasions of advancing their fortunes ; that State, though never so flourishing and glorious, wants something of being compleatly happy : As soon as ever therefore the Kingdom is settled (sedate times are the best to improve a Common wealth, as his quiet hours are the best to improve a man) he and Sir *William Howard* addressed themselves as vigorously to the opening of Commerce and Traffick, for the enriching of this Nation, as they had before to the exercise of Arms, to secure it : Pursuing the Design with Resolution, and keeping the frame of it in order with Industry, their constant Spirit surmounting all Difficulties that stood in the way of their own Glory, or their Countrey's happiness ; working so well upon the *Russians*, that they not onely obtained their Desire, but gained so far upon the Affections of that people, that they obtained the greatest priviledges any Tradesmen ever enjoyed in *Muscovy* ; which the *Russians* were not easier in the promise of, than just in the execution of that promise : So that the Trade is advanced not onely beyond our hopes, but our very pretences too, by those three particulars that never fail of success : 1. Union : 2. Conduct : 3. Courage in enterprizes vigorously begun and watchfully pursued : Until Queen *ELIZABETH* concerned her self so far in the undertaking, as to influence it with a Character peculiar to the Dignity of such a Constitution : which carried that Commerce higher than others could raise their Imaginations, as we see ; whose profit  
by

by it is as remarqueable in this Age, as their zeal for it was in the last: When Fear and Distrust, those ignoble passions that disparage all great Undertakings, which judged that Design a piece of extravagant folly, seeth it now an Act of profound Wisdom; especially when it may be improved under CHARLES the Second and the Great, a Prince who by admirable order of his conduct, the just administration of his Revenue, and by his fatherly goodness towards his people, hath put himself into a condition to undertake without fear whatsoever may be put in execution with honour or Justice.

*Q. Mary.*  
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The End of the Observations upon the  
Lives of the Statesmen and Fa-  
vourites of *England*, in the  
Reign of *Queen Mary*.

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THE  
STATES-MEN and FAVOURITES  
OF  
*ENGLAND,*  
IN

*The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Nicholas Bacon.*

**S**ir *Nicholas Bacon*, a man full of wit and wisdom, was a Gentleman, and a man of Law, and of great knowledge therein, whereby, together with his other parts of Learning and Dexterity, he was prompted to be Keeper of the Great Seal; and being kin to the Treasurer *Barleigh*, was brought by his help into the Queens favour.

This Gentleman understood his Mistress well, and the times better: He could raise Factions to serve the one, and allay them to suit the others. He had the deepest reach into Affairs of any man that

that was at the Council-table: the knottiest Head to peirce ino difficulties: the most comprehensive Judgement to surround the merit of a Cause: the strongest memory to recollect all circumstances of a Business to one View: the greatest patience to debate and consider; (for it was he that first said, *Let us stay a little, and we will have done the sooner.*) and the clearest reason to urge any thing that came in his way in Court or Chancery. His favour was eminent with his Mistress, and his Alliance strong with her States-men. No man served his Sovereign more faithfully, none secured himself more wisely. *Leicester* seemed wiser than he was, *Bacon* was wiser than he seemed to be; *Hunsdon* neither was nor seemed wise. Much Learning my Lord *Bacon* gained in *Bennets Colledge* in *Cambridge*, more Experience in *Paris* of *France*: His Dexterity and Dispatch advanced him to the Court of Wards, his deep Experience made him Lord Keeper. Alliance was the policy of that time. *Bacon* and *Cecil* married two Sisters; *Walsingham* and *Mildmay* two more: *Knowles*, *Essex* and *Leicester* were linked; the prudent Queen having all her Favourites Relations and Dependencies in her eye, and disposing of them according to their several Interests. Great was this States-mans Wit, greater the Fame of it; which as he would say, *being nothing, made all things*: For Report; though but Fancy, begets Opinion; and Opinion begets Substance. He was the exactest man to draw up a Law in Council, and the most discreet to execute it in Court. When others urged the repeal of that Act whereby *Queen Elizabeth* was declared Illegitimate, he rather suppressed it, chusing the closure of a festered Wound



*Q. Eliz.* more prudent than the opening of it ; and judging it more wisdom to *satisfie* the world with the old Law, *That the Crown takes away all defects* ; than to perplex it with new disputes, *Whether Queen Elizabeth were Legitimate.* State-miscarriages are rather to be privately connived at, than publicly redressed; the remedy it may be doing no more service than putting the people in minde of the mishap. He neither affected nor attained to Greatness: *Mediocra firma* was his Principle and his Practice. When Queen Elizabeth asked him, *why his House was so little?* he answered, *Madam, my House is not too little for me, but you have made me too big for my House.* Give me, said he, a good Estate, rather than a great one. He had a very Quaint saying, saith Robert Naunton, and he used it often to very good purpose, That he loved the Jest well, but not the loss of his Friend. He would say, *That though unusquisq; suæ fortunæ faber, was a true and good Principle; yet the most in number were those that marred themselves: but I will never forgive that man that loseth himself, to be rid of his Jest.* The Excellency of his Parts was set off with the Gravity of his Person ; and the Queen would say, *My Lord Bacon's Soul lodgeth well.* His Account of England and all its Affaires, was punctual: his use of learned Artift, was continual : his correspondence with his fellow-Statesmen, exact : his apprehension of our Laws and Government, clear ; his model of both, methodical : his faithfulness to the Church, eminent : his industrious invention for the State, indefatigable. He was, in a word, a Father of his Country, and of Sir Francis Bacon. Sir Nicholas Bacon was the moderate man that was appointed

to preside at the Disputation between the Protestant and Popish Doctors in the first of *Queen Elizabeth*. He was that Judicious States-man, to whom was trusted the management of that Parliament and Convocation: The satisfaction of the People and Kingdoms, and those Delatory proceedings with *France, Spain and Rome*, that were at the bottom of the great work of Reformation, and settlement at that time.

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*Observations on the Life of William Cecil Lord Burleigh.*

**W**illiam a Cecil was born with the advantage of being *Richard Cecil's* Son, (who was of the Robes to King *Henry*, and a Legatee in his Will) and bred with that of being Commoner of *St. Johns* in *Cambridge*, and Student at the *b* Innes of Court in *London*; whence he was advanced by his Pregnancy to serve the Duke of *Somerset* in quality of Master of Requests, *b* Gray's Inn, as he was afterwards by his Master to attend King *Edward* the sixth, in the capacity of Secretary of State; where he furnished all Acts and Orders with Reasons of State, as he had them fitted by able Lawyers with Arguments of Law. He loved always, they say, to wrap the Prerogatives in the Laws of the Land. He was constant, but not obstinate in his Advice. *c* As the Planets are whirled about daily From East to West by the motion of the *Primum Mobile*, yet have a contrary motion of their own from West to East, which they slowly, yet surely move *c* Fuller's Holy State ex Arist, l. 3. de Cælo, move 2. 4. & 5.

*a* Descend; ed of the Roman Cæ. ciliis, say some.

*b* Gray's Inn, *c* Fuller's Holy State ex Arist, l. 3. de Cælo,

**Q** *Eliz.* move at their leifures : fo our *States-man*, though yielding in fome things to Greatnefs of fome Perfons in an Age wherein it was prefent drowning not to swim againft the ftream ; Yet had he his counter-endeavours againft the prevailing ftain, and privately advanced his rightful Intentions againft others wrongful Ambitions. It difsenting from his Superiours, he did it with all humility and moderation ; yet chufing always rather to difpleafe than betray. He was in much favour with King *Edward*, in fome with Queen *Mary*, in moft with Queen *Elizabeth* ; who though fparing of her honours, yet heaped on him the truft of Secretary of State, the Profits of the Mafter of the Wards, the Advancement of Lord Treasurer, and the degree of Baron of *Burleigh* : for as he followed the Marquels of *Wincheftre* in his *Employment*, fo he did in his *Compliance*. When he was out of place, he was not out of fervice in Queen *Mary*'s days ; his Abilities being as neceffary in thofe times as his Inclination ; and that Queens Council being as ready to advance him at laft, as they were to ufe him all her Reign.

In Queen *Elizabeth*'s time he fetled the Crown by ferling Religion ; and by an utter feparation from *Rome*, ftrengthened *England*. He made equal ufe of thofe that were then Proteftants by *Interest* ; and they who were fo in *Confcience* : Thofe that had affections for Church-lands, and thofe that had affections for the Church. The Pope would by a Bull confirm the fale of Abby-Lands ; But who, faid *Burleigh*, can confirm the Popes Bull ; The King of *Spain* fecnred the Queen in hope of her Bed, the Pope winked at her in hope of her Heart : *Burleigh*

over

over-reached the one by a fair complaisance, and the other by insensible alterations.

During the Queens ten years calm, *Cecil* provided for a tempelt; and improved her Shipping and Ammunition to a dreadfulnes at Sea, as he did her Army to a great skill and experience by Land. He made *Holland* our Stage of War, and our School of Discipline; where *England* gained the security and experience of War without its calamity and desolations; always Offensive, and once onely Defensive.

His Intelligence abroad, was no less than his Prudence at home; and he could write to a friend in *Ireland* what the King of *Spain* could do for two years together, and what he could not do. His Advices from his Pensioners abroad, were presented Queen *Elizabeth* once a fortnight; 1. clearly and plainly; 2. methodically and distinctly; 3. speedily and seasonably; 4. truly and fully. He exchanged his Interest for *Walsinghams* Intelligence, who commanded what he could do, as he did what the other knew. The Bull clapped at *London-house*, was first in our States-mans study: where they might learn what they were to do, and Protestants what to expect, many years before any thing was visible.

When *Leicester* would have no Equal, and *Essex* no Superiour, then *Cecil* as *Neuter* served himself of them both. He would wrestle with neither of them, yet he would trip them both: they having many rubs in their way, yet never saw who laid them. He never quarrelled with any; neither, saith *Cambden*, did he ever sue, or was he ever sued. *Prudens qui Patiens*, was his saying, before it was

Sir

*Q. Eliz.* Sir *Edward Cookes* Motto : and he had rather tire out Opposition by his moderation, than improve it by his Impatience. Others were raised to balance Fa<sup>c</sup>tions, he to support the Kingdome: Fickle Favour tossed them, constant Interest secured him. No fewer than the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Leicester* and *Westmorland* contrived his fall; but reason of State and his Mistress kept up his standing. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* advised them to clap him up, saying, *That then men would open their mouths to speak freely against him*: but the Queen understanding hereof, and standing, as I may say, d (i.e. in my Autho<sup>r</sup>) in the very prison-door, quashed all their Designs, and freed him from the mischief projected against him. Great was the value the Queen set upon him, as her ablest Minister of State: for coming once to visit him being sick of the Gout at *Burleigh*-house in the *Strand*, and being much heightened with her Head-attire then in fashion, the Lords servant who conducted her through the door, said, *May your highness be pleased to stoop*. The Queen returned, *For your Masters sake I will stoop, but not for the King of Spain*. She would make him always sit down in her presence: saying, *My Lord, we make use of you not for your bad Leggs, but your good Head*.

He was a good friend to the Church as then established by Laws, advising his son *Thomas* never to build a great house, or bestow any great charge upon an Inpropriation, as fearing the foundation might fail hereafter: yet conniving at sober Non-conformists, to strengthen the foundation at present, he checked the forwardness of private men,  
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80.

and advanced the honour of the publick Establishment on all hands. *Good my Lord*, (saith he in his Letter to Archbishop *whitgift*, in the behalf of some squeamish Ministers) "bear with my scribling; "I write with the testimony of a good Conscience: I "desire the peace of the Church; I desire concord and "unity in the exercise of our Religion: I fear no sensual or wilful Recusant. I would not make Offenders, neither would I protect them. And I pray your Grace bear this, (and perchance a fault) and yet I have sharply admonished them, that if they will be Disturbers in their Churches, they must be corrected: "and yet upon your Graces answer to me, *Ne futor ultra Crepidam*; neither will I put *Falcem* in alterius Messem, (Was his Chaplain *Traverse* his hand in all this?) And then again: *If I had known his fault*, (saith he of *Brown*) *I might be blamed for writing for him*. Thus he carried matters without passion and prejudice prudently, as became so great a States-man. He was not rigid, yet he was careful: He would help the good-natured, yet punish the stubborn: He would rather be where nothing is lawful, than where all things are so: He would never skreue up the Law to the pitch of cruelty, nor unloose it to the remissness of Libertinism.

He was no less honourable a Patron of the University, than he was a faithful son of the Church: (the Church strengtheneth the State, and the Universities furnish both :) particularly in the case of *Rent-corn*, which (saith my Author) first grew in Sir *Thomas Smiths* head, yet was ripened by *Burleighs* assistance; whereby, though the Rents of the Colledges stand still, their Revenues increase,

He

*Q. Eliz.*

He was not surer of all Church-men and Scholars by his Obligations upon them, than he was of all by his complaisance and pleasantness. None more grave than he in Publick, none more free in private; especially at his Table, where he drew something out of his heaviest guests; having an admirable Dexterity in reading and observing men, their own occasional openings in common discourse; there being more hold to be taken of a few words casually uttered, than of set solemn Speeches, which rather shew mens Arts than their Natures, as indited rather of their brains than hearts. His power awed many, his conversation obliged more. He had his hour to put on his Gown, and his hour to put it off: When he would say, *Lie thou there Lord Treasurer*; and bidding *Adieu* to all State-affairs, he disposed himself to his quiet and rest.

He laid the Designs of War by his own Theory, and his friends Intelligence; yet he advised peace and died before the Question was determined, *whether a War with Spain?* Others understood the Nature of War, but he onely the Expediency and Conveniency, If War was necessary, none more forward to promote it, none more careful to maintain it; knowing, that in vain do the brows bear, the eyes sparkle, the tongue threaten, the fist bend, and the arm strike, if the belly be not fed, and the back cloathed: and indeed this was his Master-piece, that the Queen vying Gold and Silver with the King of Spain, had Money or Credit when the other had neither; Her Exchequer, saith my Author, though but a Pond in comparison, holding water, when his River fed with a spring from the Indies, was drained d-y. It was with his advice  
that

that that Queen paid her Obligations in Preferments, rather than Money; giving away not above two Largeſſes of that nature in her life. In a word, when others ſet in a Cloud, he ſhined clear to his laſt: He ſaw *Effex* dead, *Leiceſter* ſlighted, *Mountjoy* diſcountenanced; and what with the Queens conſtant favour, which lodged where it lighted, and his own temper and moderation, when more violent men failed, he died as great a Favourite as he lived; leaving his ſon *Thomas* ſo much Eſtate as advanced him to the Earldome of *Exeter*; and his ſon *Robert* ſo much ſtate-Diſcipline as raiſed him ſucceſſive to be Secretary of ſtate, Maſter of the Court of Wards, Lord Treasuſer, and Earl of *Salisbury*.

He was a very exact and a wary-Observer of Foreign Tranſactions; witneſs this paſſage to Sir *Henry Norris* Embaſſador in *France*: "The rare manner of  
"your Entertainment, hath moved the Queens Maje-  
"ſty to muſe upon what ſcore it ſhould be, being more  
"than hath been uſed in like caſes to her Embaſſadors,  
"and ſuch as beſides your own report hath been by  
"others lately advertiſed: And for that in ſuch things  
"Gueſes be doubtful, I pray you by your next advertiſe  
"me what your ſelf do think of it; and in the mean  
"time I know you are not untaught to judge of the  
"difference between fair words and good deeds, as the  
"ſaying is, *Fortuna cum ad blanditur Caput adven-*  
*nit.*

His thoughts of a Rebel that ſubmitted, take in theſe words: *Of late Shane O Neal hath made means to the Lord Deputy of Ireland to be received into grace, pretending that he hath meant no manner of unlawfulness towards the Queen: by which is gathered that he groweth weary of his lewdneſs: yet I think he is no other-*



*Q. Eliz.* otherwise to be reformed than by sharp prosecution, which is intended to be followed no whit the less for any his fair Writings, as reason is.

Of Intelligence he writes thus: I doubt not but you shall have of his hand no lack of Intelligence, which you must credit as you see cause by proof of the event.

About Embassadors Dispatches he saith, He must write apart to the Secretary in matters containing trouble and business, and to his Sovereign of Advice.

In a particular Negotiation about Pyrates, he advised, That the King of France and his Council might perceive that it is well known how the Pyrates are suffered to do what they will, notwithstanding it be contrary to Proclamation. And yet you shall so order the matter, (saith he to a French Ambassadour) as not that you shall find fault with this manner of suffering for that ought properly to be to the Spanish or Portugal Ambassador, with whom you may sometime deal, to understand how they do, know what is done, and how they do interpret it.

Touching the King of Scots murther, he would say, There are words spoken which I hold best to suppress: Neither would I have you (saith he to his friend) utter any of these things, not doubting but shortly God will cause the truth to be revealed.

Of an underhand Traytor he writes to his friend; I pray write unto me somewhat more particularly for the proof of his trayterous speeches, whereby there might be some ground made how to have him demanded.

Of the demanding of a Town promised in a Treaty: Sir Thomas Smith went to demand Callis,  
not



not that we think the Governour will deliver it, but to avoid all cavillation which they might invent : (for by Law it must be demanded upon the very place; and being not delivered, the sum of 500000 It is forfeited) Mr. Winter shall pass secretly with him to take possession thereof, if they deceive our expectation: but not past three of the Council know of Winters going.

Concerning the unreasonable words of Princes, he saith, If hereof the Embassador (meaning the French) shall make any sinister report, you may as you see cause well maintain the Queens answer to be very reasonable, as having cause to mislike the manner of writing of the Queen thereon: which neverthe less you may impute to the unadvisedness of the Secretary: for so the Queens Majesty doth impute it.

Of the troubles in Scotland, he observed the French made their present advantage to the damage of England; and you know that Scotland is the French King to it, as Ireland is the Spanish.

Of Forraign News he writes to Sir Henry Norr, That he would be glad to have a Note of the Names of the chiefeft Nobility of France, and with whom they be married: adding thereto any other thing that may belong to the knowledge of their lineage and degrees, as you shall think meet.

He writes, That her Majesty being a Prince herself, is doubtful to give countenance to subjects. I wish (saith he) to have a Kalender of them who are with the Prince, and also to see the Edicts that have lately passed from the King against them, and that in these troublesome times wherein accidents are so diversly reported, your advices were large and repeated;

Hh

and

*Q* Eliz. and that we had such Articles as pass on both sides.

Of France he saith, You must think that seeing all the parts of Christendome are intentive to hear of the matters of France, we cannot be careless to whom the same belongeth next of all, whatsoever the end thereof shall be.

Of the Distractions of France, thus to our Embassador in France: If you told the Queen-mother so as of your own head, as a thing you hear spread abroad in the world, I think you might do well, and speak truly: for as for the Popes Ministers, their Profession is to prefer the weal of their own Church before the good state of any Kingdome on earth: and whatsoever some of any thing, they look onely to the continuance of their own ambitious Ruling. And as for other Ministers of Princes, or for men of War, it is a truth infallible, The more they do impoverish that Monarchy of France, the better they think their own Estates.

Of a plot discovered, he writes: we can truly hit no man, wherefore it is necessary that you speak again with the Party that gave you this Intelligence; and if the matter be of truth, and not a disguising to some other purpose, he can as well obtain you the knowledge of the party in certainty, as thus to give a guise at him: for as he hath his Intelligence of the matter which he uttered to you, so may he attain to a more perfect knowledge.

For the Protestants he saith, I pray you put them in comfort; that if extremitie shall happen, they must not be left: for it is so universal a cause, as none of the Religion can separate themselves one from another. We must all pray together, and stand f. st together.

OF

Of a Professor he writes, *The Queens Majesty* will in no wise hear of such matters, which she thinketh are but changeable, and without fruit; although I had earnestly moved her Majesty to have advanced some small piece of money upon such a man: therefore I see no remedy but to pay him as well as may be with good words.

Touching the Plot again: Methinks that the Parties that tell you such pieces of tales, if the whole were true, might as well tell you the whole, as such obscure parts: which if they do not, you might well alledge them to be but devices to breed unquietness and suspicion; and as I wrote before unto you, they might be tempted with offer of rewards, that the truth of the matter might be disclosed: and surely methinks still, since the Informers will not be known of the particulars in more certainty, that these things are intended to bring us into their places: but yet no diligence is to be omitted.

Touching the delivery of an Embassie, he writes, And I think if you would in the Translating thereof distribute it into sundry members by way of Articles, you shall the better carry it in your minde; making thereby an account with your self of the better delivery thereof. And you shall do well to let some such as favour the intention of the Queens Message, to see the Copy of the Letter; whereby they may percase being called to give advice to the King, further the cause, to the benefit of them of the Religion, I would be glad to hear a Brief, or as they call it, a List of the Names of the principal persons that have a charge now in these wars of France on both parts, with the Contents as near as you can of their numbers.

Of the Queen of Scots Affairs, he concludes:

*Q. Eliz.* God send her Majesty clear of these Scottish matters; whereinto the entry is easie; but the passage within doubtful; and I fear the end will be monstrous: I am thrown into a maze at this, that I know not how to walk from dangers. Sir Walter Mildmay and I are sent to the Scottish Queen, as by the Queens Majesties Letters you may see: God be our Guide; for neither of us like the Message.

**¶ 1.** Knowledge is the Treasure of the Mind, Discretion is the Key: the Practick Part of Wisdom is the best: a native Ingenuity is beyond the watchings of industrious study.

There are no such Guards of safety as Vertue and Wisdom: Danger cannot make impression on the Vertuous; nor Fortune subvert the Wise: The *Wise man cannot fall*. Prudence is a safe Conduct through the various Casualties of mortality. He declines in wisdom, that falls in Fortune. Discretion sways the Stars and Fate.

*Ad summum sapiens uno minor est Jove, dives;  
Liber, Honoratus, pulcher, Rex deniq; regum.*

*"Take all there's but one Jove above him: He  
"Is Rich, Fair, Noble, King of Kings, and free.*

The world is a shop of Instruments, whereof the wise man is Master; and a Kingdome but a Frame of Engines, whereunto he is the wheel.

**2.** Smoothness declineth Envy and Danger, Humility advanceth to Honour, Moderation preserves in it. Men come down by Domineering. Haste undo-

*the Life of W. Cecil Lord Burleigh.*

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undoe that, which a iust Delay ripeneth. . Our *Q. Elizabeth*  
Wife man would say, *Stay a little and we will have*  
*done the sooner,* An estate evened with these thoughts  
endureth. It's an excellent Motto:

*Nolo Minor me timeat, despiciat ve Major.*

*"My Inferiour shall not fear, my Superiour shall  
"not despise me.*

3. Humility shuns Honour, and is the way to it.  
The purest Gold is most Ductile. It's commonly  
a good Blade that bends well. The Reed that  
bends and is whole, is better than the strong Oak  
that not bending breaks.

4. There is no such prevalent Work-man as Se-  
dulity and Diligence: A man would wonder at the  
mighty things which have been done by degrees,  
and gentle augmentations. Patience, Diligence  
and Moderation are the common steps to Excellen-  
cy. It's for Omnipotence to do mighty things in  
a moment; but degreely to grow to Greatness,  
is the course he hath left for man.

*Observations on the Life of Walter Devereux  
Earl of Essex.*

◦ Cicely,  
Daughter  
of Thomas  
Bourchier  
late Earl  
of Essex.

**W**alter Devereux was by his \* mothers  
side born to, and by his Sovereigns fa-  
vour possessed of the Earldome of *Essex* :  
His spirit was as the time martial and active, equal-  
ly impatient of rust in his soul, and in his sword :  
Forreign Countreys bred then those Souldiers that  
*England* employed : The Univerficy made a Schol-  
lar, the Court a man, and *Flanders* the Souldi-  
er.

His Actions brought him to the presence, and  
his Presence commended him to the heart of *Queen  
Elizabeth* : But the shadow doth not more natu-  
rally attend the Sun, than Envy doth Favour : Since  
he must rise, its contrived he should rise so high,  
that he must fall : Yet he might have lived lon-  
ger, it was thought, if his wife had not there more  
favour than himself ; *Abraham* was afraid of, and  
*Sir Walter* was undone by his *Sarah's* Beauty ; This  
is certain, he was no sooner in his Grave, than  
the same great man whom he declared his Enemy  
at his Death, was his successor in his marriage-  
Bed.

Ambitious was he of the Irish service, and sub-  
tle were others to fill up his sayls so wide, as to be  
over-turned ; at once diving into, and ruining  
him by his Humour ; Weary was he of the Court,  
and weary, as he observed, was that of him : In  
comes *Leicester* in this juncture, and advanceth him

to the Sovereign honour of maintaining an Army at his own charge, and the Royalty of *Claudboy* in *Ulster*; the first he knew would (as it fell out) undo him; the other was the Bears skin, when he could catch, kill and Reye it; and the whole plot was but the supplanting of him out of a real Estate in *England* and *Wales*, to an imaginary one in *Ireland* Over he goeth with as splendid a Retinue of kindred, Friends, supernumerarie Volunteers, as his son to the same service, or his Grandson to one more unhappy; Sir *William Fitz-william*'s Jealousie heard of his Parade, and his Industry out-reached him so far, that all that preparation amounted to no more honour, than to have been commissioned, after much importunity and attendance, by him; nor to any more advantage than the bare Government of *Ulster*: Little good did he in *Ulster*, (now under the discouraging and heartless impressions of discontent) less in the South of *Ireland*, whither he was remanded by the Deputy, whose design was not to see how successfully he would conquer, but how dutifully he would obey; in six months time spending 4000 *l.* to ruine himself: But alas! in vain doth he conquer, who was always forbid to pursue and improve his Victory: no sooner did his Fortune favour him in one place, but he was called to his Misfortune in another: for no sooner doth he by experience and acquaintance with the situation of any place, the humour or interest of any People, the weaknesses and strengths of any Enemy, the advantages or disadvantages of any Undertaking, ripen circumstances towards success, but he is called off to a new and unacquainted scene of action, where he shall lose his Army, before he knoweth how to



*Q. Mary* employ it. His friends at Court grew few and cold, his foes many and active; his affronts continual to disorder him by passion, or sink him in despair.

His Commission was but short before, but is none now; onely three hundred men stick to him: his Money failing, his Noble Followers withdrawing, his Common Souldiers mutiny, and he is recalled. And happy had he been, could he have been quiet; but nothing would compleat some mens Designes, but his Ruine; and nothing could ruine him but Honour, that at once pleased his humour, and wasted his Estate. Earl-Marshal of *Ireland* he is made, and thither he goeth in great state to die, *anno* 1576, and the 36 of his Age: a year fatal to that Family, which none of them exceeded but the last, who had been happy if he had died sooner, or lived longer than he did. Although Sir *Walter Devereux* had not that success over others which his *Valour* deserved, yet he had that conquest of himself that *Vertue* onely gives; shewing himself as good at the Buckler, as at the Sword; at suffering, as well as acting. All his changes from without he bore with, none within; his even and solid minde that fashioned its own fate, enjoying its constant calm amidst all the tempests of malice and ambition. Those ignoble courses were not greater Arguments of his Enemies narrowness and degeneracy, than his resolved Patience was of his largeness and generousness of spirit; he being as much above those smaller tricks, as they were below his Adversaries. We make our selves more Injuries than are offered us; and the apprehension of wrong doth more hurt than the smartest part of the wrong it self. It's the Wife-mans glory, and the States-mans

prudence, to *pass by Offences*. A Fool struck *Cato* Q. Eliz.  
in the Bath; and when he was sorry for it, *Cato* had  
forgot it: for, (saith *Seneca*) *Melius putavit non*  
*agnoscere quam ignoscere*. Light Injuries are made  
none by a not-regarding: which with a pursuing  
Revenge grow both to heighth and burden, and  
live to mischief us, when they might die to secure  
us. *It's Princely* (saith one) *to disdain a Wrong*, who  
when Embassadours have offered Undecences, use  
not to chide, but deny them audience: as if silence  
were the way Royal to revenge a Wrong. The up-  
per Region is most composed; *The wisest rage the*  
*least*, knowing that Observation and Resentment  
do but proyoke and encourage that Malice which  
neglect and silence deads and dissipates. And it  
was Sir *Walter's* Fathers Maxime, That Discontent  
was the greatest weakness of a generous Soul, which  
is always so intent upon its unhappiness, that it for-  
gets its remedies.

This Lord was a great instance of that Maxime,  
That it's an equal mischief to distrust all: as to be-  
lieve all; although of the two, the safest is to *dis-*  
*trust*: for Fear had secured this Noble Person,  
while Confidence ruined him; it being a Vertue  
onely when men were innocent, but ever since, the  
bane of those that own it.

Three things undid this Earl:

1. That he could not imagine he was to be ruined by his Advancement.
2. That he never mistrusted an Oath.
3. That he never considered, that as Princes,  
so Favourites, *have many eyes, and long hands*;  
He that is so open as to reserve nothing from  
friends,

*Q. Eliz.* friends, is renowned for Charity ; but he that is so to lie at the mercy of all , is marked for ruine. No sooner understood my Lord of *Leicester Essex* his Disposition, but the bitter Fool *Pace* could tell his Fortune, begging of my Lord at his departure the making of his mourning ; and adding, *You and I have done for this world.*

*Walter* Earl of *Essex* had been happy if he had not lived in my Lord of *Leicester's* time: his son *Robert* renowned, had he not been Sir *Robert Cecil's* Contemporary ; and his Grandchilde an Heroe, had he not known my Lord *Say* and Mr. *Hampden*.

*Observations on the Life of Thomas Ratclif Earl of Suffex.*

**T**Homas Ratclif Earl of *Suffex*, was of a very Noble and Ancient Lineage , honoured through many Descents by the Title of Viscounts *Fitz-Walters*. He was a goodly Gentleman, and of a brave noble Nature, true and constant to his friends and servants, noted for honesty: a very excellent Souldier, being one of the Queens martialists, who did very good service in *Ireland* at her first accession, till she recalled him to the Court, where she made him Lord Chamberlain ; and though he was not endowed with the cunningness and dexterity as others were, yet upon his Death-bed he gave his friends a caveat whom they should beware. His words , (saith Sir *Robert Naunton*) are these : *I am now passing into another World , and must leave you to your Fortunes, and to the*

*the Queen's Graces: but beware of the Gypie for he will be too hard for you all; you know not the beast so well as I do,* His Prowess and integrity drew the Souldiers after him, *Leicester's* Courtship and Cunning the Courtiers, *Cecil's* Prudence and service the States-men.

This *Thomas Ratclif* Lord *Fitz-valter*, second Earl of *Suffex* of that surname, was twice Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, by his prudence he prevented the breaking out of an actual Rebellion in that Kingdome, and no wonder if in his time it rained not War there, seeing his diligence dispersed the Clouds before they could gather together. Thus he who cures a disease may be skilfullest, but he that prevents it, is the best Physitian.

Being called home by the Queen to be Lord Chamberlain, a constant Court faction was maintained between him and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, these two parties dividing the Court, whilst the *Cecilians* as Neuters did look upon them; *Suffex* had a great Estate left by his Ancestors, *Leicester* as great given, or restored him by the Queen, *Suffex* was the honestest man, and greater Souldier; *Leicester* the more facete Courtier, and deep Politician, not for the general good, but his own particular profit. Great was the animosity betwixt them, and what in vain the Queen endeavoured, Death performed, taking this Earl away: and so the competition ended. New-hall in *Essex* was the place (if not of his birth) of his principal habitation, he lyeth buried in the Church of *St. Olives* Hartstreet London.

The first of Queen *Elizabeth* found this brave Earl commanding *Ireland* in peace and plenty,  
with

*Q. Eliz.* with three hundred and twenty Horse, and eight hundred and sixty foot, prudently garrison'd, and well payd; and the second employed him thither again, with instructions, that he should beware above all things, lest the Irish being an uncivil people, and therefore the more superstitious, should by the cunning practices of the French be excited to Rebellion under the pretext of Religion.

2. That he should fortify *Ophale* with Castles, and Forts.

3. That he should engage the Souldiers with large possessions.

4. That the Irish Nobility should hold their Estates in Fee.

5. That he should improve the Queens Revenues moderately, and reduce her exchequer there, to the form of that in *England*.

At what time Maximilian the Emperour courted Queen *Elizabeth* whom all English-men wished married, all Protestants married to a Protestant, and the Earl of *Leicester* had designed for himself, there arose a deadly feud in the English Court between the Earl of *Sussex*, that favoured the match upon common principles of government, and the Earl of *Leicester* who opposed it upon a private design of his own, certainly very great and shameful hopes do they foster, who have already attained things beyond hopes. The open hearted Earl would call his Antagonist an upstart that had but two Ancestors, his Father, a Traytor; and his Grand-Father, a Publican. Thus the Court is divided, the Earls are alwayes attended with their armed guards, untill the Queen who took pleasure in the innocent Emulation



tion of her women, became fearful of the dangerous contests of her Favourites, and rather skinned over, than healed the rupture.

At the Emperours Court, whither he is sent with the order of St. *George*, he presseth the marriage closely, as much out of love to his Countrey, as hatred to *Leicester*; having nothing more ordinary in his discourse than that a Forreign Prince was to be preferred before the noblest English-man for the three grand things, of Honour, Power, and Wealth. But what he promoted publicly, the Lord North, who was joyned with him rather as his guardian than his colleague, opposed privately, untill a few fond scruples broke the most solemn negotiations wherein yet this Earl behaved himself with a gallantry that gained him a familiarity from the Emperour, a reverence from the Arch-duke, a respect from the people, and his Mistress a kindness in that Court, that stood her in great stead, against the attempts of *Spain* and *Rome*.

From Germany he returned with much Honour to command in the North with more, where he and his old settlers at Court discovered the grand plot in the North, as Hunsdon and his old Souldiers at *Berwick* defeated it, and both harassed the Scottish borders: all things yielding to those two grand disposers of the World, now predominant in *England*, Wisdome and Cecil at home, Armes and Hunsdon abroad; and both with *Sussex* at home, now for his approved wisdome and fidelity made privy Councillour, and abroad alway Lord General.

Of many I pitch on this one argument of the greatness of his mind, that he scorned to trample the

**Q** *Eliz.* the prostrate, that he had a just passion, but not an unworthy malice for an enemy whom he had a generous goodness to pity when unhappy; as well as a brave spirit to contest with when injurious. The lesser fry of adversaries railed against, this great one pleaded for *Leicester*, when his practices against *Arjun's* marriage with the Queen confined him to the Castle of *Windsor*. And his menaces had cast him to the Tower of London, had not my Lord, minding more the common interest than his private resentments, first moderated the Queens passion with Reason, and then overcame it with this Jest; *you must allow Lovers their Jealousie.*

He succeeded his Father in his Fortune; and in his Favour, his Prudence and Resolution promoting him to the Government of *Ireland* and the *North*; his good husbandry and skill in Surveying; making him Justice in *Eyre* of all the Parks beyond *Trent*; and his comely presence advancing him Lord Chamberlain. Queen *Elizabeth* poyzed her State by Factions abroad, and Parties at home; her chiefest wisdom lying in her general correspondence and compliance with each Party, as her Interest lay in their compliance and distance from one another. My Lord of *Sussex* left this memorial behind him, That for Rising men to stick to a side, is necessary; For Great men to be indifferent, is wise: and this, That he and my Lord of *Leicester* cleared and purged the Court: their cross Observations refining each person that was admitted to Court; none daring any injustice while *Leicester* observed him on the one hand, and *Sussex* punished him on the other. Then no deserving Person could be excluded by the one; that could serve  
his

his Prince; not any undeserving one admitted, *Q. Eliz.*  
that might disparage him: one Interest being sure  
to receive the one, as the other was to exclude the  
other.

Divers persons (saith one) of equal Authority,  
though *both wicked*, do in experience produce more  
Justice than a greater Probity in a single individual  
hath been heard to pronounce; in a divided Court  
the Creatures of one Party being the Enemies of 2<sup>d</sup>  
another, no less powerful; and so they both become  
liable to accusation, or capable of defence: and  
from the sparkles of this clashing, not onely Persons  
and Actions, but the Publick Councils came to be  
refined from the Rusts and Cankers that grow by an  
Unanimity. Faction can be as little spared in a mo-  
narchy, as an Eye or an Ear, as through which the  
Prince hath a clearer apprehension of his own and  
others Affairs, than he can have when his followers  
are all agreed: through the percussion of equal Fa-  
ctions, as through that of Flint and Steel, all things  
coming to light by Debates, that might either ad-  
vance or eclipse a Princes glory.

When my Lord of *Sussex* could not overbear  
*Leicester* with Power, he did it with Policy; and  
by yielding to him, conquered him: for (as he  
observed) when he and his friends retired, *Leice-*  
*ster* and his subdivided; and he was checked more  
by the Ambition he taught his own Followers, than  
by the competition of his Adversaries.

When Factions are carried too high, and too vio-  
lently, it is a signe of weakness in Princes, and much  
to the prejudice of their Authority and Business:  
The motions of Factions under Kings, ought to be  
like the motions (as the Astronomers speak) of the  
Inferiour

*Vernham's*  
*Essays*



*Q. Eliz.* Inferiour Orbs, which may have their proper Inclination, but yet are still quietly carried by the higher motion of the *Primum Mobile*. Queen Elizabeth had an happy time of it, if it were but for this, That her Favourites Divisions were her support: for thereby she attained the knowledge of all things that happened, so as no Suit or Designe passed the Royal Assent, before she understood as much of Reason as Enemies or Friends could bring for or against it.

The Character this third great Lord of his Family left behind him, was, "This year died a man of a great spirit and faithfulness to his Country: and therefore none freer than he of his thoughts, none sounder than he in his counsels. Nor did this freedom of Communication betray his future Resolutions to the discovery of his Enemies, as they opened his heart to the observation of his Prince: for through a seeming unconstancy, not of words, but of action; not his weakness, but his nimbleness; (the Bird on the wing is safe) he could so often vary, as it was not easie to discover where or when he would be buzzing, and give the blow: by which unsteady carriage, He so befooled his Adversarie with their Spies and Pensioners, as they were at a loss what to inform their Patrons of, or themselves how to resolve. Fortune and Conduct set up this Favourite, it falling in his Character as at *Primero*, and other Plays, wherein Fortune is directed and conducted by Art. The best and subtlest Gamester may lose, if it cross him; but if it smiles and favours, he knoweth best how to manage and govern it.

Five things raised this person to a respect as great

as his fortune ; to be as high in the Queens favour, as he was in his Descen<sup>t</sup>,

1. A Civility set off with State.
2. A pleasing Modesty of Countenance, and Affability of Speech; enameled with Gravity.
3. A Boldness attended with Patience,
4. A great Capacity, enlivened with as great Dexterity. And
5. An Integrity secured with wariness in the darke, of which quality both in his Expression, and in his Actions he wrapped himself as this *sepio* to preserve her self undiscovered, doth shed forth about her a quantity of bluihes in his blood to hide her self from the Fisherman.

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*Observations on the Life of the Lord  
Willoughby.*

**T**He Lord *Willoughby* was one of the Queens first Sword-men ; he was of the antient extract of the *Bartnes*, but more ennobled by his Mother, who was Dutches of *Suffolk*. He was a great Master of the Art Military, and was sent General into *France*, and commanded the second of five Armies that the Queen sent thither in aid of the French. As he was a great Souldier, so was he of a futable Magnanimity, and could not brook the obsequiousness and assiduity of the Court at that time. He had more favour than he courted, and he courted more (rather to comply with the Queens humour, than his own inclination)

Q. *Eliz.* than he desired. He would say, and that saying did him no good, (saith Sir Robert Naunton) That he was none of the *Reptilia* being made Brother to march as a Souldier, than to creep as a Courtier. But Civility must allay Nature in a Courtier, Prudence regulate it in a States-man, and modest submission check and soften it in a Subject. It is dangerous to be stubbornly *above* the kindness, as it is to be factiously *against* the power of Princes. *Willoughby* got nothing, *Stanley* lost all his haughtiness; which when it cannot be *obliged*, is *suspected*. But his service in *France*, *Holland*, and on the Borders, compounded for his roughness: so that they who could not endure he should be high at Court, were pleased he should be so in the Field. Stiffness which displeased when looked on as Pride at home, took when heard to be Resolution abroad. Each Nature is advanced in its own Element: *Leicester* among the Ladies, my Lord *Willoughby* among the Souldiers. It is a step to Greatness to know our own way to it; to exercise & shew our proper Vertues as he did: i. Magnanimity in these two instances, among many others.

Camden.

1. When one challenged him then sick of the Gout, he said, *That though he were lame in his feet and hands, yet he would carry a Rapier in his teeth to fight his Adversary.*

2. Having taken a *Spanish* Gennet designed a present to that King, and being offered either 100*l.* or 100*l.* a year in exchange for it, he nobly answered, *If it had been a Commander, he would have freely released him; but being onely a Horse, he saw no reason he could not keep a good Horse as well as the King of Spain himself.* Sir *Christophers Hatton* was to an excess a courtier, and my Lord *Willoughby* so a Souldier.

Queen

*Queen Elizabeth on the Lord Willoughby,*

*Good Peregrine.*

**W**E are not a little glad that by your Journey you have received such good fruit of amendment; specially when we consider what great vexations it is to a mind devoted to actions of honor to be restrained by any indisposition of body from following those courses, which to your own reputation and our great satisfaction you have formerly performed. And therefore (as we must now out of our desire of your vvell-doing) chiefly enjoyn you to an especial care to encrease and continue your health, vvhich must give life to all your best endeavours; so we must next as seriously recommend to you this consideration, That in these times, when there is such appearance that we shall have the tryal of our best noble Subjects; you feare not to affect the satisfaction of your own private contentation beyond the attending of that vvhich Nature and Duty challengeth from all persons of your quality and Profession. For if necessarily (your health of body being recovered) you should Eloign your self by residence there from those Employments vvhich we shall have too good store, you

*Q. Eliz.* shall not so much amend the state of your body, as happily you shall call in question the reputation of your mind and judgement, even in the opinion of those that love you, and are best acquainted vvith your Disposition and Discretion.

Interpret this our plainness vve pray you to our extraordinary estimation of you: for it is not common vvith us to deal so freely with many: and believe that you shall ever find us both ready and vvilling in all occasions to yield you the fruits of that interest, vvnicth your Endeavours have purchased for you in our Opinion and Estimation: Not doubting, but when you have vvith moderation made tryal of the success of these your sundry Peregrinations, you vvill find as great comfort to spend your days at home as heretofore you have done: of which we do wish you full measure, howsoever you shall have cause of abode or return. Given under our Signet at our Mannor of *Nonfuch*, the seventh of *October* 1594. in the 37 year of our Reign,

*Your most loving Sovereign.*

*E. R.*

*Observe*

*Observations on the Life of Sir Philip Sidney.*

**H**E was son to Sir Henry Sidney Lord Deputy of Ireland, and President of Wales. A Person of great parts, and in no mean grace with the Queen. His Mother was Sister to my Lord of Leicester, from whence we may conjecture, how the Father stood up in the place of Honour and Employment; so that his Descent was apparently Noble on both sides. For his Education, it was such as Travel and the University could afford: for after an incredible proficiency in all the species of Learning, he left the Academical life for that of the Court, whither he came by his uncles invitation, famed aforesaid by a noble report of his Accomplishments; which, together with the state of his Person, framed by a natural propension to Arms, he soon attracted the good opinion of all men; and was so highly prized in the good opinion of the Queen, that she thought the Court deficient without him: and whereas (through the fame of his deserts) he was in the election for the Kingdome of Poland, she refused to further his advancement, not out of Emulation, but out of fear to lose the Jewel of her times. He married the daughter and sole Heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, then Secretary of State; a Lady destined to the Bed of honour, who (after his deplorable death at Zutphen in the Netherlands, where he was Governour of Flushing, at the time of his Uncles being there) was married

Q. Eliz.

to my Lord of *Essex*, and since his death to my Lord of *S. Albans*; all persons of the Sword, and otherwise of great Honour and Vertue. He had an equal temperament of *Mars* and *Mercury*, Valour and Learning, so as high a pitch as Nature and Art could frame, and Fortune improve him: so Dexterous, that he seemed born for every thing he went about. His representations of Vertue and Vice, were not more lively in his Books, than in his Life: his Fancy was not above his Vertue: his Humours, Counsels and Actions, were renowned in the Romancer, Heroick in the States-man. His Soul was as large as his Parents, and his Complexion as Noble; an equal Line of both: the modesty of the Mother allaying the activity of the Father. A man so sweetly grave, so familiarly staid, so prettily serious he was above his years: Wildome gained by travel, Experience raised from Observations, solid and useful Learning drawn from knowing *Languet* his three years Companion, and choicest Books, accomplished him for the love of all, and the reverence of most. His Converse was not more close at home, than his Correspondence abroad; equally mixed with Policy, Pleasure, Wisdome and Love: his Worth being penned up, and smothered within the narrowness of his fortune, sallied not out to discontent, but pleasure; sweetning the Affairs of State with the Debonnairieness of the Stage: his Romance being but policy played with *Machiavil* in jest, and State maxims sweetned to a Courtiers palate. He writ men as exactly as he studied them, and discerned humours in the Court with the same deep insight he described them in his Book. His Infant-discourses teach *men*, O what had his riper years done!

H

*Q. Eliz.*  


He put Life into dead Notions of Ancestors, made Philosophy practicable; joyned the Art as closely in him, as they are in themselves. His Book is below his Spirit: a spirit to be confined with Kingdomes, rather than Studies; to do what was to be written, than onely to write what was to be done. All eyes were upon him but his own: at first, in all Affairs he was the last; at last, he was the first: obliging all men that ever he saw, and seeing all that were worth obliging: All were pleased with his *Arcadia* but himself, whose years advanced him so much beyond himself, as his parts did beyond others: He condemned his *Arcadia* in his more retired judgement to the fire, which wise men think will continue to the last Conflagration. His private Correspondence with *William of Nassau* about the highest Affairs of *Europe*, was so exact and prudent that he assured *Sir Fulke Grevil* he deserved a Kingdome in Forreign Parts, though he had not an Office in *England*. The Earl of *Leicester* held his Authority in the Low-Countries by his Council when alive, and gave it over when he was dead.

*Sir Francis Walsingham* was so much overshot by him in his own Bow, that those with whom *Sir Philip* were acquainted with for his sake, were his friends for *Sir Philips*. King *James* was honoured when King of *Scotland* with his friendship, *Henry* the fourth with his correspondence, *Don Juan* highly obliged with his Visits, the King of *Spain* himself concerned in his death, whom *England* (he said) lost in a moment, but could not breed in an Age. The Universities were proud of his Patronage, the Field of his presence: the Studios in all Parts communicated with him; the Honorable were encouraged



*Q. Eliz.*

by him; all excellent Persons thronged to him; all serviceable men were entertained by him; and he among them a Prince, whose minde was great, but his spirit greater. He taught *England* the Majesty of honest dealing, the Interest of being Religious. He looked deep into men and Councils, and found *no Wisdom without Courage, no Courage without Religion and Honesty*: with which solid and active reaches of his, I am perswaded (saith my Lord *Brooks*) he would have found or made a way through all the Traversers even of the most weak and irregular times. Although a private Gentleman, he was a publick Good; of a large, yet uniform disposition: so good, that the great Monarch might trust; so great, that a little one *must* fear him: something he did for Fame, most for Conscience: His publick spirit, which might have enjealoused the cautious wisdom of other Princes, promoted the concerns of his own. He was sent to complement *Rodolph*, but he dealt really with the Protestant Princes, and raised a Ceremony to a piece of Interest. He shewed that long-breathed and cautious people, that imminent danger from *Romes* Superstition, joyned with *Spains* Power, their private confederacies and practices, their cruelty and designe; which awaked their drowzy wariness into an association for Conscience and Religion more solid, as he demonstrated, than a Combination out of Policy. He went against the stream and current about the French match, which he dissuaded from the consequent inconveniences of Engagements and charge to *England*, and the little advantage from *France*; backing his Argument with a late experience; and so staying *Queen Elizabeths* match by

some

some reflections on Queen Mary's: which was,  
 "A five years Designe or Tax, rather than a Marriage:  
 "adding *withal*, That in a foreign match, besides  
 "the inequality and danger of it, (when a strange  
 "Prince hath such an influence on our Constitution)  
 "the different Religion would make the Queen either  
 "quit the reputation of a good Protestant, or the ho-  
 "nour of an obedient Wife.

Ter ways he laid down a Foreign Prince might  
 endanger our Religion by.

1. Opposing and weakning the reverend Fathers  
 of our Church.

2. by disgracing her most zealous Ministers.

3. By Latitude and Connivance.

4. By a loose and too free a behaviour, steering  
 mens Consciences which way he pleased, and set-  
 ting u indifference.

5. by decrying Customes and Statutes, and en-  
 hancing Proclamations to the Authority of Laws.

6. by provoking the English with French Op-  
 pressions.

7. by entrenching on the British Liberties with  
*Gallicae* Prerogatives.

8. by breaking our League and Correspondence  
 with oter Protestant States.

9. Fightning our Queen to a Compliance.

10. And at last attempting the Protestant cause.

He would say to his Friend the Lord Brooks,  
 "That if the *Netherlands* joyn with *France*,  
 "they are terrible to *Spain*: if with *Spain*, they  
 "are dreadful to *France*: if with us, they  
 "support the Reformation: if they stand on  
 "their own legs, they are too strong to be forced to  
 Piracy

**Q. Eliz.** "Pyracy. He, though a private person, opposed her Majesty *Queen Elizabeth* in that Affair, with that sincerity, with that ingenuity, that freedome, that duty and peaceableness, that angered and pleased her. His Opinion was not more *against* his humour, than his manage of it was to her mind: in which Affair, when most were hood-winked with ignorance, and many captived with fear, he enjoyed the freedome of his own thoughts with dayly access to her Majesty, hourly converse with the *French*, and constant respect from the people. None more dutiful to his Sovereign than *Sir Philip*, none more resolute against Encroachers upon Gentlemen and Freemen, none more dear to the whole State: which when he had designed *Sir Francis Drake's* second Voyage, and stollen to him at *Windsox*, commanded his stay by an Earl, and for his sike the whole Fleets, although his stay disturbed, and his death destroyed his most exact Model for the Conquest of *America*, the exactest *Europe* ever saw: a Conquest not to be enterprized but by *Sir Philip's* reaching spirit, that grasped all circumstances, and commanded all interests on this side the Line.

When his great Soul could not improve *Europe*, he considered it; and made that the Field of his meditation, that could not be the stage of his Actions: *England* he saw so humourfome and populus, that it was to be refined with War, and corruged with Peace. Her interest was, he said, to balance Neighbour-Princes. *France* he observed weak and efeminate, the Empire enslaved and secure, the *Hanses* too big, *Rome* subtle and undermining, *Spain* creit to the Power and Councils of *Europe*, the Protestant Princes enjealoused and distrustful, *Poland* divided,



*Denmark* strong, *Sweden* invironed or imprisoned, the *Muscovite* distressed and ignorant, the *Switz* enemies, yet servants to Monarchs, (a dangerous body for the soul of any aspiring Monarch to infuse designs into) the Princes of *Italy* awed by their Superiours, and cautious against their equals; *Turkie* asleep in the *Seraglio*; but *Spain* all this while Master of *Rome*, and the wisest Council or Conclave in the World; Lord of the Mines of *America*, and the Sword of *Europe*: Concluding, that while the *Spaniards* had Peace, Pope Money or Credit, and the World Men, Necessity or Humours, the War could hardly be determined upon this Low-Country-stage; And that there were but two ways to conquer *Spain*, the one, That which diverted *Hannibal*: and by setting fire on his own House, made him draw his spirit to comfort his heart: The other, that of *Jason*, by fetching away his Golden Fleece, and not suffering any one quietly to enjoy that which every man so much affected. The assistance of *Portugal*, the surprize of *Cales* her key, and *Sevil* her treasure; the drawing in of other Well-willers; the command of the Sea, an exact Intelligence; the Protection of *Rochel*, *Brest*, *Bourdeaux*, or some other distressed Protestant, to balance the over-mytrd Countries, the Encouragement of religious or ambitious Roytolets to advance and secure themselves, the engaging of the *French* and *Spaniards*, a League with *Venice* and the Maritime States: some temptations to *Italy* to remove their *French* and *Spanish* Garrisons, an opportunity to recover *Sicilly*, some insinuations to the Pope of the *Austrian* Greatness, the setting up of the World in an *Equilibrium*, the invasion of *America*, removing the

*Q. Eliz* the diffidence, overpoizing the Neutrality, and working upon the Complexions of Kings and Kingdomes, was this young, but great mans designe.

An Expedition to the *Indies* he would perswade with these motives:

1. That Honour was cheaper abroad than at home; at Sea, than at Land.
2. That the Spanish Conquests like the Jesuites Miracles, made more noise at distance than nearer hand.
3. That the Indians would joyn with the first Undertaker against their cruel Masters.
4. That *Spain* was too far for supply.
5. That the Spaniard was Undisciplined, and trusted more to the Greatness of his Name, than to Order, Policy or Strength.
6. That *England* was populous.
7. That it was an action compliant with the present Humour, and not subject to Emulations.
8. That it would either cut off the Spanish treasure, or make it chargeable.
9. And at last set up a free Trade by Sea, open a great Door to Valour or Ambition for new Conquests, and to Zeal for new Converts.

He said the Inquisition would overthrow *Spain*, being a designe upon Humane Nature, and freedom; to govern men at the rate of beasts. His great Abilities recommend him to *Leicester's* Cabinet, whose Horse he commanded in the Field, whose Council he guided at home. Prudent and valiant he was in contriving and executing the surprize of *Axil*; Liberal and Noble to his Souldiers at *Flushing*; wary and deepsighted in his Council

about

Q. Eliz.  


about *Graveline*; wife and stayed in the jealousies between *Leicester* and *Hollock*; His Patience and Resolution before *Zutphen*, his quiet and composed spirit at *Arneim*, his Christian and religious comportment in his sickness and death, made his Fame as lasting as his Life was wished. And why died he lamented by the Queen, mourned for by the Court, bemoaned by *Europe*, wept over by Religion and Learning, the Protestant Churches, celebrated by Kings, and eternized by Fame? because he was one whole Parts were improved by early Education, whose Education was raised by Experience, whose Experience was enlarged by Travel, whose Travel was laid up in Observations, whose Observations were knit up to a solid Wisdom, whose Wisdom was graced with his Presence; and the one was as much admired by Kings, as the other was by Queens. One whole Learning guided Universities, whose alliance engaged Favourites, whose Presence filled Courts, whose Soul grasped *Europe*, whose merit could fill a Throne, whose Spirit was above it. It was he who was deserving and quiet, neglected and patient, great and familiar, ingenious and devout, learned and valiant, sweet and solid, contemplative and active. It was he whom Queen *Elizabeth* called her \* *Philip*, the Prince *Orange* his Master, and whose friendship my Lord *Brooke* was so proud of, that he would have no other Epitaph on his Grave than this, *Here lieth Sir Philip Sidney's Friend*. It was he whose last words were, *Love my memory, cherish my Friends; their faith to me may assure you they are honest: but above all, govern your will and affections by the Will and Word of your Creator. In me behold the end of this world, and all its vanities.*

K. H. A.  
 K. James:

\* In Opposi-  
 tion to him  
 of Spain.

There

Q. E. I. 2  


They that have known thee well, & search thy parts  
 Through all the chain of Arts:  
 Thy apprehension quick as active light,  
 Clear Judgement, without Night:  
 Thy fancy free, yet never wild or mad,  
 with wings to fly but none to gad:  
 Thy language still enrich, yet comely dress;  
 Not to expose thy minde, but to express.  
 They that have known thee thus, sigh, and confess;  
 They wish they'd known thee still, or known the less:  
 To these, the wealth and Beauties of thy minde,  
 Be other Vertues joyn'd,  
 Thy modest Soul, strongly confirm'd and hard,  
 Ne'er beckned from its Guard.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir John Perrot.*

Sir John Perrot was a goodly Gentleman, and  
 of the Sword: and as he was of a very ancient  
 descent; as an Heir to many Extracts of  
 Gentry, especially from *Guy de Bryan of Lawhern*;  
 so he was of a vast Estate, and came not to the  
 Court for want. And to these Adjuncts he had  
 the Endowments of Courage, and height of Spirit,  
 had it lighted on the assay of temper and discretion:  
 the defect whereof, with a native freedome  
 and boldness of speech, drew him into a Clouded  
 setting, and laid him open to the spleen and advantage  
 of his Enemies. He was yet a wise man, and a brave  
 Conrier, but rough; and participating more of a  
 Active

Active than sedentary motions, as being in his Constellation destinated for Arms. He was sent Lord-Deputy into *Ireland*, where he did the Queen very great and many Services: Being out of envy accused of High Treason, and against the Queens will and consent condemned, he died suddenly in the Tower. He was *Englands* professed Friend, and Sir *Christopher Hattons* professed Enemy: He fell because he would stand alone. In the English Court at that time he that held not by *Leicesters* and *Burleighs* favour, must yield to their frowns: What ground he gained in Forreign merits, (as the Sea) he lost in Domestick Interests. The most deserving Recesses, and serviceable absence from Courts, is incompatible with the way of interest and favour. His boysterous carriage rather removed than preferred him to *Ireland*, where he was to his cost, what he would have been to his advantage; chief in Command, and first in Council. His spirit was too great to be ruled, and his Interest too little to sway. He was so like a Son of *Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>*, that he would not be *Queen Elizabeths* sub'j<sup>t</sup>: but *Hattons* sly smoothness undermined his open roughness; the one dancing at Court with more success than the other fought in *Ireland*. He was King Henry's born to enjoy, rather than make a Fortune; and to command, rather than stoop for respect. Boldness indeed is as necessary for a Souldier, as the Action for an Orator; and is a prevailing quality over weak men at all times, and wise men at their weak times: yet it begins well, but continueth not; closing always with the wiser sorts scorns, and the vulgars laughter. Sir *John Perrot* was better at Counsel than Complement, and better at Execution than Coun-

*They say  
his father  
married a  
Familiar of  
King Hen-  
ry's.*



*Q. Eliz.* Counsel. None worse to command first on his own head, none better to be second, and under the direction of others. He could not advise, because he looked not round on his dangers: he could not execute, because he saw them not. His alliance to his Sovereign commended him at first to her favour, and gave him up at last to her jealousy; being too near to be modest; and too bold to be trusted: and the more service he performed, he was thereby only the more dangerous, and withal unhappy; his Successes only puffing up his humor, and his Victories ripening his ambition to those fatal Sallies against the Queens honour and Government, that had cost him his life, had he not saved it with those very Rants he lost himself by: for when he had out of an innocent confidence of his cause, and a haughty conceit of his Extraction, exasperated his Noble Jury to his Condemnation, he had no more to say for himself than *Gods death will the Queen suffer her Brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my frisking Adversaries?* On which words the Queen refused to sign the Warrant for his Execution, though pressed to it from Reason and Interest, saying, *They were all Knaves that condemned him.* It's observed of him, that the Surplusage of his services in Ireland abated the merit of them; and that it was his oversight to have done too much there. His mortal words were those in the great Chamber of Dublin, when the Queen sent him some respectful Letters after her Expostulatory ones, with an intimation of the Spaniards Design: *Lo, now (saith he) she is ready to piss her self for fear of the Spaniard; I am again one of her white Boys.*

A great Birth and a great Minde are crushed in Commonwealths, and watched in Kingdomes: They who are to tall too stand, too stubborn to bow, are but too fit to break. Rustling Spirits raise themselves at the settlement of Governments, but fall after it; being but unruly Waves to a steady Rock, breaking themselves on that solid Constitution they would break. Few aimed at Favourites as Sir *John* did at the Lord Chancellor, but their Arrows fell on their own heads; Sovereignty being alwayes struck through prime Councillours, and Majesty through its chief Ministers. Sir *John Perrot* no sooner clashed with *Hasston*, than he lost the Queen; and ever since he reflected on *his* Dancing, he lost his *own* footing, and never stood on his legs.

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*Observations on the life of Sir Francis Wallingham.*

**H**E was a Gentleman (at first) of a good house; but of a better Education; and from the University travelled for the rest of his Learning. He was the best Linguist of the times, but knew best how to use his own tongue; whereby he came to be employed in the chiefest Affairs of State. He was sent Ambassadour into *France*, and stayed there a Leiger long, in the heat of the Civil Wars. At his return he was taken Principal Secretary, and was one of the great Engines of State, and of the times, high in the Queens favour, and a watchful servant over the safety of his Mistress. He acted the same part in the Courts of *France* about  
that.

**Q. Eliz.** that Mitch, that *Gundamor*, if I be not mistaken, (saith Sir *Robert Naunton*) did in the Court of *England* about the *Spanish*. His apprehension was quick, and his Judgement solid: his head was so strong, that he could look into the depth of men and business, and dive into the Whirlpools of State. Dexterous he was in finding a secret, close in keeping it: Much he had got by Study, more by Travel; which enlarged and actuated his thoughts. *Cecil* bred him his Agent, as he bred hundreds. His Converse was insinuating and reserved: He saw every man, and none saw him. His spirit was as publick as his parts; and it was his first Maxime. *Knowledge is never too dear*: yet as *Debonnair* as he was prudent; and as obliging to the softer, but predominant parts of the world, as he was serviceable to the more severe: and no less Dexterous to work on humours, than to convince Reason. He would say, he must observe the joyns and flexures of Affairs; and so could do more with a Story, than others could with a Harangue. He always surprized business, and preferred motions in the heat of other diversions; and if he must debate it, he would hear all; and with the advantage of foregoing speeches, that either cautioned or confirmed his resolutions, he carried all before him in conclusion beyond reply. He out-did the Jesuites in their own bowe, and over-teached them in their own equivocation, and mental reservation, never settling a Lye, but warily drawing out and discovering truth. As the close Room sucketh in most Air, so this wary man got most intelligence, being most of our Papists Confessour before their death, as they had been their Brethrens before their Treason. He said

said what another writ, *That an habit of secrecy is policy and vertue.* To him mens faces spoke as much as their tongues, and their countenances were Indexes of their hearts. He would so beset men with Questions, and draw them on, and pick it out of them by piece-meals, that they discovered themselves whether they answered or were silent. This *Spanish* Proverb was familiar with him, *Tell a Lye, and find a Truth*; and this, *Speak no more than you may safely retreat from without danger, or fairly go through with without opposition.* Some are good onely at some affairs in their own acquaintance; *Walsingham* was ready every where, and could make a party in *Rome* as well as *England.* He waited on mens souls with his eye, discerning their secret hearts through their transparent faces.

He served him self of the *Factions* as his Mistress did, neither advancing the one, nor depressing the other: Familiar with *Cecil*, allied to *Leicester*, and an Oracle to *Suffex.* He could overthrow any matter by undertaking it, and move it so as it *must* fall. He never broke any business, yet carried many: He could discourse any matter with them that most opposed; so that they in opposing it, promoted it. His fetches and compals to his designed speech, were things of great patience and use. Twice did he deceive the French as Agent, once did he settle the *Netherlands* as Commissioners, and twice did he alter the Government of *Scotland* as Embassadour. Once did *France* desire he might be recalled, because he was too hard for the Counsel for the *Hugonots*; and once did *Scotland* request his remand, because he would have overturned their Constitution: 53 Agents did he maintain in

*Q. Eliz.* Foreign Courts, and 18 Spies: for two Pistols an Order, he had all the private Papers of *Europe*: few Letters escaped his hands, whose Contents he could read and not touch the Seal. *Bellarmino* read his Lectures at *Rome* one moneth, and *Reynolds* had them confute the next. So patient was this wise man, *Chiselhurst* never saw him angry, *Cambridge* never passionate and the Court never discomposed. Religion was the interest of his Countrey, (in his judgement) and of his Soul; therefore he maintained it as sincerely as he lived it: it had his head, his purse, and his heart. He laid the great foundation of the Protestant Constitution as to its policy, and the main plot against the Polish as to its ruine. He would cherish a plot some years together, admitting the Conspirators to his own and the Queens presence familiarly, but dogging them out watchfully: his Spies waited on some men every hour, for three years: and lest they could not keep counsel, he dispatched them to forraign parts, taking in new Servants. He raising *Parry* of who d signed the murder of *Queen Elizabeth*, the admitting of him under the pretence of discovering a Plot to the Queens presence, and then letting him go where he would, onely on the security of a Dark Sentinel set over him, was a piece of reach and hard beyond common apprehension. But Kingdomes were acted by him, as well as private persons. It is a likely report (saith one) that they sather on him at his return from *France*, when the Queen expressed her fear of the *Spanish* designe on that Kingdome with some concernment, *Madam*, (saith he) *be content not to fear, the Spaniard hath a great appetite, and an excellent digestion: but I have fitted him with a bone*  
for

for this twenty years, that your Majesty shall have no cause to doubt him: Provided that if the fice chance to slack which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and now and then cast in some English fuel which may revive the flame. He first observed the great Bishop of Winchester fit to serve the Church, upon the unlikely Youths first Sermon at St. Alballows Barking: He brought my Lord Cooke first to the Church upon some private discourse with him at his Table. The Queen of Scots Letters were all carried to him by her own Servant, whom she trusted, and decyphered to him by one *Philips*, as they were sealed again by one *Gregory*, so that neither that Queen, or her correspondents ever perceived either the Seal defaced, or the Letters delayed to her dying day. *Vide & Taceo*, was his saying, before it was his Mistresses Motto.

He could as well fit King *James* his humour with sayings out of *Xenophon*, *Thucydides*, *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*: as he could King *Henry's* with *Rablais's* conceits, and the *Hollander* with mechanick Discourses. In a word, Sir *Francis Walsingham* was a studious and temperate man; so publick-spirited, that he spent his Estate to serve the King some; so faithful, that he bestowed his years on his Queen; so learned, that he provided a Library for Kings Colledge of his own Books; which was the best for Policy, as *Cecil's* was for History, *Arundels* for Heraldry, *Cottons* for Antiquity, and *Vishers* for Divinity: finally, he equalled all the Statesmen former ages discourse of, and hardly hath been equalled by any in following Ages.

*Observations on the Life of the Earl of Leicester,*

**T**HE Lord *Leicester* was the youngest son then living of *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland*: he was also one of the first to whom Queen *Elizabeth* gave that honour to be master of the horse. He was a very goodly person, and singular well featured, and all his youth well favoured, and of a sweet aspect, but high foreheaded, which was taken to be of no discommendation: but towards his latter end grew high-coloured and red-faced. The Queen made him Earl of *Leicester* for the sufferings of his Ancestors sake, both in her Fathers and Sisters Reigns. The Earl of *Essex* his death in *Ireland*, and the marriage of his Lady yet living, deeply stains his commendation. But in the Observations of his Letters and Writings, there was not known a Stile or Phrase more religious, and fuller of the streams of Devotion. He was sent Governour by the Queen to the United States of *Holland*, where we read not of his wonders; for they say, *Mercury*, not *Mars*, in him had the predominancy. To the Policy he had from *Northumberland* his Father, and the Publican *Dudley* his Grandfather, he added, it is said, Magick and Astrology; and to his converse with Wise men, his familiarity with Wizards. Indeed he would say, *A States-man should be ignorant of nothing, but should have all notices either within his own or his Confidants command.*

His Brother *Ambrose* was the heir to the Estate, *Q Eliz?*  
 and he to the Wisdom of that Family. He was  
 the most reserved man of that Age, that saw all, and  
 was invisible; carrying a depth not to be fathomed  
 but by the *Searcher of Hearts*. Many fell in his  
 time, who saw not the hand that pulled them  
 down; and as many died that knew not their own  
 Disease. He trusted not his Familiars above a  
 twelve-month together, but either transported  
 them for Foreign services, or wasted them to ano-  
 ther world. His Ambition was of a large extent,  
 and his head-piece of a larger. Great was his In-  
 fluence on *England*, greater on *Scotland*, and great-  
 est of all on *Ireland* and the *Netherlands*; where  
 this close *Genius* acted invisibly, beyond the reach of  
 friends, or the apprehension of enemies. Declining  
 an immediate opposition in Court-factions, the wa-  
 rry Sir raised always young Favourites to outshine  
 the old ones: so balancing all others that he might  
 be Paramount himself. The modern policy and  
 practices were but shallow to *his*; who by promo-  
 ting the Queens match, could hinder it; who could de-  
 coy *Hunsdon* to *Berwick*, *Pembroke* to *Wales*, *Sid-  
 ney* to *Ireland*; while what with his great Train,  
 what with his growing Popularity, he was called  
 the *Heart* of the Court.

To make his Basis equal to his height, he enlar-  
 ged and strengthened his Interest by Alliance with  
 the chief Nobility, to whom he was related. By  
 his Patronage of Learning, over which he was  
 Chancellor; by kindness to the Clergy, whose  
 head he seemed to be; by his command over all  
 men, whom either his favours had won, or his  
 frowns awed; every body being either within the



**Q. Eliz.** Obligation of his Courties, or the reach of his Injuries. He advised some compliance with *Philip of Spain* for the match he proposed ; while by degrees he altered Religion so , as it must be impossible ; designing Queen *Elizabeth* for his own Bed , while she made his way to the Queen of *Scots* : whose refusal of him he made as fatal to her , as his marriage would have been advantageous ; ( The Queen of *England* promising to declare her next heir to the Crown of *England*, in case she failed of Issue, upon that match.) *Leicester* trepans *Norfolk* to treat a match with the Scotch Queen ; and her to accept it, to both their ruine : both being engaged in such foolish Enterprizes by their enemies practices , as made *Leicester* able in the head of a new Association in the Queens defence , to take off *Norfolk* and his Ladies head. He was always beforehand with his Designs, being a declared enemy to After-games.

His Interest was Popery, until my Lord *North* put him upon Puritanism, but his Religion neither : he promoted the French and Polish match at Court, and disparaged them in the Country. When Cardinal *Chastilian* advertized her Majesty how *Leicester* drove Royal Suiters from her Court , he was sent to another World. He that would not hold by his favour, must fall by his frown ; Archbishop *Grindal* not excepted. His hand bestowed all favours, and his brows all frowns : the whole Court was at his Devotion , and half the Council at his beck. Her Majesty suspected, but durst not remove him. His Intelligence was good in *Scotland*, better in *Ireland*, best in *Spain*. The Country was governed by his Allies, and the Court by him.

himself. The *Tower* was in his servants hands, *London* under his Creatures Government, and the Law managed by his Confidants. His treasure was vast, his gains unaccountable, all passages to preferment being in his hand at home and abroad. He was never reconciled to her Majesty under 5000 *l.* nor to any Subject under 500 *l.* and was ever and anon out with both. All Monopolies are his, who commanded most mens Purfes, and all mens Parts. A man was oppressed if he complied with him, and undone if he opposed him. In a word, his designe was thought a Crown, his Parts too large for a Subject, his Interest too great for a Servant, his depth not fathomable in *those* days, and his Policy not reached in *these*.

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*Observations on the Life of Christopher Lord Hatton.*

**S**Ir *Christopher Hatton* was a Gentleman who for his activity and Person was taken into the *Queens* favour. He was first made Vice-Chamberlain, and shortly after advanced to the place of Lord Chancellor: A Gentleman, that besides the Graces of his Person, and Dancing, had also the Adjectments of a strong and subtile capacity: one that could soon learn the Discipline and Carb both of Times and Court. The truth is, he had a large proportion of Gifts and Endowments, but too much of the season of Envy. As he came, so he continued in the Court in a mask. An honest man he was, but reserved. Sir *John Perret* talked,  
and

*Q. Eliz.* and Sir *Christopher Hatton* thought, His features set off his body, his gate his features, his carriage his gate, his parts his carriage, his prudence his parts, and his close patience his prudence. The Queen loved him well for his activity, better for his parts, best of all for his abilities, which were as much above his experience, as that was above his learning, and that above his education. The little the wary man *did*, was so exactly just and discreet; and the little he *said*, was so prudent and weighty, that he was chosen to keep the Queens Conscience as her Chancellour, and to express her sense as her Speaker: the Courtiers that envied the last capacity, were by his power forced to confess their errors; and the Sergeants that would not plead before him in the first, by his prudence to confess his abilities. The Chancellourship was above his Law, but not his Parts; so pregnant and comprehensive, that he could command other mens knowledge to as good purpose as his own. Such his humility, that he did nothing without two Lawyers: such his ability, that the Queen did nothing without him. Two things he said he was jealous of, his Mistresses the Queens *Prerogatives*, and his Mother the Churches Discipline: the one, that Majesty might be at liberty to do as much good; and the other, that Iniquity might not be free to as much evil as it pleased. His enemies advanced him, that they might weaken him at Court by his absence, and kill him at home by a sedentariness. This even and clear man *observed* and *improved* their practices, closing with Malice it self to his own advancement, and tempering the most perverse enmity to the greatest kindness.

His

His first Preferment at Court was to be one of the *Q. Eliz.* fifty Pensioners ; whence his *modest sweetness of Manners* advanced him to the Privy Chamber : where he had not been long , but his face and tongue (which most eloquent, which most powerful, was in those days a question ) made him Captain of the Guard ; his presence and service Vice-Chamberlain ; and his great improvement under my Lord *Burleigh* , placed him in that grave Assembly, (the wisest Convention in *Europe* at that time ) the Privy-Council ; where he had not sate long , when his enemies as well as his friends made him Chancellour and Knight of the Garter : the one to raise him, and the other by that rise to ruine him. *The Eagle-eyed men of those times carried up on high the Cockleshell they had a mind to crack.* A man of a pious Nature, very charitable to the Poor, very tender of dissenting Judgements, ( saying , *That neither searing nor cutting was to be used in the cause of Religion* ) very bountiful to Scholars, ( who chose him Chancellour at *Oxford* ) very exact in his Place ; whence he went off, though not with the applause of a great Lawyer to split Causes, yet with the Conscience and comfort of a just man, to do equity.

Take his Character from his own words , those words that prevailed with the Queen of Scots to appear before the Commissioners at *Fotheringay* , when neither Queen *Elizabeths* Commission, nor the Lord Chancellours Reason , nor the Power of the Kingdome could perswade that good Lady to it. The words are these :

" You are accused, but not condemned. You say  
" you

Q. Eliz. "you are a Queen; be it so: if you are innocent, you  
 ~~~~~ wrong your Reputation in avoiding tryal. You pro-  
 "test your self innocent, the Queen feareth the con-  
 "trary not without grief and shame. To examine  
 "your innocence are these honourable, prudent, and  
 "upright Commissioners sent; glad will they be with  
 "all their hearts if they may return and report you  
 "guiltless. Believe me, the Queen her self will be  
 "much affected with joy, who affirmed to me at my  
 "coming from her, that never any thing befel her  
 "more grievous, than that you were charged with  
 "such a crime: Wherefore lay aside the bootless pri-  
 "viledge of Royal Dignity, which here can be of  
 "no use to you, appear in Judgement, and shew your  
 "Innocence; lest by avoiding tryal, you draw upon your  
 "self suspicion, and lay upon your Reputation an e-  
 "ternal blot and aspersion.

Four things I observe he did that deserve a Chronicle:

1. That he delayed the Signing of *Leicesters Patent* for the *Lieutenancy of England and Ireland*, the Preface to his Kingdom, until that Earl was sick.

2. That he reduced the *Chancery*, and all other Courts, to Rules.

3. That he stood by the Church against the enemies of both sides. Archbishop *Whitgift* when checked by others for his due severity, writes to him thus: *I think my self bound to you for your friendly Message as long as I live: It hath not a little comforted me, having received unkinde speeches not long since, &c. And therefore* (after an expostulation about some States-mens Proceedings against the Law and State of the Realm, and a Declaration of his own

resolve

resolution) saith he, *your Honour in offering that great courtesie, offered unto me as great a pleasure as I can desire. Her Majesty must be my Refuge, and I beseech you that I may use you as a means, when occasion shall serve; whereof I assure my self, and therein rest,*

John Cant.

4. That he promoted the Proclamations for plain Apparel, for Free Trade, for pure Religion, and the Laws against the Papists.

None Nobler, none less aspiring : none more busie, yet none more punctual in his hours and orders. Corpulent he was, but temperate ; a Bachelor, (and the onely one of the Queens Favourites) yet chaste : quick were his Dispatches, but weighty ; *many* his Orders, and *consistent* : numerous were the Addresses to him, and easie the access. Seldome were his Orders reversed in Chancery, and seldomer his Advice opposed in Council. So just he was, that his sentence was Law with the Subj & ; so wise, that his Opinion was Oracle with his Sovereign : so exact was Queen Elizabeth, that she called upon him for an old debt, though it broke his heart ; so loving, that she carried him a Cordial-broath with her own hand, though it could not revive him.

Q. Eliz.  


*Observations on the Life of the Lord Hunſdon.*

**T**He Lord *Hunſdon* was of the Queens neareſt Kindred ; and on the deceaſe of *Suffex*, both he and his Son took the place of Lord Chamberlain. He was a faſt man to his Prince, and firm to his friends and ſervants, downright, honeſt, and ſtout-hearted, having the charge of the Queens Perſon both in the Court, and in the Camp at *Tilbury*. The integrity of his temper allayed the greatneſs of his birth ; which had rendred him dangerous, if the other had not vouched him faithful. He ſpoke big, but honeſtly ; and was thought rather reſolute than ambitious. His words were as his thoughts, and his actions as his words. He had Valour enough to be an eminent Souldier in Ruſſing times, and a renownedly honeſt man in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign. His Latine, ſaith Sir *Robert Nannon*, and his diſſimulation, were both alike. His cuſtome of ſwearing, and obſcenity in ſpeaking, made him ſeem a worſe Chriſtian than he was, and a better Knight of the Carpet than he ſhould be. The Politicians followed *Cecil*, the Courtiers *Leiceſter*, and the Souldiers *Hunſdon*, whoſe hands were better than his head, and his heart than both. He led ſo brave a Train of young Gallants, as after another threatned a Court, but after him ſecured it ; whoſe Greatneſs was not his Miſtreſſes jealouſie, but her ſafeguard. One of his blunt Jeſts went further than others affected Harangues ; the one being Nature,

ture, the other forced. His faithfulness made him Governour of *Berwick*; a place of great service: and General of the English Army; a place of great Trust. He had something of *Leicesters* Choler, but none of his Malice. A right Noble Spirit, not so stupid as not to resent, not so unworthy as to retain a sense of Injuries. To have the Courage to observe an Affront, is to be even with an Adversary: to have the patience to forgive it, is to be above him. There goeth a story of him, that when his Retinue, which in those times was large, would have drawn on a Gentleman that had returned him a box on the ear, he forbade them in these Souldier-like words: *You Rogues, cannot my Neighbour and my self exchange a box on the ear, but you must interpose?*

He might have been what he would, for relieving Queen *Elizabeth* in her distress: he would be but what he was: Others Interests were offered him to stand upon; he was contented with his own. He suppressed the Court Factions, and the Northern Commotions; the one by his Interest, the other by his Valour: for the one, he had always the Queens heart; for the other, he had once a most Gracious Letter.

His Court-favour was as lasting as his Integrity. One hath left this remarque concerning him: That he should have been twice Earl of *Wiltshire* in right of his Mother *Bollen*. And the Queen, when he was on his Death-Bed, ordered his patent and Robes to his bed-side: where he who could dissimble neither well nor ill, told the Queen, *That if he was not worthy of those Honours when living, he was unworthy of them when dying.*

see Fuller  
in his Wor-  
shies.



Q. Eliz. In a word, Sir *William Cecil* was a wise man ;  
 Bacon was reaching, *Leicester* cunning; *Walsingham*  
 was a Patriot, and my Lord *Hunsdon* was honest.

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*Observations on the Life of Nicholas Heath,  
 Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancel-  
 lour of England.*

**A**T once a most wise and a most learned man,  
 of great Policy, and of as great Integri-  
 ty ; meek and resolute ; more devout to  
 follow his own Conscience, than cruel to per-  
 secute others. It is enough to intimate his moderate  
 temper, equal, and dis-engaged from violent ex-  
 tremes ; that the first of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the  
 Disputation between the Papists and Protestants, he  
 was chosen by the privy-Council one of the Moder-  
 ators ; when Sir *Nicholas Bacon* was the other.

The Civility he shewed in prosperity, he found  
 in Adversity : for in Queen *Elizabeth's* time he was  
 rather cald, than deposed, [like another *Abiathar*,  
 sent home by *Solomon* to his own fields in *Ana-  
 shoth*] living cheerfully at *Colham* in *Surry*, where  
 he devoted his Old Age to Religion and Study, be-  
 ing much comforted with the Queens Visits and  
 kindness, and more with his own good conscience ;  
 that (as he would often say) he had been so intent  
 upon the service, as never to enjoy the greatness of  
 any place he was advanced to.

Sir *Henry Wotton* being bound for *Rome*, asked  
 his Host at *Siena*, a man well versed in men and bu-  
 siness, What Rules he would give him for his port,  
 Conduct

Conduct and Carriage: *There is one short remembrance (said he) will carry you safe through the world; nothing but this, (said he) Gli Pensiere stretti, & el viso Scioko: (i. e.) Your thoughts close, and your Countenance loose.*

The Character of this prelate, a man of a calm and reserved minde, but of a gravely obliging carriage: wise and wary; and that a solid wisdom rather than a formal; well seasoned with practice, and well broken to Affairs: of a fine Composition, between Frugality and magnificence: A great Cherisher of manual Arts, especially such as tended to splendour or ornament; entertaining the most exquisite Artists with a settled pension. Equally divided he was between the Priest and the States-man; Great with his double power, Ecclesiastical and Civil: by Nature more reserved than popular, with Vertues fitter to beget estimation than love. In his Chancellourship he was served with able followers, rather by choice than number, and with more neatness and service than noise. As midland Countries in busie times are most secure, as being farthest, and most participating of the common Interest: so your moderate and middle men in troublesome and perplexed times, are most quiet, as least concerned in the respective Controversies, and most intent upon the common good.

*Observations on the Life of Sir William Pickering.*

**H**is Extraction was not Noble, his estate but mean; yet was his person so comely, his carriage so elegant, his life so gravely reserved and studious, and his Embassies in *France* and *Germany* so well managed, that in King *Edwards* days he was by the Council pitched upon as the Oracle, whereby our Agents were to be guided abroad; and in Queen *Elizabeths*, designed by common vote for the Prince by whom we were to be governed at home. He received extraordinary favours, no doubt, so deserving he was: he was wished to more, he was so popular: and when his service was admitted to her majesties bosome, all fancies but his own placed his person in her Bed. And I find him a prince in this, That retiring from those busie Bustlings in the state, wherein he might be matched or out-done, he devoted his large soul to those more sublime and noble researches in his Study, wherein he sat monarch of hearts and letters. Anxious posterity no doubt enquires what great Endowments could raise so private a man to such publick honour and expectation; and it must imagine him one redeemed by the politure of good Education, from his younger vanities and simplicities, his Rustick ignorance, his Clownish confidence, his Brutiish dulness, his Country solicitude, his earthly ploddings, his Beggery indigencies, or covetous necessities; rackd and refined from the Lees of sensual

*the Life of the Bishop of Durham.*

§ 31

Q. Eliz.

sensual and inordinate lust, from swelling and surly pride, from base and mean designs, from immoderate affections, violent passions, unreasonable impulses, and depraved aspects; of a strong and handsome body, a large and publick soul, of a gentle and patient access, of benign and just resentments, a grand awful presence. This is he that is born to teach the world, *That Virtue and Wariness make Kings as well as Gods.*

Causa  
Virtus à  
Deo, vel  
ipse Deus.

*Observations on the Life of Cuthberth Tonsal,  
Bishop of Durham.*

**A** Man passing well seen in all kind of polished literature; who having run through many degrees of honour at home, and worthily performed several Embassies abroad, was very hot against the Popes primacy in his young days, very moderate for it in his middle years, and very zealous in his old age: like the waters in *Curtius*, that are hot at midnight, warm in the morning, and cold at noon. In the Reign of Queen *Mary* he spake more harshly against the protestants, (calling Bishop *Hooper* Beast for being married) then he acted, being politickly presumed to bark the more, that he might bite the less; and observed to threaten much in *London*, and do little in his own Diocese: for I meet (saith my Author) with a marginal note in *Mr. Foxe*, which indeed justly deserved even in the fairest letters to be inserted in the body of his Book: *Note, that Bishop Tonsal in Queen Mary's days was no great bloody Persecutor: for Mr. Russel a Preacher*

**Q. Eliz.** *was before him, and Dr. Hinner his Chancellor would have had him examined more particularly: the Bishop staid him, saying, Hitherto we have had a good report among our Neighbourss; I pray you bring not this mans blood upon my head.*

When the more violent Bishops were confined to close prisons, *primo Elizabetha* he lived in *Free custody* at my Lord of *Canterbury's*, in sweet Chambers, warm Beds, by warm Fires, with plentiful and wholesome Diet at the Archbishops own Table: differing nothing from his former Grandeur, save that that was at his own charges, and this at anothers; and that he had not his former suite of superfluous Servants, that long Train that doth not *warm* but *weary* the Wearer thereof. In a word, his custody did not so much sowre his freedome, as his freedome sweetened his custody; where his Soul was most free, using not once thote Oracles of *Seneca*, *That the good things of Prosperity are to be wished, and the good things of Adversity to be admired.* It's true Greatness to have at once the frailty of a man, and the security of a God. Prosperity (saith my Lord *Bacon*) is the blessing of the O'd Testament, and Adversity of the new: the first wants not its fears and distastes, therein therefore our prelate was temperate; nor the second its comforts and hopes, and therein he was resolved: in the one (*—virtus vel in hoste*) he was not vicious, under the other he was vertuous.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Francis Talbot,  
Earl of Shrewsbury.*

**N**obility without Vertue is a disgrace, Vertue without Nobility low; but Nobility adorned with Vertue, and Vertue embellished by Nobility, raiseth a man high as Nature reacheth: and he in whom these two concur, hath all the glory a man can attain unto, *viz.* both an *Inclination* and a *Power* to do well.

This is the man whose Greatness was but the servant to his Goodness, and whose honour the Instrument of his Vertue; who was revered like the Heavens he bore, for his Beneficence, as well as for his Glory. He saw four troublesome Reigns, but not troubled himself, as one that was so espoused to the common and grand Concerns of Mankind, as to be uninterested in the particular and petty Designe of any party of it.

He had friends (and none more sure to them, or more devoted to that sacred thing called Friendship) to ease his heart to, to support his judgement by, to reform, or at least observe his defect in, to compose his mind with; but none to countenance in a Faction, or side with in a quarrel: *Usefulness* is a Bond that tieth great and good men, and not *respects*.

How low Learning ran in our Land among our Native Nobility some two hundred years since, in the Reign of King *Henry* the sixth, too plainly appeareth by the Motto in the Sword of the Martial



Earl of Shrewsbury, (where saith my Author) at the same time a man may smile at the simplicity, and sigh at the barbarousness thereof) *Suum Talboti pro occidere inimicos meos*: the best Latine that Lord, and perchance his Chaplain too in that Age could afford. The case was much altered here, where this Lords Grandchild was at once the chiefest \*Counsellour, and the most eminent Scholar of his Age. It's a reverend thing to see any ancient piece standing against time, much more to see an ancient Family standing against Fortune. Certainly Princes that have able men of their Nobility, shall finde ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business: For people naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to command.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Chalco-  
ner.*

**T**His Gentlemans birth in *London* made him quick, his Education in *Cambridge* knowing, and his travail abroad expert. In *Henry* the eighth's time he reserved *Charles* the fifth in the expedition of *Algier*: where being ship-wrecked, after he had swum till his strength and arms failed him, at the length catching hold of a Cable with his teeth, he escaped, not without the loss of some of his teeth. (We are consecrated by dangers to services; and we know not what we can do, until we have seen all we can fear.) In *Edward* the

the sixth's Reign, he behaved himself so manly at *Muscleborough*, that the Protector honoured him with a Knighthood, and his Lady with a Jewel; the delicate and valiant man at once pleasing *Mars* and his *Venus* too. The first week of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, he is designed an Embassadour of honour to the Emperour; such his port and carriage! and the second year, her Leiger for business in *Spain*: such his trust and abilities! The first he performed not with more Gallantry, than he did the second with policy; bearing up King *Philips* expectation of the match with *England* for three years effectually, until he had done the Queens business abroad, and she had done her own at home. In *Spain* he equally divided his time between the Scholar and the States-man, his recreation and his business; for he refreshed his more careful time with a pure and learned Verse, *de rep. Anglorum instauranda*, in five Books, whilst as he writes in the preface to that Book, he lived *Hieme infurno, aestate in Horreo*: i. e. Wintered in a Stove, and Summered in a Barn. He understood the Concerns of this estate well, and those of his own better; it being an usual saying, engraven on all his Plates and Actions, *Frugality is the left hand of Fortune, and Diligence the right*, *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Mountacute* urged with much Zeal and many Arguments the Danger and Dishonour of revolting off from the Catholick and Mother-Church: Sir *Thomas Challener* with more Eloquence enlarged on the just Cause for which we deceded from the Errours of *Rome* the true Authority by which we deceded from the Usurpation of *Rome*, and the Moderation in what we deceded from the Superstition of *Rome*.



Q. Eliz.  


When the Spanish Embassadour urged that some Catholicks might with the Queens leave remain in Spain; he answered him in a large Declaration, *That though the instance seemed a matter of no great moment, yet seeing the Parties concerned would not receive so much advantage by the license as the Commonwealth would damage by the President, it was neither fit for the King of Spain to urge, or for the Queen of England to grant.* He was very impatient of Injuries, pressing his return home when his Coffers were searched, but admonished by his Mistress, *That an Embassadour must take all things in good part that hath not a direct tendency to the Princes dishonour, or his Countries danger.* His death was as honourable as his life, Sir William Cecil being chief Mourner at his Funeral, St. Pauls containing his Grave, and he leaving a hopeful \*Son that should bring up future Princes, as he had served the present; being as worthy a Tutor to the hopeful Prince Henry, as his Father had been a faithful Seryant to the renowned Queen Elizabeth.

Pa. 1  
 63.

\* Sir Tho.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Edward Waterhouse.*

Sir Edward Waterhouse was born at *Helmstedbury* *Hartfordshire*: of an ancient and worshipsul Family, deriving their descent lineally from Sir *Gilbert waterhouse* of *Kyrton* in *Low-Lindsey* in the County of *Lincoln*, in the time of King Hen-

ry the third. As for our Sir *Edward*, his Parents were,

*Q. Eliz.*  
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*John waterhouse* Esquire, a man of much fidelity and sageness, Auditor many years to King *Henry* the eighth; of whom he obtained (after a great Entertainment for him in his house) the grant of a weekly Market for the Town of *Helmsted*.

*Margaret Turner* of the ancient House of *Blunts-Hall* in *Suffolk*, and *Cannons* in *Hertfordshire*.

The King at his departure honoured the children of the said *John Waterhouse*; being brought before him, with his praise and encouragement, gave a *Benn-jamins* portion of Dignation to this *Edward*; foretelling by his Royal Augury, that he would be the Crown of them all, and a man of great honour and wisdom, fit for the service of Princes. It pleased God afterwards to second the word of the King, so that the sprouts of his hopeful youth onely pointed at the growth and greatness of his honourable Age. For, being but twelve years old, he went to *Oxford*; where for some years he glistered in the Oratorick and Poetick sphere, until he addicted himself to conversation, and observance of State-affairs, wherein his great proficiency commended him to the favour of three principal Patrons. One was *Walter Devereux* Earl of *Essex*, who made him his bosome-friend; and the said Earl lying on his death-bed took his leave of him with many kisses: *Oh my Ned, Oh my Ned*, (said he) *Farewel: thou art the faithfullest and friendliest Gentleman that ever I knew*. In testimony of his true affection to the dead

*Q. Elis.* Father in his living Son, this Gentleman is thought to have penned that most judicious and elegant Epistle, (recorded in *Holinshead's History*, pag. 1266.) and presented it to the young Earl, conjuring him by the Cogent Arguments of Example and Rule to patrizare.

His other Patron was Sir *Henry Sidney*, (so often Lord Deputy of *Ireland*) whereby he became incorporated into the familiarity of his Son Sir *Philip Sidney*; between whom and Sir *Edward* there was so great friendliness, that they were never better pleased than when in one anothers companies, or when they corresponded each with other. And we finde after the death of that worthy Knight, that he was a close-concerned Mourner at his Obsequies, as appeareth at large in the printed representation of his funeral Solemnity.

His third Patron was Sir *John Perrot*, Deputy also of *Ireland*; who so valued his council, that in State affairs he would do nothing without him. So great his Employment betwixt State and State, that he crossed the Seas thirty seven times, until deservedly at last he came into a port of honour, wherein he sundry years anchored and found safe Harbour. For hereceiving the honour of Knighthood, was sworn of her Majesties Privy-Council for *Ireland*, and Chancellour of the Exchequer therein. Now his grateful soul coursing about how to answer the Queens favour, laid it self wholly out in her service: wherein two of his Actions were most remarkable. First, he was highly instrumental in modelling the Kingdome of *Ireland* into shires, as now they are; shewing himself so great a lover of the polity under which he was born, that he advanced the  
Com-

Compliance therewith ( as commendable and necessary ) in the Dominions annexed thereunto. His second service was, when many in that Kingdome shrowded themselves from the Laws, under the Targ-et of power, making Force their Tutelary Saint, he set himself vigorously to suppress them. And when many of the Privy-Council, terrified with the greatness of the Earl of *Desmond*, durst not subscribe the Instrument wherein he was proclaimed Traytor, Sir *Edward* amongst some others boldly signed the same, ( disavowing his, and all Treasons against his Friends and Country ) and the Council did the like, commanding the publication thereof. As to his private sphear, God blessed him, being but a third Brother, above his other Brethren. Now, though he had three Wives, the first a *Villiers*, the second a *spilman*, the third the Widow of *Herlakenden* of *Wood-church* in *Kent*, Esquire; and though he had so strong a brain and body, yet he lived and died childless, intercommoning therein with many Worthies, who are, according to *Ælius Spartianus*, either improlifick, or have children in *Gevitorum Vituperium & famarum Lesuram*. God thus denying him the pleasure of posterity, he craved leave of the Queen to retire himself, and fixed the residue of his life at *wood-church* in *Kent*, living there in great Honour and Repute, as one who had no designe to be popular, and not prudent; rich, and not honest; great, and not good. He died in the 56 year of his Age, the 13 of *October* 1591. and is buried at *wood-church* under a Table-marble monument, erected to his memory by his sorrowful Lady surviving him.

Q. Eliz.  


*Observations on the Life of the Duke of Norfolk,*

**H**IS Predecessors made more noyse it may be, but he had the greater fame: their Greatness was feared, his Goodness was loved. He was heir to his Uncles Ingenuity, and his Fathers Valour; and from both deriyed as well the *Laurel* as the *Coronet*.

His God and his Sovereign were not more taken with the ancient simplicity that lodged in his plain breast, than the people were endeared by that noble humilicy that dwelt in his plainer cloaths and carriage. (The most honourable Personages, like the most honourable Coats of Arms, are least gaudy.) In the Election of the first Parliament of Queen *Elizabeth*, and as a consequent to that in the settlement of the Kingdome, Sir *William Cecils* Wisdome did much, the Earl of *Arundels* Industry more, but the Duke of *Norfolks* Popularity did most. Never Peer more dread, never more dear: as he could engage the people to comply with their Sovereign at home, so he could lead them to serve her abroad. That martial but unfortunate Gentleman *William Lord Grey*, draweth first towards *Scotland*, (for the first Cloud that would have darkened our glorious star, came from the North, *VVhence all evil*, is equally our Proverb and our experience) as Warden of the middle and East marches: but he is seconded by the Duke, as Lieutenant-General of the North-parts; where his pre-

*the Life of the Duke of Norfolk.*

sence commands a Treaty, and his Authority a League, Offensive and Defensive, to balance the French Interest, to reduce the North parts of *Ireland*, and keep the peace of both Kingdoms. Now as the watchful Duke discovered by some private Passages and Letters that *Scotland* was to be invaded by the French; so he writ to his Sovereign, That notwithstanding the Spanish and French Embassadors Overtures, she would proceed resolutely in her preparations for *Scotland*; as she did under his Conduct, until the young Queen was glad to submit; and the King of *France*, by *Cecil* and *Throgmortons* means now busied at home, to come to terms.

He brought the Kingdoms to musters, the People to ply husbandry, the nobility to keep Armories, and the Justicers to Salaries. The Ensignes of *St. Michael* were bestowed upon him as the Noblest, and on *Leicester* as the dearest person at Court: Now *Arundel*, who had spent his own Estate in hope of the Queens, under pretence of recovering his health, travelled abroad to mitigate his grief. When the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Leicester* were openly for the Queens marriage, for the future security of our present happiness; the Duke, though privately of their minde, yet would discourse.

1. That Successors take off the peoples eyes from the present Sovereign.

2. That it was the safest way to keep all Competitors in suspence.

3. That Successors, though not designed, may succeed.

4. Whereas when known, they have been undone by the Arts of their Competitors.

5. And that most men (whatever the busie Agitators

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Q. Eliz.  
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*Q. Eliz.*  


tators of the Succession pretended) have no more feeling in publick matters than concerneth their own private interest. But he had a private kindness for the Queen of Scots, which he discovered in all the Treaties wherein she was concerned. 1. In Love-Letters to her, notwithstanding that *Queen Elizabeth* bid him take care what pillow he rested his head on. 2. In his meditations at Court so importune for her, that the Queen would say, *The Queen of Scots shall never want an Advocate while Norfolk lives.* And, 3. By some private transaction with the Pope and Spaniard; to which *Leicesters* craft trepanned him against his friend *Cecil's* advice, which in a dangerous juncture cost him his life. For the people wishing (for the security of the succession in a Protestant and an English hand) that the good Duke were married to the mother, and his onely Daughter to her young Son; subtil *Leicester* and *Throgmorton* laid a Train for the plain man by Conferences with *Murray*, *Cecil*, &c. until a Plot was discovered; and the Duke, notwithstanding *Cecil's* advice to marry a private Lady, retiring to *Norfolk* to finish the Match with the Queen, was upon Letters taken with *Rosse* surprized, and committed to the Tower, he saying, *I am betrayed, and undone by mine own, whilst I knew not how to mistrust, which is the strength of wisdom.* After a solemn Tryal, he is beheaded for Indiscretions rather than Treasons, losing his head because he wanted one. Never any fell more beloved, or more pitied: such his singular Courtesie, such his magnificent Bounty, not unbecoming so great a Peer. High was his Nobility, large his Interest, singularly good his Nature, comely his Person, manly his

Coun<sup>s</sup>

Countenance, who (saith *Cambden*) might have been a great strength and Ornament to his Country, had not the cunning practices of his malicious Adversaries, and slippery hopes, under colour of publick good, diverted it from his first course of life. His death was a blot to some mens Justice, to all mens Discretion that were concerned in it, as generally odious, though quietly endured: which proves (saith one) *That the common people are like Rivers, which seldome grow so impetuous as to transcend the bounds of Obedience, but upon the overflowing of a general Oppression.*

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.*

**S**ir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, fourth son of Sir *George Throgmorton* of *Coughton* in *Warwickshire*, was bred beyond the Seas, where he attained to great experience. Under Queen *Mary* he was in *Guild-hall* arraigned for Treason, (in compliance with *Wiaty* and by his own wary pleading, and the Juries upright Verdict, hardly escaped. Queen *Elizabeth* employed him her Leiger a long time, first in *France*, then in *Scotland*, finding him a most able minister of state: yet got he no great Wealth; and no wonder, being ever of the opposite party to *Burleigh* Lord Treasurers Chamberlain of the Exchequer, and Chief Butler of *England*, were his highest Preferments. May, Chief Butler; which Office, like an empty covered Cup, pretended to some State, but afforded no considerable



derable profit. He died at supper with eating of sallats: not without suspicion of poyson; the rather, because it happened in the house of one no mean Artist in that faculty, R. Earl of *Leicester*. His death, as it was sudden, was seasonable for him and his, whose active (others will call it turbulent) spirit had brought him unto such trouble as might have cost him, at least, the loss of his personal Estate. He died in the 57 year of his Age, *Febr. 12. 1570.* and lieth buried in the South-side of the Chancel of *St. Martin Cree-church London*.

A stout and a wise man, that saw through pretences, and could look beyond dangers. His skill in Heraldry appears in his *grim* Arguments against the King of *France*, in right of his Queen of *Scots* Usurping of the Arms of *England*; and his experience in History, in his peremptory Declarations of the Queen of *Englands* a Title in the right of her twelve Predecessors to those of *France*. But his policy much more, by putting *Montmorency*, the great Enemy of the *Guizes*, upon perswading his Master out of the humour of wearing those Arms, with this Argument, *That it was below the Arms of France to be quartered with those of England; those being comprehensive of these and all other of his Majesties Dominions*. An Argument more suitable to that Prince his ambition, than convincing to his Reason. Wise men speak rather what is most *fit*, than what is most *rational*, not what *demonstrates*, but what *perswades* his, and *takes*. But being endangered in his person, affronted in his *Retinue*, and served with nothing at his Table but what had the Arms of *England* quartered with those of *France*, he dealt underhand with the Earl of *Nor-*

a Which he  
made out  
from Dr.  
Wotton's  
Discourse  
on that sub-  
ject at  
Cambray.

thum.

*Shumberland*, to understand the scope the Reformed *Q. Eliz.*  
propounded to themselves, their means to compass what they aimed at, and (if at any time they were assisted) upon what terms a League might be concluded between the two Kingdomes. The Advices collected from all his Observations he sent to the Queen, were these:

1. That she should not rest in *dull Counsels* of what is *lawful*, but proceed to *quick Resolutions* of what is *safe*.

2. That to prevent, is the policy of all Nations, and to be powerful, of ours. *England is never peaceable but in Arms.*

3. That how close soever they managed their Affairs, it was a *Maxime*, *b That France can neither be poor, nor abstain from War three years together.*

*Francis Earl of Bedford* bore the state of the French Embassy, and *Sir Nicholas* the burden, who gave dayly Directions to *Sir Thomas Challoner* in Spain, *Sir Henry Killigrew* in Germany, and *Sir Thomas Randolph* and *Sir Peter Mewtas* in Scotland: to the two first, to enjealous the Princes of those Countries; and to the last, to unite the Nobility of Scotland; he in the mean time suffering himself to be taken prisoner by the Protestants at the battle of *Drenx*, that he might with less suspicion impart secret Counsels to them, and receive as secret Advices from them; until discovering their lightness and unconstancy, they secured him as a person too cunning for the whole Faction, and too skilful in raising *Harley-burleys* and *Cominations*. When the young Queen of Scots would needs marry the young Lord *Darley*, he told her that was long to be

*b To which Queen Elizabeth addeth a saying of Valentiniens, Have the French for thy Friend, not for thy Neighbor.*

Q. *Eliz.* deliberated on which was to be done *but once*. And when that would not do, he advised, 1. That an Army should appear upon the borders: 2. That the Ecclesiastical Laws should be in force against Papists: 3. That *Hereford* should be secured: and, 4. That the Lord *Dudley* should be advanced. But the Queen being married to the Lord *Darley*, an easie and good-natured man, whom Queen *Elizabeth* wished to her bed next *Leicester*, and affronted by her subjects, *Throgmorton* disputes the Queens Authority and non-accountableness to any against *Buchanans* damned \* Dialogue of the Peoples power *over Kings*: until smelling their designe of revolt to the French, and cruelty upon the Queen, he perswaded her to resigne her Government, saying, *That her Resignation extorted in Prison, which is a just fear, was utterly void*. The next news we hear of this busie man, was in his two Advises to the Queen of Scots friends: 1. To clap up *Cecil*, whom they might then (he said) deal with: 2. To proclaim the Queen of Scots succession; and in the Train he laid to serve *Leicester* in the Duke of *Norfolks* ruine. But he was too familiar with that Politicians privacy, to live long: anno 1570, he died. A man, saith Mr. *Cambden*, of great experience, passing sharp wit, and singular diligence; an over-curious fancy, and a too nimble activity: like your too fine Silks or Linen, and more for shew than service; never blessing their Owners but when allayed with something of the *heavy* and the *wary*; not *rising*, but when *stayed*.

\* De jure  
Reg. apud  
Scotos,

§ About  
moneys  
transported  
beyond Sea.

*Observations on the Life of Edward Earl of Derby.*

**H**is Greatness supported his Goodness; and his Goodness endeared his Greatness; his Heighth being looked upon with a double aspect: 1. By himself, as an advantage of Beneficence; 2. By others, as a ground of Reverence. His great birth put him above private respects, but his great Soul never above publick service. Indeed he repaired by ways thrifty, yet Noble, what his Ancestors had impaired by neglect. Good Husbandry may as well stand with great Honour, as Breadth may consist with Heighth. His Travel when young, at once gained experience, and saved expences; and his marriage was as much to his profit as his honour. And now he sheweth himself in his full Grandeur, when the intireness of his minde, complied with the largeness of his soul.

1. In a spreading Charity. Other Lords made many poor by Oppression; he and my Lord of Bedford, as Queen *Elizabeth* would jest, made all the Beggars by his liberality.

2. In a famous Hospitality: wherein, 1. His House was orderly: a Colledge of Discipline, rather than a palace for Entertainment; his Servants being so many young Gentlemen trained up to govern themselves by observing him; who knew their master, and understood themselves. 2. His provision Native, (*all the Necessaries of England are bred in it*) rather plentiful than various, solid than dainty.

Q. Eliz.

that cost him less, and contented his guests more. His Table constant and even, where all were welcome, and none invited. 3. His Hall was full most commonly, his Gates always; the one with the honest Gentry and Yeomen, who were his Retainers in love and observance, bringing good stomachs to his Table, and resolved hearts for his service; the holding up of his hand in the Northern business, being as affectual as the displaying of a Banner: The other with the, 1. Aged, 2. Maimed, 3. Industrious Poor, whose craving was prevented with doles, and expectation with bounty; the first being provided with meat, the second with money, and the third with employment. In a word, Mr. *Cambden* observes, That Hospitality lieth buried since 1572, in this Earls Grave: whence may that Divine Power raise it, that shall raise him; but before the last Resurrection, when there will be plenty to bestow in one part of the world, and no poor to be relieved; poverty in the other, and no bounty to relieve.

Neither was he munificent upon other mens charge: for once a moneth he looked into his Income, and once a week to his Disbursements, that none should wrong him, or be wronged by him. The Earl of *Derby*, he would say, *shall keep his own House*: wherefore it's an Observation of him and the second Duke of *Norfolk*, That when they were buried, not a Trades-man could demand the payment of a Groat that they owed him, nor a Neighbour the restitution of a peny they had wronged him. They say, The Grass groweth not where the Grand Seigniors *Horse treads*; nor doth the People thrive where the Noble-men inhabit: But here every Tenant was a Gentleman, and every Gentleman

Gentleman my Lords Companion : such his Civility towards the one, and great penny worths to the other. Noblemen in those days esteemed the love of their Neighbours more than their fear, and the service and fealty of their Tenants more than their money. Now the Landlord hath the sweat of the Tenants brow in his Coffers, then he had the best blood in his Veins at his command.

That grand word, *On mine Honour*, was security enough for a Kingdome, and the onely Asseveration he used. It was his priviledge, that he *need* not swear for a testimony; and his renown, that he *would* not for his honour. Great was this Families esteem with the people, and eminent their favour with their Sovereigns; as which ever bestowed it self in obliging their Liege-people, improving their interest, and supporting their Throne: for though they were a long time great Kings of *Man* and *Hearts*, yet were they as long faithfull subjects to *England*.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir William Fitz-Williams.*

**A** Childe of Fortune from his Cradle, made up of confidence and reputation: never unwarily shewing his Vertue or Worth to the world with any disadvantage.

When *Britain* had as little sleepiness and sloath as night, when it was all day, and all activity; He, as all young Sparks of that Age, trailed a Pike in the *Netherlands*, (the Seminary of the English Soldiery,

Q. *Eliz.*

and the School of *Europes* Discipline ) as a Souldier, and travelled as a Gentleman; until that place graced him civilly with a Command, which he had honoured eminently with his service. His friends checked him for undertaking an Employment so boysterous; and he replied upon them, That it ~~was~~ as necessary as it *seemed* irregular: for if some were not Souldiers, all must be so. He said, He never durst venture on War with men, till he had made his Peace with God: A good Conscience breeds great Resolutions, and the innocent Soul is impregnable: None more fearful of doing evil, none more resolved to suffer: there being no hardship that he would avoid, no undecency that he would allow. Strict he was to his Commission, and yet observant of his advantage: never tempting a danger, never flying it: careful of his first *life* and himself, but more of his *other* and his name. When the methods of Obedience advanced him to the honour of commanding, six things he was Chronicled for.

1. Never making the Aged, the Young, or the Weak, the Objects of his Rage, which could not be so of his Fear.

2. That he never basely killed in *cold* blood, them that had nobly escaped his Sword in *hot*.

3. That he never led the Souldiers without pay, or quartered in the Country without money.

4. That though he was second to none that acted in War, such his Valour! yet he was the first that spake for Peace, such his sweet Disposition!

5. That he would never suffer that a Clergyman should be abused, a Church violated, or the Dead be unburied.

6. That



6. That he would never force an Enemy to a necessity: always saying, *Let us disarm them of their best Weapons, Despair: nor fight an Enemy before he had skirmished him, nor undertake a designe before he consulted his God, his Council, his Friends, his Map and his History.*

His own Abilities commended, and his alliance with Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy, whose Sister he married, promoted him to the government of *Ireland*. Once did the Queen send him thither for his Brothers sake, four times more for his own sake; a sufficient evidence (saith my Friend) of his Ability and Integrity, since Princes never trust twice, where they are once deceived in a Minister of State. He kept up his Mistress Interest, and she his Authority; enjoying the Earl of *Essex*, so much above him in honour, to truckle under him in Commission when Governour of *Ulster*, and he Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. *Defend me*, said *Luther* to the Duke of *Saxony*, *with your Sword, and I will defend you with my Pen. Maintain my Power*, saith the Minister of State to his Sovereign, *and I will support your Majesty.*

Two things he did for the settlement of that Kingdome:

1. He raised a Composition in *Munster*.

2. He established the Possessions of the Lords and Tenants in *Monahan*.

Severe he was always against the Spanish Faction, but very vigilant in—88, when the dispersed *Armadado* did looke, but durst not land in *Ireland*, except driven by Tempest, and then finding the shore worse than the Sea, But *Loicester* dieth, and he fails; when his Sun was set, it was presently night



*Q. Eliz.* with him. *Tra la foga con el Calderon*; where goeth the Bucket, *there goeth the Rope*; where the Principal miscarrieth, all the Dependants fall with him: as our renowned Knight, who died where he wasborn, (there is a Circulation of all things to their Original) at *Milton in Northamptonshire*, 1594.

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*Observations on the Life of the Earl of Pembroke.*

**A**N excellent man, and one that fashioned his own Fortune: His Disposition got favour, and his Prudence wealth, (the first to grace the second, and the second to support the first) under King *Henry* the eighth, whose Brother-in-law he was by his wife, and Chamberlain by his place. When others were distracted with Factions in King *Edwards* Reign, he was intent upon his Interest, (leaning (as he said) *on both sides the stairs to get up*) for his service, being promoted to the master of the Horses place; for his relation to the Queen-mother, to the Order of *St. George*; and in his own Right, to the Barony of *Caerdiffe*, and the Earldome of *Pembroke*.

Under Queen *Mary* his Popularity was very serviceable when General against *wiat*; his Authority useful, when President of *wales*; and his Vigilancy remarkable, when Governour of *Calice*; And under Queen *Elizabeth*, for his Fidelity and ancient Honesty he was made great master of the Household. But herein he failed, That being

more

more intent upon the future state of the Kingdome under the succession, than his own under the present Sovereign, he was cajoled by *Leicester* to promote the *Queen of Scots* match with *Norfolk* so far, (neither with an ill will, (saith the Annalist) nor a bad intent) as to lose his own favour with the *Queen of England*, who discovered those things after his death that made him weary of his life; which was an Instance of my Lord *Bacons* Rule, That ancient Nobility is more innocent, though not so active as the young one; this more vertuous, but not so plain as that; there being rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil Arts. He was richer in his Tenants hearts than their Rents: Alas! what hath not that Nobleman, that hath an universal love from his Tenants? who were observed to live better with their encouraged industry upon his Copyhold, than others by their secure sloath on their own Free-land. 2. His Chaplains, whose Merits were preferred freely and nobly to his excellent Livings, without any unworthy Gratuities to his *Gebazi's* or Servants, or any unbecoming Obligationsto himself. 3. His Servants, whose youth had its Education in his Family, and Age its maintenance upon his Estate, which was favourably Let out to Tenants, and freely Leased to his Servants; of whom he had a Train upon any occasion in his Family, and an Army in his Neighbourhood: an Army, I say, in his Neighbourhood; ; not to envious his Prince, but to secure him; as in *Wiats* case, when this *King of Hearts* would be by no means a *Knave of Clubs*.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Walter Mildmay.*Camden  
Eliz. 1566

**W**alter Mildmay, that upright and most advised man, was born at *chelmsford* in *Essex*, where he was a younger son to *Thomas Mildmay*, Esquire. He was bred in *Christs-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he did not (as many young Gentlemen) study onely in Complement, but seriously applyed himself to his Book. Under King *Henry* the eighth, and King *Edward* the sixth, he had a gainful Office in the Court of Augmentations: during the Reign of Queen *Mary*, he practised the Politick Precept, *Bene vixit, qui bene latuit*. No sooner came Queen *Elizabeth* to the Crown, but he was called to State-employment; and it was not long before he was made Chancellour of the exchequer. It is observed, That the exchequer never fareth ill but under a good Prince; such who out of Conscience will not oppress their People, whilst Tyrants pass not for that they squeeze out of their Subjects. Indeed Queen *Elizabeth* was very careful not to have her Coffers swelled with the Consumption of her Kingdome, and had conscientious Officers under her; amongst whom, Sir *Walter* was a principal one. This Knight, sensible of Gods blessing on his estate, and knowing that, *Omne beneficium requirit Officium*, cast about to make his return to God. He began with his Benefactions to *Christs-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, onely to put his hand into practice; then his Bounty en-  
brace.

braced the Generous Resolution, (which the painful piery of St. Paul propounds to himself, viz.) *Not to build on another mans foundation*, but on his own cost he erected a new Colledge in Cambridge by the name of *Immanuel*. A right godly Gentleman he was; a good man, and a good Citizen; though some of his back friends suggested to the Queen that he was a better Patriot than Subject: and he was over-popular in Parliaments, insomuch that his Life set *sub nubecula*, under a Cloud of a Royal Displeasure: yet was not the Cloud so great, but that the beams of his Innocence meeting those of the Queens Candour, had easily dispelled it, had he survived longer, as appeared by the great grief of the Queen, professed for the loss of so grave a Councillour, who leaving two Sons and three Daughters, died *anno Domini* 1589.

This Gentleman being employed by vertue of his place to advance the Queens Treasure, did it industriously, faithfully, and conscionably, without wronging the Subject, being very tender of their Priviledges; insomuch that he complained in Parliament, *That many Subsidies were granted, and no Grievances redressed*: which words being represented to his disadvantage to the Queen, made her to disaffect him, setting in a Court-Cloud, but (as he goeth on) in the Sun-shine of his Country, and a clear Conscience, (though a mans Conscience can be said no otherwise clear by his opposition to the Court, than a man is said to have a good heart when it is but a bold one.) But coming to Court after he had founded his Colledge, the Queen told him, *Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation*. No, Madam, said he, *far be it from me to*

*counse-*

*Q. Eliz.* countenance any thing contrary to your established Laws; But I have set an Acorn; which when it comes to be an Oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit of it.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir John Fortescue.*

**A**N upright and a knowing man, a great master of Greek and Latine, and Overseer of the *Que*s Studies in both the Languages; master of the Wardrobe, one whom she trusted with the Ornaments of her soul and body: succeeding Sir *Walter Mildmay* in his prudence and piety, and in his place of Chancellor and Under-treasurer of the exchequer.

TWO men *Que Eliz.* would say out-did her expectation; *Fortescue* for Integrity, and *Walsingham* for subtilty, as *Cambden* writes, and *Officious services*. His and *Rawleigh's* failure was their design of Articling with *K. James* at his first coming, not so much (say some in their behalf) for himself, as for his followers, in regard of the known feud between the Nations. However, conditions unworthy of *English* Subjects to offer, and below the *K. of Great Britain* to receive, who is to make no more terms for his Kingdome than for his Birth. The very solemn asking of the Peoples consent, which the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* in all the corners of the stage at a Coronation makes, importing no more than this; *Do you the people of England acknowledge, that this is the Person who is the Heir of the crown?* They being absolutely obliged to submit to the Government

ment upon supposition that they absolutely believe that he is the King.

He thought it not convenient to alter frames of Government, in compliance with the humours of people, which are to be managed by Government, not pleased; for he said God changed not the order of the Government of the world to comply with mans defects, when he can by his Almighty power draw good out of their evils, and great Glory to himself out of the fall of others, as in nature he doth not fit the frame of things to the ugly nature of Monsters; but the irregular shape of Monsters to the beauty of things, being of opinion, that we should thank our Governour, (as the Æthiopian slaves do their Emperour when they are slashed; and we should God when we are corrected) for thinking of us; and having a care of us as universal as that God hath of the world, whom they represent Rulers within their dominions, having much of the Character that God hath in the universe; viz. *That he is a Circle whose center is every where, and Circumference no where.*

*Obscuro*

*Observations on the Life of Sir William Drury.*

**S**ir William Drury was born in Suffolk, where his Worshipful Family had long flourished at Haulsted. His name in Saxon soundeth a Pearl, to which he answered in the pretiousness of his disposition, clear and beard, innocent and valiant, and therefore valued deservedly by his Queen and Country. His youth was spent in the French Wars, his middle Age in Scotland, and his old Age in Ireland. He was Knight-Marshal of Barwick, at what time the French had possessed themselves of the Castle of Edinburgh, in the minority of King James. Queen Elizabeth employed this Sir William with 1500 men to besiege the Castle; which service he right worthily performed, reducing it within few days to the owner thereof. Anno 1575. he was appointed Lord President of Munster, whither he went with competent Forces, and executed impartial Justice in despite of the opposers thereof. For as the Signe of Leo immediately prece-  
 derh Virgo and Libra in the Zodiack; so I hope  
 not that Innocency will be protected, or Justice  
 administred in a barbarous Country, where power  
 and strength do not first secure a passage unto  
 them. But the Earl of Desmond opposed this  
 good President, forbidding him to enter the  
 County of Kerry; as a Palatinate peculiarly ap-  
 pre-

propriated unto himself. Know by the way, as there were but four Palatinates in England, Chester, Lancaster, Durham and Ely, (whereof the two former many years since were in effect invested in the Crown) there were no fewer than eight Palatinates in Ireland, possessed by their respective Dynasts claiming Regal Rights therein, to the great retarding of the absolute Conquest of that Kingdom. Amongst these, (saith my Author) Kerry became the Sanctuary of Sin, and Refuge of Rebels, as outlawed from any Jurisdiction. Sir William so whit terrified with the Earls threatening, and declaring that no place should be a privilege to mischief, entred Kerry with a competent Train, and there dispenced Justice to all persons, as occasion did require. Thus with seven-score men he safely forced his return through seven hundred of the Earls, who sought to surprize him.

In the last year of his Life he was made Lord Deputy of Ireland; and no doubt had performed much in his place, if not afflicted with constant sickness, the forerunner of his death; at *waterford*, 1598.

He was one of that Military Valour which the Lord *Vernham* wisheth about a Prince in troublesome times, that held a good esteem with the Populacy, and an exact correspondence with the noble; whereby he united himself to each side by endearments, and divided them by distrust; watching the slow motions of the people, that they should not be excited and spirited by the nobility; and the ambition of the Great Ones, that it should not be befriended with the turbulency, or strengthened with



**Q. Eliz.** with the assistance of the Commonalty. One great Act well followed did his business with the natives, whom he sometimes indulged, (giving their Discontents liberty to evaporate) and with the strangers, whom he always awed. In those that were commended to his service, he observed two things: 1. That they were not advanced for their dependence, because they promote a Party: which he noted to be the first ground of Recommendation: 2. Nor for their weakness, because they cannot hinder it; which he remarked to be the second.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Smith.*

\* Cambd.  
Eliz. anno  
1577.

**S**ir Thomas Smith was born at \* Saffrox-Walden in Essex, and bred in Queens Colledge in Cambridge; where such his proficiency in Learning, that he was chosen out by Henry the eighth to be sent over, and to be brought up beyond the Seas. It was fashionable in that Age that pregnant Students were maintained on the cost of the State, to be Merchants for experience in Foreign Parts; whence returning home with their gainful Adventurers, they were preferred according to the improvement of their time to Offices in their own Country. Well it were if this good old Custome were resumed: for if where God hath given five talents, men would give but pounds, I mean, encourage hopeful Abilities with hopeful maintenance, able persons would never be wanting, and

and poor men with great Parts would not be excluded the Line of Preferment. This Sir Thomas was first Servant and Favourite to the Duke of Somerset, and afterwards Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth; and a grand Benefactor to both Universities.

Anno 1577, when that excellent Act passed; whereby it was provided, That a third part of the Rent upon Leases made by Colledges, should be reserved in Corn, paying it either in kind or in money, after the rate of the best prices in Oxford or Cambridge-markets, the next Market-days before Michaelmas or our Lady-day: For the passing of this Act, Sir Thomas Smith surprized the House; and whereas many conceived not the difference between the payment of Rents in Corn or money, the knowing Patriot took the advantage of the present cheap year, knowing that hereafter Grain would grow dearer, Man-kinde daily multiplying, and License being lately given for Transportation; so that now when the Universities have least Corn, they have most Bread. What his foresight did now for the University, his reach did the first year of Q. Eliz. for the Kingdome: for the first sitting of her Council he advised twelve most important things for the publick safety.

1. That the Ports should be shut.
2. That the Tower of London should be secured good hands.
3. That the Deputy of Ireland's Commi<sup>n</sup> on should be renewed and enlarged.
4. That all Officers should act.
5. That no new Office should be bestowed in a moneth.
6. That Ministers should meddle with no Controversies.

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7. That Embassadors should be sent to Foreign Princes.

8. That no Coyn should be transported beyond Sea.

9. That no person of quality should travel for six weeks.

10. That the Train-bands should be mustered.

11. That *Ireland*, the Borders, and the Seas, should be provided for.

12. And that the dissenting Nobility and Clergy should be watched and secured. Adding withal a Paper for the Reading of the Epistle, the Gospel, and the Commandments in the English tongue, to encourage the Protestants expectation, and allay the Papists fear. In the same Proclamation that he

\* *The Marques of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, John Grey of Pyrgo, Sir William Cecil, Tho. Smith*

\* *The Doctors Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, Whitehead, Pilkington, and Sir Tho. Smith.*

drew up, the Sacrament of the Altar was to be revered, and yet the Communion to be administered in both kinds, He advised a Disputation with the Papists one day, (knowing that they could not dispute without leave from the Pope, and so would disparage the Cause; yet they could not say but they might dispute for the Queen, and so satisfy the People) and is one of the \* five Councillours to whom the Designe of the Reformation is opened, and one of the \* eight to whom the management of it was intrusted. There you might see him a Leading man among the States-men; here most eminent among Divines; at once the most knowing and pious man of that Age. As his Industry was taken up with the establishment of our Affairs at home, so his Watchfulness (upon Sir Edward *Carnes* deposition of his Embassy) was intent upon the plot of *France* and *Rome* abroad; in the first of which places he made a Secretary his own, and in the

the second a Cup-bearer. At the Treaty of *Cambray* my Lord *Howard of Effingham*, the Lord Chamberlain, and he, brought the King of Spain to the English side in the business of *Calice*: 1. That *France* might be weakened: 2. That his *Netherlands* might be secured: 3. That the Queen his Sweet-heart might be obliged, until he discovered Queen *Elizabeths* averfeness to the marriage: whereupon had it not been for the Viscount *Montacute* (who was not so much a Papist as to forget that he was an English-man) and Sir *Thomas*, the Spaniard had stoln over *Catharine Grey*, Queen *Elizabeths* Niece, for a pretence to the Crown, as the French had the Queen of Scots her Cozen. After which, he and Sir *William Cecil* advised her Majesty to that private Treaty apart, without the Spaniard, which was concluded 1559: as much to the honour of England, now no longer to truckle under Spain, as its interest, no longer in danger from France. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was the metal in these Treaties, and Sir *Thomas Smith* the Alloy: the ones mildness being to mitigate that animosity which the others harshness had begot; and the others spirit to recover those advantages which this mans easiness had yielded. Yet he shewed himself as much a man in demanding, as Sir *William Cheyney* in gaining *Calice*; replying smartly upon Chancellour *Hospitals* Discourse of ancient Right, the late Treaty; and upon *Montmorency's* Harangue of Fears, Conscience. Pitying the neglected state of *Ireland*, he obtained a Colony to be planted under his base Son in the East-Coast of *Ulster*, called *Ardes*, at once to civilize and secure that place. So eminent was this Gentleman for his Learning, that he

*Cambray.*

*Q. Elix.* was at once Steward of the Stannaries, Dean of *Carlisle*, and Provost of *Eaton* in King *Edward's* time, and had a Pension (on condition he went not beyond Sea, so considerable he was) in Queen *Mary's*.

Well he deserved of the *Commonwealth* of Learning by his Books; 1. *Of the commonwealth of England*, 2. *Of the Orthography of the English Tongue*, and of the Pronunciation of Greek; and 3. an exact Commentary of matters, saith Mr. *Cambden*, worthy to be published.

*Observations on the Lives of Doctor Dale, the Lord North, Sir Thomas Randolph.*

I Put these Gentlemen together in my Observations, because I finde them so in their Employments: the one Agent, the other Leiger, and the third extraordinary Embassador in *France*; the first was to manage our Intelligence in those dark times, the second to urge our Interest in those troublesome days, and the third to represent our Grandeur. No man understood the French correspondence with the Scots better than Sir *Thomas Randolph*, who spent his active life between those Kingdomes: none knew better our Concerns in *France* and *Spain* than *Valentine Dale*, who had now seen six Treaties; in the first three whereof he had been Secretary, and in the last a Commissioner: None fitter to represent our state than my Lord

Dr. Dale, Lord North, and Sir Tho. Randolph.

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Lord North, who had been two years in *Walshams* house, four in *Leicesters* house; had seen six Courts, twenty Battles, nine Treaties, and four solemn Jufts; whereof he was no mean part, as a reserved man, a valiant Souldier, and a Courtly Person. So fly was Dale, that he had a servant always attending the Queen-mother of *France*, the Queen of Scots, and the King of *Navarre*: so watchful Sir Thomas Randolph, that the same day he sent our Agent in *Scotland* notice of a designe to carry over the young King, and depose the Regent, he advised our Queen of a match between the King of Scots Uncle and the Countess of *Shrewsbury's* Daughter; and gave the Earl of *Huntington*, then President of the North, those secret instructions touching that matter, that (as my Lord *Burleigh* would often acknowledge) secured that Coast. My Lord North watched the successes of *France*, Dr. Dale their Leagues; and both took care that the Prince of *Orange* did not throw himself upon the Protection of *France*, always a dangerous Neighbour, but with that accession a dreadful one. Sir *John Horsey* in *Holland* proposed much, but did nothing: Sir *Thomas Randolph* in *France* performed much, and said nothing: yet both with Dr. Dales assistance made *France* and *Spain* the scales in the balance of *Europe*, and *England* the tongue or holder of the balance, while they held the Spaniard in play in the *Netherlands*, watched the French Borders, and kept constant Agents with *Orange* and *Don John*. Neither was Sir Thomas less in *Scotland* than in *France*, where he betakes himself first to resolution in his Protestation, and then to cunning in his Negotiations, encouraging *Morton* on the one hand, and amusing *Lenox* on the other:

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Q. Eliz.

keeping fair weather with the young King, and yet practising with *Marre* and *Anguse*. Nothing plausible indeed, saith *Cambden*, was he with the wife, though youthful King *James*; yet very dexterous in Scottish humours, and very prudent in the northern Affairs; very well seen in those interests, and as successful in those negotiations; witness the first and advantageous League 1586. *Videō & rideo*, is Gods Motto upon Affronts; *Video & Taceo*, was Queen *Elizabeths*; *Video nec vident*, was Sir *Thomas Randolphs*. These three men treated with the *Spaniard* near *Ostend* for peace, while the *Spaniard* prepared himself on our Coast for War. So much did Sir *James Crofts* his affection for peace exceed his judgement of his Instruction, that he would needs steal over to *Brussels* to make it, with no less commendation for the prudent Articles he proposed, than censure for the hazard he incurred in the Proposal. So equal and even did old *Dale* carry himself, that the Duke of *Parma* saw in his Answers the English spirit, and therefore (saith my Author) durst not try that Valour in a nation, which he was so afraid of in a single person; That he had no more to say to the old Gentleman, than onel this, *These things are in the hand of the Almighty*.

None more inward with other men than Sir *Francis Walsingham*, none more inward with him than Sir *Thomas Randolph*; well studied he was in *Justinians Code*, better in *Machiavels Discourses*; both when a learned student at *Christ-church*, and a worthy Principal of *Broadgates*; thrice therefore was he an Embassadour to the Lords of *Scotland* in a commotion; thrice to Queen *Mary* in times

of

*Dr. Dale, Lord North, and Sir Tho. Randolph?*

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of peace ; seven times to *James* the sixth of *Scotland* for a good understanding ; and thrice to *Basilides* Emperour of *Russia* for Trade : Once to *Charles* the ninth King of *France*, to discover his designe upon *Scotland* ; and once to *Henry* the third, to open a Conspiracy of his Subjects against him : Great services these, but meanly rewarded ; the serviceable, but moderate and modest man, (though he had as many children at home as he had performed Embassies abroad) being contented with the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer, and the Postermasters place ; the first but a name, and the second then but a noise : to which were added some small Farms, wherein he enjoyed the peace and innocence of a quiet and retired Life ; a Life, which upon the reflexions of a tender Conscience, he wished a great while, as appears by his Letters to his dear *Walsingham*, wherein he writes, *How worthy, yea, how necessary a thing it was, that they should at length bid Farewel to the snares, he of a Secretary, and himself of an Embassador; and should both of them set their mindes upon their Heavenly Country ; and by Repenting, ask Mercy of GOD.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Amias Poulet.

Who put  
Cardinal  
Wolsey,  
then but a  
Schoolma-  
ster in the  
Stocks.


**S**ir Amias Poulet, born at Hinton St. George in  
Somersetshire, Son to Sir Hugh, and Grand-  
child to Sir Amias Poulet, was Chancel-  
lour of the Garter, Governour of the Isles of Jer-  
sey and Guernsey, and Privy-Councillour to Queen  
Elizabeth. He was so faithful and trusty, that the  
Queen committed the keeping of Mary Queen of  
Scots to his custody, which he discharged with great  
fidelity.

As Cesar would have his Wife, so he his spirit,  
above the very suspicion of unworthiness; equally  
consulting his Fame and his Conscience. When he  
performed his last Embassie, with no less satisfaction  
to the King of France, than honour to the Queen of  
England, (at once with a good humour and a great  
state) he would not accept a Chain (and all Gifts are  
Chains) from that King by any means, until he was  
a League from Paris: then he took it, because he  
would oblige that Prince; and not till then, because  
he would not be obliged by any but his Sovereign,  
saying, *I will wear no chains but my Mistresses*. It  
is the interest of Princes, that their Servants For-  
tune should be above the temptation; it is their  
happiness, that their Spirits are above the respects  
of a private concern.

Observa-

*Observations on the Lives of Sir James Crofts;  
John Grey of Pyrgo, Sir Henry Gates.*

**E**Mblems of honour derived from Ancestors, are but rotten Rags, where ignoble posterity degenerates from their Progenitors: but they are both glorious and precious where the children both answer and exceed the Vertues of their extraction; as in these three Gentlemen, whose Ancestors fill both Pages of former Kings Chronicles, as they do the Annals of Queen Elizabeth: Three Gentlemen whom it's pity to part in their *Memoires*, since they were always together in their Employments. All three were like to die in Queen Mary's days for the profession of the Protestant Religion, all three spending their Lives in Queen Elizabeth's for the propagation of it: 1. Sir Henry Gates lying in Rome as a Spy, under the Notion of Cardinal Florido's Secretary, six years; John Grey drawing up the whole Proceedings and Methods of the Reformation for ten years; and Sir James Crofts being either the vigilant and active Governour of *Berwick*, or the prudent and successful Commissioner in *Scotland* for seven years. When the French threatned us by the way of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Northumberland* was sent Northward for his interest, as Warden of the middle March; Sir *Ralph Sadler* for his wisdom, as his Assistant and Councillour; and Sir *James Crofts* for his Conduct,

*Q. Eliz.* duct, as both their Guide and Director-general.  An estate in the *Purse*, credits the Court; wisdom in the *Head*, adorneth it; but both in the *Hand*, serve it. Nobly did he and *Cuthbert Vaughan* beat the French that sallied out of *Edinburgh* into their Trenches, but unhappily stood he an idle Spectator in his quarter the next Scalado, while the English are overthrown, and the Duke writes of his infidelity to the Queen, who discharged him from his place, though not from her favour: for in stead of the more troublesome place, the Government of *Berwick*, she conferred on him that more honourable, the Controllership of her Household. Great service did his Valour at *Haddington* in *Scotland* against the French, greater his prudence in *Uster* against the Spaniards. Although his merit made his honour due to him, and his Blood becoming: though his Cares, Travels and Dangers deserved pity; his quiet and meek Nature loves: though he rise by wary degrees, and so was unobserved; and stood not insolently when up, and so was not obnoxious: yet Envy reflected as hot upon him as the Sun upon the rising ground, which stands firm though it doth not flourish, as this Gentleman's resolved honesty did; overcoming Court-envy with a solid worth; waxing old at once in years and reverence, and dying (as the Chronicle wherein he dieth not but with Time, reports it) in good favour with his Prince, and sound reputation with all men, for three infallible sources of Honour: 1. That he aimed at Merit more than Fame: 2. That he was not a Follower, but an Example in great Actions: and, 3. That he assisted in the three great concerns of Government. 1. in Laws, 2. in Arms, and 3. in Councils.

In *Aesop* there is a slight Fable of a deep moral: it is this: *Two Frogs consulted together in the time of Drowth* (when many plashes that they had repaired to were dry) what was to be done; and the one propounded to go down into a deep well, because it was like the water would not fail there; but the other answered, *Yea*, but if it do fail, how shall we get up again? Mr. Grey would Nod, and say, *Humain affairs are so uncertain, that he seemeth the wisest man, not who hath a spirit to go on, but who hath a wariness to come off*; and that seems the best course, that hath most passages out of it. Sir James Crofts on the other hand hated that irresolution that would do nothing, because it may be at liberty to do any thing. Indeed said one, *Necessity hath many times an advantage, because it awaketh the powers of the minde and strengtheneth Endeavour*. Sir James Crofts was an equal Composition of both; as one that had one fixed eye on his *Action*, and another indifferent one on his *retreat*.

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*Observations on the Life of William Lord Grey of Wilton.*

**T**HAT great Souldier and good Christian, in whom Religion was not a *softness*, (as *Ma-chiavil* discoursed) but a *resolution*. *Hannibal* was sworn an Enemy to *Rome* at nine years of Age, and my Lord bred one to *France* at fourteen. *Scipio's* first service was the rescue of his Father in *Italy*, and my Lord Grey's was the safety of his Father in *Germany*. He had *Fabius* his slow way, and long

*Q. Eliz.* long reach, with *Herennius* his fine polices, and neat Ambuscadoes; having his two Companions always by him, his Map and his Guide: the first whereof discovered to him his more obvious advantages, and the second his more close dangers. His great Conduct won him much esteem with those that heard of him, and his greater presence more with those that saw him. Observable his Civility to Strangers, eminent his Bounty to his Followers; obliging his Carriage in the Countries he marched through, and expert his Skill in Wars, whose end he laid was Victory, and the end of Victory Nobleness, made up of pity and munificence. It cost him his estate to redeem himself in *France*, and his life to bear up his Reputation in *Berwick*. Having lived to all the great purposes of life but Self-interest: he died 1563, that fatal year; no less to the publick sorrow of *England* which he secured, than the common joy of *Scotland*, which he awed. Then it was said, *That the same day died the greatest Scholar, and the greatest Souldier of the Nobility*; the right honourable *Henry Mannors* Earl of *Rutland* in his Gown, and the honourable Lord *Grey* in his Armour; both, as the Queen said of them, *worthies that had deserved well of the Commonwealth by their Wisdome, Councel, Integrity and Courage.*

Two things my Lord always avoided: the first, To give many Reasons for one thing; the heaping of Arguments arguing a neediness in every of the Arguments by its self; as if one did not trust any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himself still with the last. The second, To break a negotiation to too many distinct particulars, or to couch

couch it in too compact generals: by the first whereof we give the parties we deal with an opportunity to look down to the bottom of our business; and by the second, to look round to the compass of it. Happy are those Souls that command themselves so far, that they are equally free to full and half discoveries of themselves, always ready and pliable to the present occasion. Not much regarded was this gallant spirit when alive, but much missed when dead; we understand what we want, better than what we enjoy; and the beauty of worthy things is not in the face, but the back-side, endearing more by their departure than their address.

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*Observations on the Life of Edmund Plowden.*

**E***dmund Plowden* was born at *Plowden* in *Shropshire*; one who excellently deserved of our Municipal Law in his learned Writings thereon. A plodding and a studious man; and no wonder if knowing and able: Beams in reflexion are hottest, and the Soul becomes wise by looking into its self. But see the man in his *Epitaph*!

*Conditur in hoc Tumulo corpus Edmundi Plowden Armigeri. Claris ortus Parentibus, apud Plowden in Comitatu Salop, natus est; a pueritia in literarum Studio liberaliter est educatus, in Provestiore vero aetate Legibus, & Jurisprudentiae operam dedit. Senex jam factus, & annum aetatis suae agens 67. Mun-*



*do Valedicens, in Christo Jesu Sancte obdormivit, die Sexto Mensis Februar. Anno Domini 1585.*

I have the rather inserted this Epitaph inscribed on his Monument on the North-side of the East-end of the Quire of Temple-Church in *London*, because it hath escaped (but by what casualty I cannot conjecture) Master *Stow* in his *Survey of London*. We must add a few words out of the Character Mr. *Camden* gives of him :

*Vita integritate inter homines sue professionis nulli secundum.* As he was singularly well learned in the Common laws of *England*, whereof he deserved well by writing; so for integrity of life he was second to none of his profession. And how excellent a medley is made, when Honesty and Ability meet in a man of his profession ! Nor must we forget how he was Treasurer for the honourable Society of the middle-Temple, *Anno 1572*, when their magnificent Hall was builded; he being a great advancer thereof. Finding the Coyn embased by *Henry* the eighth, so many ways prejudicial to this State, as that which first dishonoured us abroad; secondly, gave way to the frauds of Coyners at home, who exchanged the best Commodities of the land for base moneys, and exported the current moneys into Forreign parts; and thirdly, enhanced the prizes of all things vendible, to the great loss of all Stipendiaries: He offered, 1. That no man should melt any Metal, or export it: 2. That the Brass money should be reduced to its just value: 3. That it should be bought for good; by which silent and just methods, that defect of our Government

meat

ment for many years was remedied in few moneths, without any *noise*, or (what is proper to alterations of this nature) *discontent*.

The middle Region of the *Air* is coolest, as most distant from the direct beams that warm the highest, and the reflexed that heat the lowest: the mean man, that is as much below the favour of the Court, as above the business of the Country, was in our Judges opinion the most happy and composed man; this being the utmost of a knowing mans wish in *England*, That he were as much out of the reach of contempt, as to be above a Constable; and as much out of the compass of trouble, as to be below a Justice. A Mean is the utmost that can be prescribed either of *Vertue* or *Bliss*, as in our Actions, so in our State.

Great was the Capacity, and good the Inclination of this man; large the Furniture, and happy the Culture of his Soul; grave his mien, and stately his Behaviour; well-regulated his Affections, and allayed his passions; well-principled his Mind, and well-set his Spirit; solid his Observation, working and practical his Judgement: and as that Roman Heroe was more eminent whose image was missing, than all the rest whose Portraictures were set up; so this accomplished Gentleman is more observable because he was not a States-man, than some of those that were so. There is a glory in the obscurity of worthy men, who as that Sun (which they equal as well in common influence as lustre) are most looked on when *eclipsed*.

Q Eliz.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Roger Manwood.*

**S**ir Roger Manwood born at *sandwich* in *Kent*, attained to such eminency in the Common Law, that he was preferred second Justice of the Common Pleas by Queen *Elizabeth*; which place he discharged with so much Ability and Integrity, that not long after he was made chief Baron of the Exchequer; which Office he most wisely managed; to his great commendation, full fourteen years; to the day of his death.

Much was he employed in matters of State; and was one of the Commissioners who sat on the tryal of the Queen of *scots*. He wrote a Book on the *Forest-Laws*, which is highly prized by men of his profession. In vacation-time he constantly inhabited at *St. Stephens* in *Canterbury*, and was bounteously liberal to the poor Inhabitants thereof; and so charitable was he, that he erected and endowed a fair Free-school at *sandwich*, dying in the 35 of Queen *Elizabeth*, anno Dom. 1593.

Cloaths for necessity, warm Cloaths for health, cleanly for decency, lasting for strength, was his Maxime and Practice, who kept a State in decent plainness; insomuch that Queen *Elizabeth* called him her Good-man-Judge. In *Davison's Case*, *Mildmay* cleared the man of malice, but taxed him with unskilfulness and rashness: *Lumley* said he was an ingenious and an honest man, but presumptuous. *I will ever esteem him an honest and good*

man,

man, said Grey. The Archbishop of Canterbury approved the fact, commended the man, but disallowed of the manner and form of his proceedings. *Manwood* made a narrative of the Queen of Scots proceedings, confirmed the sentence against her, extolled the Queens clemency, pitied *Davison* and fined him 10000 l.

A man he was of a pale constitution; but a clear, even, and smooth temper; of a pretty solid constitution, equally sanguine and flegmatique: of a quiet soul, and serene affections: of a discreet sweetness, and moderate manners; slow in passion, and quick enough in apprehension; wary in new points, and very fixed and judicious in the old. A plausible, insinuating, and fortunate man; the Idea of a wise man; having what that elegant Educator wisheth *that great habit which is nothing else but a promptness and plentifulness in the store-house of the mind of clear imaginations well-fixed*: which was promised in his erect and forward stature, his large breast, his round and capacious forehead, his curious and observing eye, (the clear and smart argument of his clearer and quicker soul, which owed a liveliness equally far from volatileness and stupidity) his steady attention and his solid memory, together with what is most considerable, a grand Inclination to imitate and excel. What *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleon* with reference to *Epaminond*, that we may say of this gentleman, *That his Life and Actions are like Homer's Verses, smooth and flowing, equal and happy*: especially in the two grand Embellishments of our Nature, Friendship and Charity. 1. Friendships that sacred thing whereof he was a passionate Lover, and an exact Observer, promoting it among

*Q Eliz.*

all men he conversed with. Surely there is not that Content on Earth like the Union of minds and Interests, whereby we enjoy our selves by reflexion in our Friends; it being the most dreadful Solitude and Wildness of Nature, to be friendless. But his Friendship was a contracted beam to that Sun of Charity, that blessed all about him. His Salary was not more fixed than his Charity; He and the poor had one Revenue, one Quarter-day: Instead of hiding his face from the poor, it was his practice to seek for them; laying out by Trustees for Pensioners, either hopeful or indigent, whereof he had a Catalogue that made the best Comment upon that Text, *The liberal man deviseth liberal things*. This is the best Conveyance that ever Lawyer made, *To have and to hold to him and his Heirs for ever*.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Christopher Wray.*

**S**Ir christopher Wray was born in the spacious Parish of Bedal, the main motive which made his Daughter Francis, Countess of warwick, scatter her Benefactions the thicker in that place. He was bred in the study of our Municipal Law; and such his proficiency therein, that in the sixteenth of Queen Elizabeth, in Michaelmas-Term, he was made Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench. He was not like that Judge, *who feared neither God nor man*, but only one Widow, (lest her importunity should weary him; ) but heartily feared God in his religious Conversation. Each man he respected

with his due distance off of the Bench, and no man on it to byass his Judgement. He was *pro tempore*, Lord Privy Seal, and sat Chief in the Court when Secretary *Davison* was sentenced in the Star-Chamber. Sir *Christopher* collecting the censures of all the Commissioners, concurred to Fine him: but with this comfortable conclusion, *That, as it was in the Queens Power to have him punished so Her Highness might be prevailed with for mitigating or remitting of the Fine:* and this our Judge may be presumed no ill Instrument in the procuring thereof.

He bountifully reflected on *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Cambridge*; which Infant-Foundation had otherwise been starved at Nurse for want of maintenance. We know who saith, *The righteous man leaveth an inheritance to his childrens children*, and the well-thriving of his third Generation may be an evidence of his well-gotten Goods. This worthy Judge died *May* the eighth, in the thirty fourth of *Queen Elizabeth*. When Judge *Mounson* and Mr. *Dalton* urged in *Stubs* his Case, (that Writ against *Queen Elizabeth's* marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*) That the Act of *Philip and Mary* against the Authors and sowers of seditious writings was mistimed, and that it died with *Queen Mary*; my Lord Chief Justice *Wray*, upon whom the Queen relied in that case, shewed there was no mistaking in the noting of the time; and proved by the words of the Act, that the Act was made against those which should violate the King by seditious writings; and that the King of *England* never dieth: yea, that that Act was renewed *anno primo Eliz.* during the life of her and the heirs of her body.

*Q. Eliz.* Five Particulars I have heard old men say he was choice in: 1. His Friend, which was always wise and equal; 2. His Wife; 3. His Book; 4. His Secrer; 5. His Expression and Garb. By four things he would say an Estate was kept: 1. By understanding it; 2. By spending not until it comes; 3. By keeping old servants; 4. By a Quarterly Audit. The properties of Infancy, is Innocence; of Childhood, Reverence; of Manhood, Maturity; and of Old Age, Wisdom: Wisdom! that in this grave person acted all its brave parts; *i. e.* was mindful of what is past, observant of things present, and provident for things to come. No better instance whereof need be alledged than his pathetick Discourses in the behalf of those two great *Stays* of this Kingdome, Husbandry and Merchandize: for he had a clear discerning Judgement, and that not onely in points of Law, which yet his Arguments and Decisions in that profession manifest without dispute; but in matters of Policy and Government, wherein his Guess was usually as near Prophecy as any mans: as also in the little mysteries of private manage, by which upon occasion he hath unravelled the studied cheats and intrigues of the Closet-men: to which when you adde his happy faculty of communicating himself, by a free and graceful elocution, to charm and command his Audierce, assisted by the attractive dignity of his presence, you will not admire that he managed his Justiceship with so much satisfaction to the Court, and that he left it with so much applause from the Country: for these two Peculiarities he had. That none was more tender to the Poor, or more civil in private; and yet none more stern to the Rich, I mean Justices of Peace,

Peace, Officers, &c. or more severe in publick. *Q. Eliz.*  
He delighted indeed to be loved; not revered; yet  
knew he very well how to assert the Dignity of his  
place and function from the Approaches of Con-  
tempt.

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*Observations on the Life of the Earl of Worcester.*

**T**He Lord of *Worcester*, (as no mean Favour-  
rite) was of the ancient and noble blood of  
the *Beauforts*, and of the Queens Grandfa-  
thers line by the Mother; which she could never  
forget, especially where there was a concurrency  
of old Blood with Fidelity, a mixture which ever  
sorted with the Queens Nature. He was first made  
Master of the horse, and then admitted of her  
Council of State. In his Youth (part whereof he  
spent before he came to reside at Court) he was  
a very fine Gentleman, and the best Horse-man and  
Tilter of the Times, which were then the manlike  
and noble recreations of the Court: and when  
years had abated these exercises of Honour, he  
grew then to be a faithful and profound Coun-  
sellour. He was the last Liver of all the Servants  
of her favour, and had the honour to see his re-  
nowned Mistress, and all of them laid in the places  
of their rest; and for himself, after a life of a very  
noble and remarkable reputation, he died in a peace-  
able Old Age, full of Riches and Honour. His  
Fathers temperance reached to 97 years of Age, be-  
cause he never eat but one Meal a day; and his span



Q. Eliz.



ringness attained to 84, because he never eat but of one dish. He came to the Queens favour, because as her Father so she loved a *man*; he kept in, because as her Father too so she loved an *able man*. His manlike Recreations commended him to the Ladies, his prudent Atchievements to the Lords. He was made master of the horse because active, and privy Councillour because wise: His mistress excused his Faith, which was popish; but honoured his Faithfulness, which was Roman; it being her usual speech, that my Lord of *Worcester* had *reconciled* what she thought *inconsistent*, a *stiff Papist* to a *good subject*. His Religion was not pompous, but solid; not the shew of his life, but the comfort of his soul. A great master he was of others affections, and greater of his own passions: many things displeased, nothing angered my Lord of *Worcester*, whose maxime was, *That he would not be disordered within himself, one'y because things were out of order without him*: He had this maxime whence he had his Nature, from his prudent Father Sir *Charles Somerset*, the first Earl of *Worcester* of that name, whose temper was so pliable, and nature so peaceable, that being asked (as it is usually reported of him) How he passed so troublesome a Reign as King *Henry's*, so uncertain as King *Edward's*, so fierce as Queen *Mary's*, and so unexpected as Queen *Elizabeth's*, with so quiet, so fixed, so smooth, so resolved and ready a mind and frame? answered, It was because he understood the *Interest* of the Kingdome, while others observed its *Honours*. His first publick service was to represent the Grandeur of his mistress at this Christening of the *Daulphine* of *France*, and his last *the like* at the marriage of the King of Scots,



Scots, whom he honoured with the Garter from his Mistress, and advised to beware of Papists from the Council.

The frame of this noble mans body, (as it is delineated by Sir *W. P.*) seems suited to the noble use it was designed for, The entertaining of a most pure and active soul ; but equally to the advantage of strength and comeliness, befriended with all proportionate Dimensions, and a most grave, yet obliging Carriage. There was a clear sprightfulness in his Complexion, but a sad reservedness in his nature; both making up that blessed composition of a wise and winning man, of as great hardihip of body, as nobleness of spirit. Of a quick sight, and an accurate Ear ; a steady observation, and ready expression : with the Torrent whereof he at once pleased King *James*, and amazed King *Henry*, being the most natural Orator in the world. Among all which Endowments, I had almost forgot his memory, that was very faithful to him in things and business, though not punctilio's and formalities: Great parts he had, the range and compass whereof filled the whole circle of generous Learning in that person, as it hath done in the following Heroes of that Family to this day.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Killigrew.*

**T**Ravellours report, That the place wherein the body of *Abfalom* was buried is still extant at *Jerusalem*, and that it is a solemn custome of Pilgrims passing by it to cast a stone on the place: but a well-disposed man can hardly go by the memory of this worthy person without doing grateful homage thereunto, in bestowing upon him one or two of our Observations. It's a question sometimes whether Diamond gives more lustre to the Ring it's set in, or the Ring to the Diamond; This Gentleman received honour from his Family, and gave renown to it. Writing is the character of the speech, as that is of the mind. From *Tully* (whose Orations he could repeat to his dying day) he gained an even and apt stile, flowing at one and the self-same heighth. *Tully's Offices*, a Book which Boys read, and men understand, was so esteemed of my Lord *Burleigh*, that to his dying day he always carried it about him, either in his bosome or his pocket, as a compleat peice that, like *Aristotle's Rhetorick*, would make both a Scholar and an Honest man. *Cicero's* magnificent Orations against *Anthony*, *Catiline* and *Verres*; *Cesar's* great Commentaries that he wrote with the same spirit that he fought; flowing *Livy*; grave, judicious and stately *Tacitus*; eloquent, but faithful *Curtius*; brief and rich *Salust*; prudent and brave *Xenophon*, whose person was *Themistocles* his Companion, as his Book was *Scipio* *Afric*



*Africannus* his Pattern in all his Wars; ancient and sweet *Herodotus*; sententious and observing *Thucydides*; various and useful *Polybius*; *Siculus*, *Halicarnassens*, *Trogus*, *Orosius*, *Iustine*, made up our young mans Retinue in all his Travels, where (as *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* writes) he sate on the stage of *Humane Life*, observing the great circumstances of places, persons, times, manners, occasions, &c. and was made wise by their example who have trod the path of error and danger before him. To which he added that grave, weighty, and sweet *Plutarch*, whose Books (said *Gaza*) would furnish the world, were all others lost. Neither was he amazed in the Labyrinth of History, but guided by the Clue of *Cosmography*, hanging his Study with Maps, and his mind with exact Notices of each place. He made in one View a Judgement of the Situation, Interest, and Commodities (for want whereof many States-men and Souldiers have \* failed) of Nations: but to understand the nature of places, is but a poor knowledge, unless we know how to improve them by Art; therefore under the Figures of Triangles, Squares, Circles and Magnitudes: with their terms and bounds, he could contrive most tools and instruments, most Engines, and judge of Fortifications, Architecture, Ships, Wind and Water-works, and whatever might make this lower frame of things useful and serviceable to mankind: which severer Studies he relieved with noble and free Poetry; aid, once the pleasure and advancement of the Soul, made by those higher motions of the mind more active and more large. To which I adde her Sister musick, wherewith he revived his tired spirits, lengthened (as he said) his sickly days, opened his

his

\* At Cy-  
rus as  
Thermo-  
pylae,  
Craesus  
in Parthia:  
therefore  
Alexander  
had exact  
Maps al-  
ways about  
him to ob-  
serve  
Passages,  
Streights,  
Rocks,  
Plains, Ri-  
vers, &c.

*Q. Eliz.* his eppressed breast, eased his melancholy thoughts; graced his happy pronunciation, ordered and refined his irregular and gross inclination, fixed and quickened his floating and dead notions; and by a secret, sweet and heavenly Vertue, raised his spirit, as he confessed, sometime to a little less than Angelical Exaltation. Curious he was to please his ear, and as exact to please his eye; there being no Statues, Inscriptions or Coyns that the *Vertuosi* of *Italy* could shew, the Antiquaries of *France* could boast off, or the great Hoarder of Rarities the great Duke of *Tuscany*, (whose antick Coyns are worth 10000*l.*) could pretend to, that he had not the view of. No man could draw any place or work better, none fancy and paint a Portraiture more lively; being a *Durer* for proportion, a *Goltzius* for a bold touch, variety of posture, a curious and true shadow, an *Angelo* for his happy fancy, and an *Holben* for Oyl work.

Neither was it a bare Ornament of Discourse, or naked Diversion of leisure time; but a most weighty piece of knowledge that he could blazon most noble and ancient Coats, and thereby discern the relation, interest, and correspondence of great Families, and thereby the meaning and bottom of all transactions, and the most successful way of dealing with any one Family. His Exercises were such as his Employments were like to be, gentle and manlike, whereof the two most eminent were Riding and Shooting, that at once wholesomely stirred, and nobly knitted and strengthened his body. Two Eyes he said he travelled with; the one of wariness upon himself, the other of observation upon others. This compleat Gentleman was Guardian to the young *Branden* in his younger years, Agent for Sir

*Jehn*

*John Mason* in King *Edward* the sixth's time, and *Q. Elizabeth's* time. My Lord *Cobham* is to amuse the *Spaniard*, my Lord *Effingham* to undermine the *French*, and Sir *Henry Killigrew* is privately sent to engage the *German* Princes against *Austria* in point of Interest, and for her Majesty in point of Religion: he had a humour that bewitched the Elector of *Bavaria*, a Carriage that awed him of *Mentz*, a Reputation that obliged them of *Colem* and *Hydelbergh*, and that reach and fluency in Discourse that won them all. He assisted the Lords *Hunsdon* and *Howard* at the Treaty with *France* in *London*, and my Lord of *Essex* in the War for *France* in *Britain*. Neither was he less observable for his own Conduct than for that of others, whose severe thoughts, words and carriage so awed his inferiour faculties, as to restrain him through all the heats of youth, made more than usually importunate by the full vigour of a high and sanguine Constitution: in so much that they say he looked upon all the approaches to that sin, then so familiar to his calling as a Soldier, his quality as a Gentleman, and his Station as a Courtier, not onely with an utter disallowance in his judgement, but with a natural abhorrency and antipathy in his very lower inclinations. To which happiness it conduced not a little, that though he had a good, yet he had a restrained appetite (a Knife upon his Throat as well as upon his Trencher) that indulged it self neither frequent nor delicate entertainment; its meals, though but once a day, being its pressures; and its fast, its only sensualities: to which temperance in diet, added but that in sleep, together with his disposal of himself

*Q. Eliz.* self throughout his life to industry and diligence; you will say he was a spotless man, whose life taught us this Lesson, (which if observed, would accomplish mankind; and which King *Charles* the first would inculcate to noble Travellers, and Dr. *Hammond* to all men) *To be furnished always with something to do:* A Lesson they proposed as the best expedient for Innocence and pleasure; the foresaid blessed man assuring his happy hearers, *That no burthen is more heavy, or temptation more dangerous, than to have time lie on ones hand; the idle man being not only (as he worded it) the Devils shop, but his kingdom too; a model of, and an appendage unto Hell, a place given up to torment and to mischief.*

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*Observations on the Life of Arthur Gray Baron of Wilton.*

**A** *Arthur Gray* Baron of *Wilton* is justly reckoned amongst the Natives of *Buckinghamshire*, whose Father had his habitation (not at *Wilton* a decayed Castle in *Hertfordshire*, whence he took his Title, but) at *waddon*, a fair house of his Family not far from *Buckingham*.

He succeeded to a small estate, much diminished on this sad occasion. His Father *William* Lord *Gray* being taken Prisoner in *France*, after long ineffectual solliciting to be (because captivated in the publick service) redeemed on the publick charge, at last was forced to ransom himself with the sale of the best part of his Patrimony. Our *Arthur* endeavoured to advance his estate by his Valour, being


being entred into Feats of War under his martial Father at the siege of *Leith* 1560, where he was shot in the shoulder, which inspirited him with a constant antipathy against the Scots. He was afterwards sent over Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, anno 1586; where before he had received the Sword, or any emblems of command, *ut acris tribus initiis terrorem incuteret*, to fright his foes with fierce beginnings, he unfortunately fought the Rebels at *Grandilough*, to the great loss of English Blood. This made many commend his Courage above his Conduct, till he recovered his credit, and finally suppressed the Rebellion of *Desmond*. Returning into *England*, the Queen chiefly relied on his counsel for ordering our Land-forces against the *Spaniards* in 88, and fortifying places of advantage. The mention of that year (critical in Church-differences about discipline at home, as well as with foreign force abroad) mindeth me that this Lord was but a back-friend to Bishops; and in all divisions of Votes in Parliament or Council-table, sided with the Anti-prelatical party. When Secretary *Davison*, that State-pageant, (raised up on purpose to be put down) was censured in the Star-chamber about the business of the Queen of Scots, this Lord *Gray* onely defended him, as doing nothing therein but what became an able and honest Minister of State. An Ear-witness saith, *Hæc fuscè oratoris & animosæ Greium differentem audivimus*. So that besides bluntness, (the common and becoming Eloquence of Souldiers) he had a real Rhetorick, and could very emphatically express himself. Indeed this Warlike Lord would not wear two heads under one *Helmet*, and may be said always to have born his



*Eliz.* his Beaver open, not dissembling in the least degree, but owning his own Judgement at all times what he was. He deceased *anno Domini* 1593.

Three things he was observed eminent for: 1. Dispatch; *San Joseph* having not been a week in *Ireland*, before he had environed him by Sea and Land. 2. For his resolution, that he would not parley with him till he was brought to his mercy, hanging out a white flag with *Misericordia, Misericordia*. 3. For his prudence: 1. That he saved the Commanders, to oblige the *Spaniard*: 2. That he plundered the Country, to enrich his Souldiers: 3. That he decimated the Souldiery, to terrifie Invaders; and hanged all the *Irish*, to amaze the Traytors.

*Henry Fitz-alan* Eirl of *Arundel* when Steward at King *Edward's* Coronation, or Constable at Queen *Mary's*, was the first that rid in a Coach in *England*; my Lord *Gray* was the first that brought a Coach hither: one of a working Brain, and a great *Mechanist* himself, and no less a Patron to the Ingenious that were so. That there was an emulation between him and *Sussex*, was no wonder; but that the instance wherein he thought to disgrace him, should be his severity to the English Traytor, and the Forreign Invadors, would seem strange to any but those that consider, 1. That Princes of late would seem as they look on the end, and not the means; so they hug a cruelty, and frown on the Instrument of it; who while he honestly sacrificeth some irregular particulars to the interest of Sovereignty, may be made himself a sacrifice to the passion of populacy. And, 2. which is the case here, that aspiring Princes may employ

employ severer Natures, but settled ones use the *Q. Eliz.*  
more moderate. *Love* keeps up the *Empire* which   
*Power* hath set up.

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*Observations on the Life of Thomas Lord Burge.*

**T**homas Lord Burge or Borough was born in his Fathers noble house at *Gainsborough* in the County of *Lincoln*. He was sent Embassadour into *Scotland* in 1593, to excuse *Bothwell* his lurking in *England*, to advise the speedy suppression of the *Spanish Faction*, to advance the *Protestants* in that Kingdom for their Kings defence, and to instruct that King about his Council; which was done accordingly.

He was made Lord-Deputy of *Ireland* anno 1597, in the room of Sir *William Russel*. Mr *Cambden* saith thus of him:

*Vir acer & animi plenus, sed nullis ferè  
Castrorum rudimentis.*

As soon as the Truce with *Tyrone* was expired, he straightly besieged the Fort of *Black-water*, (the onely receptacle of the Rebels in those parts, besides their Woods and Bogs.) Having taken this Fort by force, presently followed a bloody Battle, wherein the English lost many worthy men. He was struck with untimely death before he had continued a whole year in his place; it being wittily observed

*Q. Eliz.* of the short Lives of many worthy men, *Fatuos à morte defendit ipsa insulitas, si cui plura ceteris alienethol,*  
*Fun. Orat.* *quantulum salis in sit (quod miremini) statim putrescit.* Things rare destroy themselves; those two things  
*Prince* being incompatible in our nature, *Perfection* and  
*Hen. p. 15,* *Lastingness.*  
*16, 17.*

His Education was not to any particular Profession, yet his parts able to manage all. *A large soul and a great spirit apart from all advantages, can do wonders.* His Master-piece was Embassi; where his brave Estate set him above respect, and compliance, and his comely person above contempt. His Geography and history led to the Interest of other princes, and his Experience to that of his own. His skill in most Languages helped him to understand others; and his resolution to use onely his own, to be reserved himself. In two things he was very scrupulous: 1. In his Commission, 2. In his servants, whom he always (he said) found honest enough, but seldom quick and reserved. And in two things very careful: viz. 1. The time and humour of his Addresses; 2. The Interest, Inclinations and Dependencies of Favourites. A grave and steady man, *observing* every thing, but affected with nothing; keeping as great distance between his looks and his heart, as between his words and his thoughts. Very exact for his priviledges, very cold and indifferent in his motions, which were always guided by the emergencies in that Country, and by his intelligence from home. Good he was in pursuing his limited instruction; excellent where he was free; and his business was not his *obedience* onely, but his *discretion* too: that never failed but in his last enterprize, which he undertook without

any apparent advantage, and attempted without intelligence: An Enterprize well worthy his invincible Courage, but not his accustomed prudence; which should never expose the person of a General to the danger of a common Souldier.

*Observations on the Life of William Lord Pawlet.*

**W**illiam Pawlet (where-ever born) had his largest estate and highest Honour (Baron of *Basing*, and Marquess of *Winchester*) in *Hants*. He was descended from a younger house of the *Pawlets* in *Hinton St. George* in *Somersetshire*, as by the Crescent in his Arms is acknowledged. \*One telleth us, That he being a \* *Sir Robt* younger Brother, and having wasted all that was *Naunton* left him, came to court on trust; where, upon the *in his Frag.* stock of his Wit, he trafficked so wisely, and prospered so well, that he got, spent, and left, more than any *menta Regalia.* subject since the Conquest. Indeed he lived at the time of the dissolution of Abbeyes, which was the Harvest of Estates; and it argued idleness if any Courtier had his Barns empty. He was servant to King *Henry* the seventh; and for thirty years together Treasurer to King *Henry* the eighth. *Edward* the sixth, *Queen Mary*, and *Queen Elizabeth*: the latter in some sort owed their Crowns to his Counsel, his policy being the principal Defeater of *Duke Dudley's* Designe to dis-inherit them. I behold this *Lord Pawlet* like to aged *Adoram*, so often mentioned in Scriptures, being over the Tribute in the days of King *a David*, all the Reign of King *b Co-*

*a 2 Sam. 10*

*24.*

*b 1 King*

*Q. Eliz. I. Iomon*, until the first & year of *Rehoboam*. And though our Lord *Pawlet* enjoyed his place not so many years, yet did he serve more Sovereigns, in more mutable times, being (as he said of himself) *No Oak, but an Olive*. Herein the parallel holds not: the hoary hairs of *Adoram* were sent to the Grave by a violent & death, slain by the people in a Tumult; this Lord had the rare happiness of *longevity*, setting in his full splendour, having lived 97 years, and seen 103 out of his body. He died *Anno Domini 1572*. Thus far *Mr. Fuller*.

This Gentleman had two Rules as useful for mankind, as they seem opposite to one another.

1. That in our Considerations and Debates, we should not dwell in deceitful Generals, but look into clear Particulars.

2. That in our Resolutions and Conclusions, we should not rest on various Particulars, but rise to uniform Generals.

A Man he was that revered himself; that could be vertuous when alone, and good when only his own Theatre, his own applause, though excellent, before the world; his vertue improving by fame and glory, as an hear which is doubled by reflection.

observa.

*Observations on the Life of Sir James Dier.*

**J**AMES Dier Knight, younger Son to Richard Dier Esquire, was born at Round-hill in Somersetshire, as may appear to any by the Heralds Visitation thereof. He was bred in the Study of our Municipal Law, and was made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, primo Eliz. continuing therein twenty four years. When Thomas Duke of Norfolk was, anno 1572, arraigned for Treason, this Judge was present thereat, on the same token, that when the Duke desired Council to be assigned him, pleading that it was granted to Humphrey Stafford in the Reign of King Henry the seventh, our Judge returned unto him, That Stafford had it allowed him only as to point of Law, then in dispute, viz. Whether he was legally taken out of the Sanctuary? but as for matter of Fact, neither he, nor any ever had or could have Council allowed him.

But let his own works praise him in the Gates, (known for the place of publick Justice amongst the Jews) let his learned Writings, called, The Commentaries or Reports, evidence his Abilities in his Profession. He died in 24. Eliz. (though married) without any issue; and there is a House of a Baronet of his Name (descended from an elder Son of Richard, Father to our Judge) at great Stoughton in Huntingdonshire, well improved I believe with the addition of the Judges Estate.

There is a Manuscript of this worthy Judge, wherein are six and forty Rules for the preservation of the Commonwealth, as worthy our Observation as they were his Collection.

1. That the true Religion be established.
2. To keep the parts of the Commonwealth equal.
3. That the middle sort of people exceed both the extremes.
4. That the Nobility be called to serve, or at least to appear at the Court by themselves, or by the hopes of their Families their Children.
5. That the Court pay well.
6. That Trade be free; and Manufactures, with all other Ingeniuties, encouraged.
7. That there be no co-equal Powers, nor any other usurpations against the Foundation.
8. That there be notice taken of wise and well-affected Persons to employ them.
9. That Corruption be restrained.
10. That the Prince shew himself absolute in his Authority first, and then indulgent in his Nature.
11. That the first ferment of sedition, w. n. &c. be considered.
12. That Preferments be bestowed on merit, and not faction.
13. That troublesome persons be employed abroad.
14. That Emulations be over ruled.
15. That the ancient and most easie way of Contributions when necessary, be followed.
16. That the Youth be disciplined.
17. That Discourses and Writings of Government, and its mysteries, be restrained.
18. That the Active and busie be taken to Employment.

19. That

19. That the King shew himself often in Majesty, tempered with familiarity, easie access, tenderness, &c.

20. That the Prince perform some expected actions at Court himself.

21. That no one man be gratified with the grievance of many.

22. That Acts of Grace pass in the chief Magistrates Name, and Acts of Severity in the Ministers.

23. That the Prince borrow when he hath no need.

24. That he be so well furnished with Warlike Provisions, Citadels, Ships, as to be renowned for it.

25. That the Neighbour-States be balanced.

26. That the Prince maintain very knowing Agents, Spies and Intelligencers.

27. That none be suffered to raise a Quarrel between the Prerogative and the Law.

28. That the People be awaked by Musters.

29. That in cases of Faction, Colonies and Plantations be found out to receive ill humours.

30. That the Seas, the Sea-coast, and Borders be secured.

31. That the Prince be either resident himself, or by a good natured and popular Favourite.

32. To all things by degrees, and check all the hasty, importunate, rash and turbulent, though well-affected.

33. That the Inhabitants have honour promiscuously, but that Power be kept in the well-affected's hands.

34. That there be as far as can be plain dealing, and the people never think they are deceived.

35. That there be a strict eye kept upon Learning, Arms, and Mechanical Arts.

36. That there be frequent wars.



*Q. Eliz.* 37. To observe the Divisions among Favourites, though not to encourage them.

38. That an account be given of the Publick Expences.

39. That Inventions be encouraged.

40. That the Country be kept in its due dependance on the Crown against the times of war, Elections, &c. and to that purpose that the Courtiers keep good houses, &c.

41. That no disobliging person be trusted.

42. That Executions be few, suddain and severe.

43. To improve the benefit of a Kingdome's Situation.

44. That the Liberties and Priviledges of the subject be so clearly stated, that there may be no pretences for worse purposes.

45. That the Coyne be neither transported nor embased.

46. That luxury be suppressed.

Maximes these ! that spake our Judge so conversant with Books and men, that that may be applyed to him, which is attributed to as great a Divine as he was a Lawyer, viz. *That he never talked with himself.*

## Observations on the Life of Sir William Pelham.

**S**Ir William Pelham was a Native of *Sussex*, whose ancient and wealthy Family hath long flourished in *Laughton* therein. His Prudence in Peace, and Valour in War, caused Queen *Elizabeth* to employ him in *Ireland*, where he was by the privy-Council appointed Lord Chief Justice to govern that Land in the interim betwixt the death of Sir *William Drury*, and the coming in of *Arthur Gray*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Say not that he did but stop a gap for a twelve-month at the most, seeing it was such a gap, Destruction had entered in thereat, to the final ruine of that Kingdome, had not his providence prevented it. For in this juncture of time, *Desmond* began his Rebellion 1579, inviting Sir *William* to side with him; who wisely gave him the hearing, with a smile in to the Bargain. And although our Knight for want of Force could not cure the wounds, yet he may be said to have washed and kept it clean, resigning it in a recovering condition to the Lord *Gray*, who succeeded him. Afterwards he was sent over into the Low-Countries 1586, being Commander of the English Horse therein. It is said of him, *Brabantiam persultabat*, He leapt through *Brabant*; importing celerity and success, yea, as much Conquest as so suddain an expedition was capable of.

He had a strong memory whereof he built his experience, and a large experience whereon he grounded his actions: There was no Town, Fort,

Q. Eliz.

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C. *Elix.*

Passage, Hill or Dale, either in *Ireland* or *Holland*, but he retained by that strong faculty, that was much his Nature, more his Art; which observed privately, what it saw publicly; recollected and fixed in the night, when he observed by day; trusting his head with solids, but not burthening it with impertinencies. Company is one of the greatest pleasures of Mankind, and the great delight of this man, (it's unnatural to be solitary; the world is linked together by love, and men by friendship) who observed three things in his converse, that it should be, 1. even, 2. choice, and 3. useful; all his friends being either valiant, ingenious, or wise: that is, either Souldiers, Scholars, or States-men. Four things he was very intent upon during his Government in *Ireland*: 1. The Priests, the Pulpits, and the Press: 2. The Nobility: 3. The Ports: 4. The Forreigners. Which he pursued with that Activity, the Earl of *Ormond* assisting him, that anno 1580, that Kingdom was delivered to my Lord *Gray* after his one years Government, in a better condition than it had been for threescore years before; the Populacy being encouraged, the Nobility trusted, Feuds laid down, Revenue settled, the Sea-towns secured, the Souldiery disciplined, and the Magazines furnished. Whence he returned to overlook others, settling *England* against the *Spaniards*, as he had done *Ireland*; himself being an active Commisioner in *England* in 88, and an eminent Agent in *Scotland* in 89.

*Observations on the Life of Sir William Waad.*

A Scholar himself, and a Patron to such that were so ; being never well but when employing the Industrious, pensioning the Hopeful, and preferring the Deserving. To his Directions we owe *Riders* Dictionary, to his Encouragement *Hooker's* Policy, to his Charge *Gruter's* Inscriptions. As none more knowing, so none more civil. No man more grave in his Life and Manners, no man more pleasant in his Carriage and Complexion ; yet no man more resolved in his Business : for being sent by Queen *Elizabeth* to *Philip* King of *Spain*, he would not be turned over to the *Spanish* Privy-Council, ( whose greatest Grandees are Dwarfs in honour to his Mistress ) but would either have audience of the King himself, or return without it ; though none knew better how and when to make his close and underhand Addresses to such potent Favourites as strike the stroke in the State ; it often happening in a Commonwealth, (saith my Author) that the Masters Mate steers the Ship better than the Master himself. A man of a constant toyl and industry, busie and quick, equally an enemy to the idle and slow undertakings, judging it a great weakness to stand staring in the face of business, in that time which might serve to do it. In his own practice he never considered longer than till he could discern whether the thing proposed was fit or not ; when that was seen, he immediately set to work : when he had finished one business, he could

*Q. Eliz.* could not endure to have his thoughts lie fallow, but was presently consulting what next to undertake.

Two things this Gentleman professed kept him up to that eminence; 1. Fame, that great incitement to Excellency. 2. A Friend, whom he had not onely to observe those grossnesses which Enemies might take notice of, but to discover his prudential failings, indecencies, and even suspicious and barely doubtful passages. *Friendship* (saith my Lord Bacon) *aseth the heart, and cleareth the understanding, making clear day in both; partly by giving the purest counsell apart from our interest and prepossessions, and partly by allowing opportunity to discourse, and by that discourse to clear the mind, to recollect the thoughts, to see how they look in words; whereby men attain that highest wisdom, which Dionysius the Areopagite saith, is the Daughter of Reflexion.*

*Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Sidney.*

**S**ir Henry Sidney, eminent for his son Sir Philip, and famous for his own Actions, was born well, and bred better: His Learning was equal to his Carriage, his Carriage to his Good Nature, his Good Nature to his Prudence, his Prudence to his Resolution. A little he learned at School, more at the University, most at Court. His Reading was assiduous, his Converse exact, his

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Observations close: His Reason was strong, and his Discourse flowing. Much he owed to his Studiousness at home, more to his Experience abroad, where Travel enlarged and *consolidated* his Soul. His own Worth fitted him for Advancement, and his Alliance to my Lord of *Leicester* raised him to it. Merit must capacitate a man for Interest, and Interest must set up merit. His person and his Ancestry invested him Knight of the Garter, his Moderation and Wisdom President of *Wales*. His Resolution and Model of Government made him Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; a people whom he first studied, and then ruled; being first master of their humour, and then of their Government. Four things he said would reduce that Country: A Navy well furnished, to cut off their correspondence with *Spain*; An Army well paid, to keep up Garrisons; Laws well executed, to alter their Constitutions and Tenures; A Ministry well settled, to civilize and instruct them; and an unwearied Industry to go through all.

Nine things he did there to eternize his Memory.

1. *Connaught* He divided to six Shires.
2. Captainships, something answering to Knight-hood here, He abolished.
3. A Surrendry of all *Irish* Holdings He contrived, and the *Irish* Estates He settled on *English* Tenures and Services.
4. That the ablest five of each Sept should undertake for all their Relations He ordered.
5. One Free-School at least in every Diocess He maintained.
6. Two Presidents Courts in *Munster* and *Connaught* He erected.

7. Their



## OBSERVATIONS on

7. Their Customes *He* reduced to the *Civility*, and their Exchequer to the *Exactness* of England.

8. Their Purveyance *He* turned to Composition.

9. Their Statutes *He* printed, and a constant correspondence *He* kept; especially with the *English* Embassadour in *Spain*, and King *James* in *Scotland*.

*Fitz-williams* was mild, *Effex* heady, *Perrot* stout; but this Lieutenant or Deputy was a stayed and resolved man, that Royally *heardill*, and *did well*; that bore up against the clamours of the people with the peace of his conscience. His Interest he had devoted to his Sovereign, and his Estate to the publick; saying as *Caio*, *That he had the least share of himself*. From the *Irish* he took nothing but a Liberty to undo themselves; from Court he desired nothing but service; from *wales* he had nothing but a Good Name. It's observed of him, that *He had open Vertues for Honour, and private ones for Success*, which he said was the daughter of reservedness: *there being not* (saith my Lord *Verulam*) *two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest man*. The Crown was obliged by his services, the Nobility engaged to him by Alliances, the People enamoured with his *Integrity*, and himself satisfied with a *good Conscience*. Much good counsel he gave at Court, more at home in *Shropshire*, where his Dexterity in composing the private Quarrels of the Country, was as eminent as his Prudence in settling the Affairs of *Ireland*. He had that Majesty in his Countenance that he awed, and Affability in his Speech that he obliged the Country. His Coun-  
cil

See Daves  
of Ireland,  
and Ware  
and Powel  
of Wales.

fel would be smart and solid, his Reproof grave and affectionate, his Jests quick and taking; doing more with a quick Droll towards the peace of the Country, than others did with longer Harangues. Secretary *Bourns* Son kept a Gentlemans Wife in *Shropshire*; when he was weary of her, he caused her Husband to be dealt with to take her home, and offered him 500 l. for reparation. The Gentleman went to *Sir Henry Sidney* to take his advice, telling him, *That his wife promised now a new life, and to say the truth five hundred pounds would be very seasonable at that time. By my troth (said Sir Henry) take her home, and the Money; then whereat other Cuckolds wear their Horns plain, you may wear yours gilt.* His great word after a difference ended, was, *Is not this easier than going to London or Ludlow?* When a man fretted against himself or other, *My Friend*, he would say, *take it from me, a weak man complains of others, an unfortunate man of himself, but a wise man neither of others nor of himself.* It was his Motto, *I'll never threaten.* To threaten an Enemy, is to instruct him; a Superiour, is to endanger my person; an Inferiour, is to disparage my conduct. Old servants were the Ornament and stay of his Family, for whom he reserved a Copyhold when aged, a service when hopeful, an Education when pregnant. Twice was he sent underhand to *France*, and once to *Scotland*, to feel the pulse of the one, and to embroyl the other. It's for settled Kingdoms and for Wealthy men to play above-board, while the young State as the young Fortune should be least in sight.

He and *Sir Thomas Randolph* amuse the Queen of Scots with the hope of the Crown of *England*, and

the

*Q. Eliz.* the King of *France* by a League with his protestant subjects; to whose assistance Sir *Adrian Poynings* arrives as Field-marshal, and the Earl of *Warwick* as General.

Sir *Nicholas Arnold* had disposed *Ireland* to a settlement, when Justicer; and Sir *Henry Sidney* formerly Justicer and Treasurer, was now to compleat it as Deputy, being assisted in *Munster* by Sir *Warham St. Leiger*, and elsewhere by the brave Earl of *Ormond*, having procured his Antagonist the Earl of *Desmond* to be called to *England* in order of a peace and tranquility. Great was his Authority ever, far greater his love to, and esteem of the Soldiers, with whom he did wonders against *Shane Oneals* Front, while *Randolph* charged his Rear until the wild Rebels submits, and is executed. When he resigned his Authority and Honour to Sir *William Drury*, he took his farewell of *Ireland* in these words, *When Israel departed out of Egypt, and the house of Jacob from a barbarous people.* A singular man he was, (saith the Historian) and one of the most commendable Deputies of *Ireland*; to whose Wisdom and Fortitude that Kingdome cannot but acknowledge much, though it is as impatient of Deputies as *Sicily* was of old of Procurators.

*Observations on the Life of Sir John Puckering.*

**H**E was born at Flamboroughead in Yorkshire, second Son to a Gentleman that left him an Estate neither plenteous nor penurious, his breeding was more beneficial to him than his portion, gaining thereby such skill in the common Law, that he became the Queens Sergeant, speaker in the house of Commons, and at last Lord Chancellor of England. How he stood in his Judgement in the point of Church-discipline, plainly appeareth by his following speech, delivered in the house of Lords 1588.

You are especially commanded by her Majesty to take heed, that no Ear be given, nor time afforded to the wearisome solicitations of those that commonly be called Puritans, where with all the late Parliaments have been exceedingly importuned, which sort of men, whilst that (in the giddiness of their Spirits) they labour and strive to advance a new eldership, they do nothing else but disturb the good repose of the Church and Commonwealth, which is as well grounded for the body of Religion it self, and as well guided for the discipline, as any Realm that confesseth the truth. And the same thing is already made good to the world by many of the writings of godly and learned men, neither answered nor answerable by any of these new-fangled Refiners. And, as the present case standeth, it may be doubted, whether they, or the Jesuits, do offer more danger, or be more speedily to be repressed.

For,

*Q. Eliz.* For, albeit the Jesuites do empoysen the hearts of Her Majesties Subjects, under a pretext of Conscience to withdraw them from their Obedience due to Her Majesty yet do they the same, but closely, and in privy-corners: But these men do both teach and publish in their printed Books, and teach in all their Conventicles, sundry Opinions, not onely dangerous to a well-settled Estate, and the Policy of the Realm, by putting a Pike between the Clergy and the Lay; but also much derogatory to her sacred Majesty and her Crown, as well by the diminution of her ancient and lawful Revenues, and by denying Her Highness Prerogative and Supremacy, as by offering peril to her Majesties safety in her own Kingdome. In all which things, (however in other Points they pretend to be at war with the Popish Jesuites) yet by this separation of themselves from the unity of their fellow subjects, and by abasing the Sacred Authority and Majesty of their Prince, they do both joyn and concur with the Jesuites in opening the Door, and preparing the way to the Spanish Invasion that is threatned against the Realm.

And thus having according to the weakness of my best understanding delivered Her Majesties Royal pleasure and wise direction, I rest there, with humble Suit of her Majesties most gracious Pardon in supplying of my defects, and recommend you to the Author of all good counsel.

He died anno Domini 1696, charactered by Mr. *Cambden*, *Vir Integer*. His Estate is since descended, (according to the solemn settlement thereof) the Male Issue failing, on Sir *Henry Newton*; who according

according to the Condition hath assumed the surname of *Puckering*.

*Sir Thomas Egerton* urged against the Earl of *Arundel* methodically what he had done *before, in, and since* the Spanish Invasion: *Sir John Puckering* pressed things closely, both from Letters and Correspondence with *Allen* and *Parsons*, that few men had seen; and from the saying of my Lord himself, (which fewer had observed) who when *Valongers* Cause about a Libel was handled in the Star-chamber, had said openly, *He that is thoroughly Popish, the same man cannot but be a Traytor*. A man this was of himself of good repute for his own Carriage, but unhappy for that of his servants: who for disposing of his Livings corruptly, left themselves an ill name in the Church, and him but a dubious one in the State. *David* is not the onely person whom the iniquity of his *heels*, that is, of his *follower*s, layeth hold on.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Bromley.*

**S***ir Thomas Bromley* was born at *Bromley* in *Shropshire*, of a right ancient Family. He was bred in the Inner Temple, and made, before he was forty years of age, General solicitor to *Queen Elizabeth*; and afterwards, before he was fifty, succeeded *Sir Nicholas Bacon* in the Dignity of Lord Chancellour: yet *Bacon* was not missed while *Bromley* succeeded him; and that loss which

*Q. E. li.* otherwise could not have been repaired, now could not be perceived; Which Office he wisely and learnedly executed with much discretion, possessing it nine years, and died *anno* 1587, not being sixty years old.

My Lord *Hunsdon* first employed this Gentleman, and my Lord *Burleigh* took first notice of him. He had a deep head to dive to the bottome of the abstruse Cases of those times, and a happy mean to manage them, with no less security to the Estate, than satisfaction to the people. A man very industrious in his place, and very observant of the Court: happy in his potent friends, happy in his able followers; men of great faithfulness towards him, and of great integrity and respectfulness towards any that made Addresses to him. He never decided the equity of any Case before he had discoursed with the Judge that heard it, of the Law of it. He never disposed of a Living without the Bishop of the Diocess his consent where it lay; nor ever engaged he in any State-business without direction from my Lord *Burleigh*, the Earl of *Leicester*, my Lord *Delaware*. Sir *Ralph Sadler* was to observe the policy, Dr. *Wilson* the Civil law, and Sir *Thomas Bromley* the English law, in the Queen of Scots answer to Queen *Elizabeths* last expostulation. The Spanish Souldier never takes wages against his King, and Sir *Thomas Bromley* never took fees against the Crown. He would have the cause opened clearly by his Client in the Chamber, before ever he would declare it at the Bar: He lost money for not admitting all causes promiscuously at first, but he gained it at last; when never failing in any cause, saith my Author, for five years:

years: during which space, what he wanted in the retayl of advantage, he made up in the groſs of eſteem; being by that time the onely perſon that the people would employ, and one of the three the Court would favour; being excellent ( becauſe induſtrious ) in a leading and an untrodden caſe. Phyſicians, they ſay, are beſt like Beer when ſtale, and Lawyers like Bread when young: This perſon was eminent in all the periods of his Age; each whereof he filled with its juſt and becoming accompliſhment. In that Lord of *Northumberland's* caſe that piſtolled himſelf, none more ſubtle to argue his guilt; in the *Queen of Scots*, none more ſtrict to keep to the law; for when the *Queen of Scots* would explain ſomething in the *Queens* commiſſion, he answered, *we are ſubjects, and not come hither to explain the Queens words, but to perform them.* None more diſcreet and grave, prefacing that great buſineſs with theſe words, *The high and mighty Queen our Sovereign, that ſhe might not be wanting to her God, her ſelf, her people, or your honour, ſent us hither, not ſo much to try, as to clear you; not ſo much to urge her Accuſations, as to hear your Defence.* And none more ſtedfaſt to his Sovereign: for when that unfortunate Lady proteſted her unaccountableneſs to the *Engliſh* laws, he replied, *This proteſtation is vain: for whoſoever, of what place ſoever, offendeth againſt the Laws of England in England, was ſubject to the ſame Laws, and might be examined and tryed.* The Sentence againſt her he declared had three things in it: 1. Juſtice, 2. Security, 3. Neceſſity: but added preſently, *And that wiſely too it ſhould no way prejudice King James his Title or Honour.*



Q. Eliz.  


*Observations on the Life of Sir Richard Bingham.*

**S**Ir Richard Bingham, born in *Kinghamston* in *Dorsetshire*, of a very ancient Family, in his youth travelled most parts of the world: he was at the Siege of *St. Quintin* in *France*; the sacking of *Leith* in *Scotland*; served in *Candia* under the *Venetians* against the *Turk*; then returned into the *Netherlands*, being strong and fortunate in all his undertakings. After all this, he went into *Ireland*, and was there President of *Connanght*, and conquered the great and dangerous Rebel *O Rork*.

A Gentleman this, rather skillful in many mysteries than thriving in any: of a fancy too high and wild, too desultory and over-voluble: yet Imagination hath often produced Realities, and phancy done the work of Judgement; as in this Gentleman, whose daringness went for conduct, whose spirit passed for resolution, whose activity had the honour of skill, and whose success the glory of prudence. It's a wonder of parts that *caesar* could write, read, dictate, and discourse at the same time; it's a miracle of fancy that this man should command a Regiment in the *Netherlands*, preside in a province of *Ireland*, manage a Trade in *Russia*, carry on a plantation in *America*, and husband a manor in *England*. But as the King of *Spain* is painted with a handful of sand running out between his fingers, in reference to his many, but unprofitable Dominions; so might this grand Projector be described, who

who attempted so many things, that he did nothing. Yet one thing his *Quick-silver* soul was good for, and that is Stratagems: Now you should have him surprize a Town by Butter-women, another time by Workmen; anon he would face the enemy, and draw them with success upon a train of Gunpowder he would lay for them, and Iron Pricksteds he would sow for them: He would steal their hands and scales, buy the very keys of their closets; and so amuse them with letters, and distract them with Jealousies, while in the mean time the vigilant man alarmed them every hour of the day, and each watch of the night; so that he tamed those wild Irish as we do some wild beasts, by watching.

*Observations on the Life of Roger Ashcam.*

From his cradle a Royal servant, and to his grave a favourite: a good man, (saith *Cambden*) and if his ambition had been but as great as the occasion was fair, a great one too. Born he was honestly in *Yorkshire*, and bred handsomely at *Cambridge*; and both born and bred for that age which was to refine Greek and Latin to a *politeness*, and raise them to an *Eloquence*. He was the University-Orator at *Cambridge*, and at Court; there using his eloquence, here his interest against that sacrilege, that having *Dined* on the church, as he writ, came to *Sup* on the Universities. Thence he was rather removed than advanced, more suitably

*Q. Eliz.* bly to his merit than his expectation, to be Queen Elizabeths Schoolmaster for the Latin tongue in her Sisters time, and her Secretary for the same in her own.

What he got by his ingenuity, he lost by his gaming, viz. at *Dice* and *Cock-fighting*, dying rich onely in those two books, his estate and monument, whereof the one is intituled *Toxophilus*, and the other *Scholarcha*. He and his dear *Smith* were the happiest men in the nation; their large and ingenious souls clasping together in an entire friendship, made up of kindness and integrity, apart from the little fears, the jealousies, the suspicions that vex mankind. What learned letters! what loving expostulations! what discreet intimations! what faithful advertisements! what indifferent community! what common cares and pities! how they loved! how they chid! and how they loved again! how plain! how malleable! how sweet! What little observations upon one anothers inadvertencies, neglects or miscarriages! how they improved their *Mollia tempora* to the great end of friendship, information and advice! How secretly they vented their thoughts into each others breasts, and there looked upon them by reflexion, and the advantage of a second consideration! And it's a happiness to have another self to shew our selves to before we appear to the world, that all men wish, and the good men onely enjoy. An honest man this, that abhorred all artifice and cunning, and hated all concealments and pretensions, which he had sagicity enough to discover and look through, but a spirit too generous to practise it; none being more able for, yet none more averse to that circ-locution

location and contrivance wherewith some men shadow their main drift and purpose. Speech was made to open man to man, and not to hide him; to promote Commerce, and not betray it.

**H**ow happy is he born and taught  
That serveth not anothers will,  
whose Armour is his honest thought,  
And simple truth his utmost skill?

whose passions not his Masters are,  
whose soul is still prepar'd for death;  
Untide unto the world by care  
Of Publick fame, or private breath.

Who envies none that chance doth raise.  
Nor vice hath ever understood;  
How deepest wounds are given by praise;  
Nor Rules of State, but Rules of Good.

who hath his life from rumours freed,  
whose conscience is his strong retreat:  
whose state can neither flatterers feed,  
Nor ruine make oppressors great.

who God doth late and early pray,  
More of his grace, than gifts to lend;  
And entertains the harmles day  
with a religious book or friend.

This man is freed from servile bands  
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall:  
Lord of himself, though not of lands;  
And having nothing, yet hath all.

*observations on the Life of Sir John Packington.*

**S**Ir *John Packington* was a person of no mean Family, and of form and feature no way despicable : for he was a brave Gentleman, and a very fine courtier; and for the time which he stayed there, was very high in the Queens grace : but he came in, and went out, and through disaffiduity lost the advantage of her favour; and death drawing a vail over him, utterly deprived him of recovery. Had he brought less to the Court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought : for he had a time for it, but he was an ill husband of opportunity. His handsome features took the most, and his neat parts the wisest at Court. He could smile Ladies to his service, and argue States-men to his designe with equal ease. His reason was *powerful*, his beauty *more*. Never was a brave soul more bravely seated : Nature bestowed great parts on him, education polished him to an admirable frame of prudence and vertue. Queen *Elizabeth* called him *Her Temperance*, and *Leicester* *His Modesty*. It is a question to this day, whether his resolution took the Souldiers, his prudence the Politicians, his compliance the Favourites, his complaisance the Courtiers, his piety the Clergy, his integrity and condescension the People, or his knowledge the learned, *most* ? This new Court-star was a nine-days wonder, engaging all eyes until it set satisfied with its own glory. He came

same to Court, he said, as *Solomon* did, to see its vanity; and retired as he did, to repent it. It was he who said first what Bishop *Sanderson* urged afterwards, *That a sound Faith was the best Divinity, a good Conscience the best Law, and Temperance the best Physick.* Sir *John Packington* in Queen *Elizabeth's* time was vertuous and modest, and Sir *John Packington* in King *Charles* his time loyal and valiant; the one did well, the other suffered so: *Greenham* was his Favourite, *Hammon* his; the one had a competant estate, and was contented; the other hath a large one, and is noble: this suppresseth Factions in the kingdome, the other composed them in the Court, and was called by Courtiers *Moderation.* *Westmerland* tempted his fidelity, and *Norfolk* his steadfastness: but he died in his bed an honest and an happy man, while one of them goes off tainted on the Scrffold, and the other dies a begger in *Flanders.*

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*Observations on the Lives of the Norrises and Knowles.*

**M**Y Lord *Norris* had by his Lady an ample Issue, which the Queen highly respected: for he had six sons, all martial brave men; of haughty courage, and of great experience in the conduct of military affairs. Greater was not the Faction between *Leicester* and *Snffex* at court, than that between the *Knowles* and the *Norrises* in the Country: both Families of *Oxfordshire*; the one resolute

*Q. Eliz.* resolute at *Greys*, the other valiant at *Rycote*: the former got great estates at home, the latter attained to great honour abroad. The *Knowles* were beloved by the Queen for their own sakes, the *Norris*es for theirs and her own sake, the *Knowles* were of the same blood with her Majesty, the *Norris*es spent theirs for her.

1. My Lord *Norris* died at Court an honest man.

2. Sir *Francis* at *Bulloign* a good Souldier.

3. Sir *william* at *Berwick* a brave Governour.

4. Sir *Thomas* at *Munster* a wise President.

5. Sir *Maximilian* at *Bre-taign* an expert Engineer.

6. *Maximilian* at *Groen* a renowned Heroe.

7. Sir *John* was a most accomplished General, no less eminent for his safe retreats, than for his resolute onsets. *France* hath recorded this testimony of him, That he brought on his men sowlarily, as one that could bring them off: and *England* this, That he brought them off so resolutely, as one that durst bring them on. His fortune often overthrew his enemy, and his wisdom oftner saved his friends: His conduct was famous, and

As the first eminent *Norris* suffered for *Anne Bullen*, the Queen's Mother: so the first eminent *Knowles* suffered with Protestantism her Religion. *Norris* could not rise though he deserved his honour, because of *Leicester* that favoured his Brother, *Knowles* and *Essex* that envied him; neither could *Knowles* advance because of *Sussex* that feared and *Cecil* that suspected him. The *Knowles* were deserving, but modest; for his

his Discipline *exact* : His Actions are Presidents , and his Orders Laws of War to this day. He was bred under *Castilion* , and out-did him. *Ireland* was always possessed , but never conquered till *Norris* came, who could lie on the coldest earth , swim the deepest Rivers , force the straightest Passes , find out the most secret corners, and tread the softest Bog ; who could endure any thing but an affront, and a Superiour : the first whereof , upon a repulse at Court, saddened his heart ; as the second , upon another Deputies being sent over him, broke it. Unsuccessful he was with *Don Antonio* in *Spain* , because he understood not the Country. In the Low-Countries he gained experience first , and then victory : in *Ireland* he had *Connaught* for his Grave, *Mount-Norris* his Monument, and the Letter of *Queen Elizabeth* to his Mother his Epitaph.

voured , but humble ; *Q. Eliz.* powerful, but quiet ; rather firm at Court, than high ; allied to the Queen, and faithful to the Crown. *Queen Elizabeth* advanced *Sir Francis* to the Vicechamberlainship, treasurership of the household, Captainship of the Guard , and the order of the Garter, because she said, *He was an honest man* ; and *King James*, and *King Charles* raised his Son *Sir William* to the Earldome of *Bambury*, because he was a serviceable man. Honestly faithful was that family to their Mistress that was, and providently so were they to their Master that should be. Handsome men they were when attending at Court , and valiant when called to the Camp.



## Norris.

## Knowles.

1. The *Norris*es are employed in Embassies of War, wherein they were active.

2. My Lord *Norris* his resolution was very becoming in the demand of *Calice*.

3. The Irish Conspirator *Thoumond* opened a Plot against the Government in *Ireland* to the Agent *Norris*.

1. The *Knowles* are abroad in religious Negotiations, for which they had been Confessors, Sir *Francis* in *France*, and Sir *Henry* in *Germany*.

2. *Francis Knowles* his meekness was suitable to his persuasions for Religion :

3. And the Scots Schismatick *Humes* discovered a designe against the Church in *England* to the Ambassador *Knowles*.

In 88,

My Lord *Hunsdon* guarded the Queens person with 34000 foot, and 2000 horse; the Earl of *Leicester* commanded the Midland Army of 22000 foot, and 1000 horse: Sir *Roger Williams* and Sir *Richard Bingham* were in the head of 20000 in the *Thames* mouth, and Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Knowles* with other Assistants sate in the Council of War to overlook all. Sir *John* advised three things: 1. The Guarding of the Havens, 2. The Training of the Militia, and the preparing of them to be at an hours warning upon a signal given, which was then the firing of a Beacon. 3. That if the enemy did land, the Country should be laid waste before him,

*Q. Eliz.*  
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him, the Train-bands alarming him day and night: Sir Francis added, 1. What shires and what numbers should assist each Coast, how the men should be armed, how commanded, and in what order they should fight. 2. That the Papists should not be massacred, as some would have it, but secured. 3. That the Deputy of *Ireland* should be instructed. 4. That the King of *Scots* should be engaged. 5. That Agents should be sent to the *Netherlands* and to *France*. And, 6. That the Queen should encourage the people with her own presence. Sir John Norris died when he saw beyond others expectation and his own merit, the Lord Burge made Lord-Deputy, and himself but President of *Munster*; his great minde sinking under one affront from his Sovereign, which had born up against all the assaults of her enemies; leaving this honour behinde him, That he laid the best grounds of military practice in *England*. But who can stand before Envy?

Q Eliz.

A further Character of Sir John Norris  
from Queen Elizabeths Letter to his  
Mother.

— My own Crow.

**H**Arm not your self for bootles help, but shew  
a good example to comfort your dolorous  
yoak-fellow. Although we have deferred long  
to represent to you our griev'd thoughts, because  
we liked full ill to yeild you the first reflexion of  
mis-fortune, whom we have always rather sought  
to cherish and comfort; yet knowing now, that  
Necessity must bring it to your ear, and Nature  
consequently must move both grief and passion  
in your heart; We resolved no longer to  
smother, neither our care for your sorrow, or  
the sympathy of our grief for your loss. Wherein  
if it be true, That Society in sorrow works dimi-  
nution, We do assure you by this true Messenger  
of our minde, that Nature can have stirred no  
more dolorous affection in you as a Mother for a  
dear Son, than Gratefulness and memory of his  
Service past hath wrought in us his Sovereign ap-  
prehension of our misse for so worthy a Servant.  
But now that Natures common work is done, and  
he that was born to die hath paid his Tribute, let  
that Christian discretion stay the flux of your  
immod-

*immoderate grieving, which hath instructed you both for example and knowledge, that nothing in this kinde hath happened but by Gods divine providence. And let these Lines from your loving gracious Sovereign serve to assure you, that there shall ever appear the lively Character of our Estimation of him that was, in our gracious care of you and yours that are left, in valuing rightly all their faithful and honest Endeavours. More at this time we will not write of this unpleasant subject, but have dispatched this Gentleman to visit both your Lord and you, and to condole with you in the true sense of your love; and to pray that the world may see what time cureth in a weak minde, that Discretion and Moderation helpeth in you in this accident, where there is so just cause to demonstrate true Patience and Moderation.*

Your Gracious and Loving  
Sovereign,

E. R.

*Observa-*

*Observations on the Life of Secretary Davison*

**T**HAT Meteor of the Court ! raised onely in an  
 an excess of heat and vapours ; to fall in a  
 clearer day : for having good parts to act,  
 an easie nature to comply, and a good disposition to  
 be imposed on, he was raised to play others parts  
 rather then his own, in those intricate and dark  
 times, when fools were put to execute what wise  
 men advised ; and the world saw but the plain side  
 of the great watch of State, within which all the  
 springs were inclosed and hid.

That he was but of a private capacity, and so safe-  
 ly to be raised, as one that would neither outshine  
 nor outdare his Patron, (*Machiavil* hath a Rule,  
 (*Disc. 1. 3. c. 2.*) That it is a very great part of  
 wisdom sometimes to seem a fool, and so lie out  
 of the reach of *Observation* and *Jealousie*) appears  
 from his Negotiations, that were either payment  
 of money in the *Netherlands*, a Merchants business;  
 or taking security of the Merchants in *France*, a  
 Scriveners part; or pacifying the tumult in *Hol-  
 land*, the task of a Ba gomaster. Beale the Clerk  
 of the Council and he were joynd in Commission,  
 always to deal with the Scots ; the one the austereft,  
 and the other the sweetest man living. When the  
 first frightened those rude people with expostulations,  
 the second got into them with insinuations. A hard  
 and a soft, a Hammer and a Cushion, breaks a Flint  
 Fear and Love rule the world. His Grand Case,

as that great Historian layeth it, is briefly this; Ma-  
ny Protestants thought themselves in danger while  
the Queen of Scots was alive; many Papists thought  
themselves undone while she was imprisoned: these  
last pressher to some dangerous undertakings; of  
the first, some were for securing, others for transporting,  
and a third party for poysoning her: to which  
purpose many Overtures were made, though yet  
none durst undertake it that had either estate or honour  
to lose; being so wise as not to understand  
what was meant by the strange Letters that were  
sent, else they might have fallen into this Gentlemans  
fortune; who unadvisedly venturing between the  
honour and safety of his Sovereign, was ground to  
nothing betwixt the fear of one party, and the  
shame of the other.

But this mild, but stout because honest man, was  
not so weak in the perpetration of this fault, as he  
was wise in his Apology for it, saying, He would  
not confess a guilt, and betray his integrity; nor  
yet stand upon a Justification, and forget his Duty.  
He would neither contest with his Sovereign, nor  
disparage himself; but clear himself as an honest  
man, and submit as a thankful servant, and a good  
subject.

**D***azzled thus with height of place,  
Whilst our hopes our wits beguile,  
No man marks the narrow space  
Twixt a prison and a smile.*

*Then, since Fortunes favours fade,  
You, that in her arms do sleep,*

*Q. Eliz. Learn to swim, and not to wade;  
For, the hearts of Kings are deep.*

*But, if Greatness be so blind  
As to trust in Towers of Air,  
Let it be with Goodness lin'd,  
That at least the fall be fair.*

*Then though darkned, you shall say,  
When friends fail, and Princes frown,  
Vertue is the roughest way,  
But proves at right a Bed of Down.*

*Observations on the Lives of Sir Humphrey Gilbert  
and Sir Jeffrey Fenton.*

**S**Harp and lively-spirited men, skilful in War, and prudent in Peace: of a restless and a publick Spirit, well skilled in the Trade of *England*, better in the Wealth of *America*; in the North-part whereof, which we call *New-found Land*, whither they had sayled a little before with five Ships, having sold their Patrimony in hope to plant a *Colony* there, they undid themselves: for after they had by the voice of a common Cryer proclaimed that Country to belong to the English Jurisdiction, and had assigned Land to each of their Company, they were distressed by Shipwracks, and want of necessary provision, and constrained to give over their Enterprize; learning too late, and teach-

teaching others, That it is matter of greater difficulty to transport Colonies into far Countries upon private mens wealth, than they and others in a creditous and sanguine fit imagine : and this, *Quod si esse velis, nihilque malis.*

*Q. Eliz.*

*Observations on the Life of Doctor Walter Haddon.*


**W**alter Haddon was born of a Knightly Family in *Buckinghamshire*, bred at *Eaton*, afterwards Fellow in Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, where he proceeded Doctor of Law, and was the Kings Professor in that Faculty, chosen Vice-Chancellour of the University 1550. soon after he was made President of *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*, which place he waved in the reign of *Queen Mary*, and sheltered himself in obscurity. *Queen Elizabeth* made him one of the Masters of her Requests, and employed him in several Embassies beyond the Seas. Her Majesty being demanded whether she preferred him or *Buchanan* for learning, wittily and warily returned,

*Buchannum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini postpono.*

S. Memoriz.

*Gualtero Haddono Equesfri loco nato juris Consulto Oratori, Poeta celeberrimo, Græcæ Latinæq; Eloquensia sui temporis facile principi sapientia & sanctitate*  
R r 2 *visa,*



*Q. Eliz*  *vita, in id erecto ut Regine Elizabetha à supplicum libellis Magister esset, destinareturq; majoribus, nisi facto immaturius cessisset: Interim in omni gradu viro longe Eminentissimo, Conjugi sui optimo meritisq; Anna Suttona, uxor ejus secunda flens morrens desiderii sui signum posuit. Obiit anno Salut. hum. 1572. Aetatis 56.*

This his fair Monument is extant in the Wall, at the upper end of the Chancel of Christ-Church in London, where so many ancient Inscriptions have been barbarously defaced. He and Dr. Wotton settled Trade between us and the *Netherlands*, and removed the mart to *Emdden*: and both were famous for their reservedness in the case of succession, which they kept locked in their own breasts; so always resolved to do, (notwithstanding *Leicesters* Sollicitations of them to a Declaration for the Queen of Scots now his mistress, and hereafter in the Queen of *Englands* designe to be his Wife) unless (as they alledged) their *Mistress* commanded their Opinion; who certainly never heard any more unwillingly than the controversie about the Title of succession: and both as famous for their dissuasion against the making of the *Netherlands* a Free-State; urging that of *Machiavel*, That people accustomed to live under a Prince, if by any accident they become free, are like beasts let loose; and have much ado to maintain either their Government or their Liberty.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Russell.

**H**Is very Name brought *Tyrone* upon his knees to him, and *Iniskillyn* to a surrendry. He was for detaining *Tyrone*, notwithstanding his letters of Protection: the Council was for dismissing him, either out of favour to him, or out of their reverence to their former promise; as much to the danger of *Ireland*, as the displeasure of the Queen. Pretending an Hunting-match, he had almost taken *Feagh Mac Hugh*, or shut him up; and under the disguise of a progress, he shut up all the Passages and Avenues of *Tyrone*. Agiles the *Cretan* King would say, *That he that would govern many, must fight with many*: Our Deputy found that great honour had its great difficulties; yet was he so constant and resolute, that with *Marcellus* he would say, *That as there are many things a good Governour ought not to attempt; so ought he not to desist, or give over an Enterprize once begun and taken in hand*. Therefore his Character is One daring in his person, close to his purpose, firm to his dependencies, of a deep and large soul; who looked upon the chargeable War in *Ireland* as an equal remedy against a worse in *England*, to the letting of blood in one part, against the effusion of it in another; and advised the bestowing of Church-lands among the Nobility of both Perswasions in *Ireland* as in *England*, who would then hold their Religion with their Land, in Capite, and stick to the Queen

*Q. Eliz.* as the great support of both, against all pretenders, whom then most would vigorously oppose, and all would fairly leave.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Roper.*

**S**ir Thomas Roper, servant to Queen Elizabeth, was born in Friday-street in London; whose Grandfather was a younger son of the house of Heanour in Derbyshire. He going over into the Low Countries, became Page to Sir John Norrice, and was Captain of a Foot-company at sixteen years of Age. What afterwards his Martial Performances were, will appear by the following lines transcribed out of the Originall of his Patent.

Whereas Thomas Roper Knight, one of our Privy-Councillours of the Kingdome of Ireland, long since hath been known unto us famous, with the splendour of his warlike Vertue; as who by the many Atchievements valiantly performed by him in the late War of this Kingdome, hath gained the eminent Repute both of a stout Souldier, and a discreet Commander; whose Valour chiefly appeared in his Retreat near *le Boyle* in our Province of *Connaght*, where with very few horse he undauntedly charged great troops of the horse of the Enemy, who in a hostile manner foraged the very bowels of the Kingdome; and by his wisdom made such a singular retreat, that he not onely saved himself and his men,

but

but also delivered the whole Army from great danger, and slew very many of his Enemies. Who also when our Province of *Ulster* was all on fire with war, being one out of many, was for the tryed Resolution of his mind, chosen by the Right honourable the Earl of *Essex*, then General of the Army, to undertake a Duel with *Makal*, and declined not to expose himself to the appointed Duel. And also when the aforesaid *Thomas Roper* in the late war in the Kingdome of *France* at *Brest*, by exposing himself to the greatest perils, and shedding of his own blood, demonstrated his Courage to be unconquerable. Who also in the Voyage to *Portugal*, behaved himself valiantly and honourably: as also at *Bergen* in the *Netherlands*, when it was besieged by the *Spaniards*, approved himself a young man of invincible Valour in the defence thereof. Who also in the day wher<sup>in</sup> *Kinsale* was assaulted, was placed in the first Rank, nearest of all unto the Town; and with no less Success than Valour, to the great safety of the whole Army, beat back, and put to flight the *Spaniards*, who in the same day made several Sallies out of the Town.

Know therefore, that we, in intuition of the Premises, have appointed the aforesaid *Thomas Roper* Knight, &c.

*Then followeth his patent, wherein King Charles the first, in the third of his Reign, created him Baron of Bauntree, and Viscount Balinglask in Ireland.*

*He was a principal means to break the hearts of the Irish Rebels: for wher<sup>as</sup> formerly the English were loated with their own Cloaths, so*

Q. Eliz

that their Clipping into Bogs did make them, and the clopping of their breeches did keep them prisoners therein; he first, being then a Commander, put himself into Irish Trouzes, and was imitated first by all his Officers, then Souldiers; so that thus habited, they made the more effectual execution on their enemies. He died at Ropers Rest, anno Dom. 164. and was buried with Anne his wife ( Daughter to Sir Henry Harrington ) in St. Johns Church in Dublin.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Umpton.*

**S**ir Henry Umpton was born at Wadley in Barkshire He was son to Sir Edward Umpton, by Anne (the Relict of John Dudley Earl of Warwick, and) the eldest Daughter of Edward Seymour Duke of Somerset. He was employed by Queen Elizabeth Ambassador into France; where he so behaved himself right stoutly in her behalf, as may appear by this particular. In the month of March, anno 1592, being sensible of some injury offered by the Duke of Guise to the Queen of England, he sent him this ensuing Challenge.

For as much as lately in the Lodging of my Lord Du Mayne, and in publick elsewhere, impudently, indiscreetly, and over-boldly you spoke badly of my Sovereign, whose sacred person here in this Country I represent: To maintain both by word and weapon  
her

her honour, (which never was called in question among people of honesty and vertue) I say, you have wickedly lyed in speaking so basely of my Sovereign; and you shall do nothing else but lye, whensoever you shall dare to tax her honour: Moreover then her sacred person (being one of the most compleet and vertuous Princess that lives in this world) ought not to be evil spoken of the tongue of such a perfidious Traytor to her law and Country as you are. And hereupon I do defie you, and challenge your person to mine, with such manner of Arms as you shall like or chuse, be it either on horse-back or on foot. Nor would I have you to think any inequality of person between us, I being issued of as great a Race and Noble house (every way) as your self. So assigning me an indifferent place, I will there maintain my words, and the lye which I gave you, and which you should not endure if you have any courage at all in you. If you consent not to meet me hereupon, I will hold you, and cause you to be generally held one of the arrantest Cowards, and most slanderous Slave that lives in all France. I expect your answer.

*I find not what Answer was returned. This Sir Henry dying in the French Kings Camp before Lofear, had his Corpse brought over to London, and carried in a Coach to Wadley, thence to Farington, where he was buried in the Church on Tuesday the eighth of July 1596. He had allowed him a Barons Hearse, because he died Ambassadour Leiger.*

## Observations on the Life of the Earl of Essex.

a<sup>d</sup> Leicester  
See Sir H.  
Wottons  
Observati-  
ons.

IT is observed, that the Earl of *Essex* had his Introduction to favour by the Lord of *Leicester*, who had married his Mother; a tie of Affinity. This young Lord was a most goodly person, in whom was a kind of Urbanity, or innate Courtesie, which both won the Queen, and too much took upon the people, to gaze upon the new-adopted son of her favour. He was noted even of those that truly loved and honoured him, for too bold an Ingrosser both of Fame and Favour. Having upon occasion left the Court for a while, he gave a fair opportunity for his foes to undermine him; so that he lived a mixture between Prosperity and Adversity: once very great in her favour, which was afterwards lost, for want of consideration and cunningness. He was raised by *Leicester* to poize *Rawley*, as *Rawley* was by *Sussex* to check *Leicester*. Indeed pity first opened the door to him for his Fathers sake that died in *Ireland*, Alliance led him in for his Father-in-laws sake <sup>a</sup> that reigned at Court. His own Royal blood welcomed him for his Mother *Knowles*, that was kin to her Majesty; his good parts, his tall and comely personage, his sweet disposition, and incomparable nature; his noble Ancestors, his fair, though impaired fortune, brought him first to favour, and then to dalliance.

He was a Master-piece of Court and Camp; his Beauty

Beauty ennamelling his Valour, and his Valour being a foile to his Beauty ; both drawing those noble respects of love and honour ; both *awing*, both *endearing*. It was his Nobleness that he distrusted none, it was his Weakness that he trusted all, whereby he suffered more from those that should have been his friends, than from them who were his enemies. Good Man ! his ruine was, that he measured other breasts by his own ; and that he thought mankind was as innocent as his own person. His merit gained applause, and his Parasites swelled it to Popularity ; and the last enjealousied that majesty which the first had obliged. His youthful and rash Sallies abroad, gave too much opportunity to his enemies whispers, and too visible occasions for her Majesties suspicion, that he was either weak, and so not to be favoured, or dangerous, and so to be suppressed. Absence makes Princes forget those they love, and mistrust those they fear. Exact Correspondence is the sinew of private and of publick friendship. So great a master he thought himself of his Sovereigns affection, that he must needs be master of himself, and steal to *France* without leave, where, said the Queen, he might have been knocked on the head as *Sidney* was. His Journey to *France* was not more rash, than his Voyage to *Cales* was renowned ; yet the one gave the Envious arguments of his disobedience, and the other of his Disloyalty ; his enemies suggesting, that in the first he contemned his mistress, and that in the second he had a designe upon her.

His Action at *Cales* was applauded ; but his Triumphs were too solemn, his Panegyrics too high, his Train too Princely, his Honours and Knight-  
hood



*Q. Eliz.*

*b He was  
one of them  
whose Na-  
tures dis-  
close but  
slowly.  
c Under  
Dr. Whit-  
gift.*

hoods too cheap, his Popularity too much affected, and his ear more open to hear what he *had done*, than what *he was*. If his Manhood had been as slow as his *b* Youth, he had been moderate: if his Life had answered his *c* education, he had been patient: if his Eye had been as open upon his enemies, as his Ear to his friends, he had been cautious; if he had been as happy in his constant converse, as he was obliging in his first address, he had been a Prince: if he had had either less Fortune, or a greater Soul; either less of the Dove, or more of the Serpent, he had bid fair for a Crown; or at least had saved his Head. The people wished him well, but they are unconstant; the Queen loved him, but she is jealous: his followers are numerous, but giddy; affectionate, but ill advice: his enemies are few, but watchful on all occasions: for is he pleased? they swell it to pride and vain imaginations: is he cross'd? they improve it to discontent and sedition. An Army must be sent against *Tyrone*; he is not willing that any other should lead it, and unwilling to lead it himself; yet over he goeth fatally: for the service was knotty, and his disposition smooth; his power was large, but that with as large a mind entangled him: his Army was great, but that meeting with a great design, precipitated him: his Title to the Crown was defended, but that lost him his head. He had exact advices from friends, especially from Sir *Francis Bacon*; and great directions from his Prince, but he followed his own: when he should have fought the main body of his enemy, he skirmisheth their Forlorns; when he should have returned with a noble Conquest, he stole home after a suspicious Treaty: the Royal Checks that should

should have instructed, incenseth him ; and what was designed a chastisement, he turns to a ruine Q El's.  
Beloved he is of the people, but that aggravateth his rashness ; flattered by Courtiers, but that swelleth his humour: followed he is by the discontented of Church and State, but that increaseth the jealousy : ill advised he is by heady *Cuffe* and *Meyriche*, and that hasteneth his fall : humbled he is by the advancement of his Rivals, and that enrageth him: easie and open was his Nature ; close, active, and vigilant his Enemies.

Valiant he was, but therefore feared ; Noble and obliging to all hopeful men, and therefore watched. A great Party he had, but they had no Head : A Minion he was at once to Prince and People, but he had no Balance. A man of great performances, but no design : One that had too much Religion and Fidelity to be a Traytor, too good a Nature to be safe, too much presumption on affections when absent to be steady. He presumed too much on his own strength, or his friends wisdom, when he came out of *Ireland* ; he was too much wrought upon by his enemies when he came to *London*, which had too much to lose to hazard a Rebellion ; and went not to *Wales*, where his fathers and his own goodness had engaged 1000 Lives and Fortunes. In a word, *Leicester's* reservedness, *Bacon's* stayedness, *Sir Robert Cecil's* humility, *Sir Fulke Grevill's* modesty, added to his parts and presence, his valour and liberality, his good nature and large heart : his favour with his Prince, and popularity with the subjects, had raised him to a capacity with the great Earl of *Warwick*, to set the English Crown on what head he pleased ;  
although

*Q. Eliz.* although it was the universal opinion, he had no other ambition than to set it on King *James* his head, which it belonged to, with his own hands : his designe was well principled , but not well moulded ; he had many hands, but no able heads : his correspondence was universal, but not firm and exact ; his Nature was active, but impatient ; his Interest was popular , not thoroughly understood ; he neither comprehending the Inclinations of the Kingdome in gross in Parliament, nor in the retayl in its particular divisions. The Catholicks might have been his, but he was too good-natured to cajole them : the State was well inclined, but effeminate after so long prosperity. Hope of pardon sent him to his grave with more silence than was expected from him, and the peoples regret ; and with more sorrow than became a Queen or her Kingdomes safety. His party was too needy, and their counsels too violent. Ambition and good Nature are incompatible : Others counsels are never so faithful as our own. When we hear others advice, let our reason judge of it : when great, be wary ; when successful, reserved ; when rising, stayed ; especially in that Age when men were poysoned with Oyl, and undone with Honey : when active, modest ; when checked, yeilding ; when dandled, distrustful ; when flattered, fearful ; when great, not absolute, (as my Lord would have been in point of favour against my Lord *Mountjoy*, and valour against my Lord *Norris*.) Serve not your Followers , but employ them : Let others service administer to your designe, not your power to theirs : Let great Actions encourage greater ; and let honour be your merit, and not your expectation. Some have been  
 busie

busie in the enquiry of what reason the Virgin-Queen had for her kindness to *Leicester* and this man, (if there be a reason in any, much less in Royal love, save the affection its self that bears it) true, he had Vertue and suffering enough at his first arrival to engage the kindness and the pity of a worse Princess: yet some then discoursed of a Conjunction of their Stars that made way for that of their minds. Certainly (saith *Cambden*) the inclination of Princes to some persons, and their disfavour towards others, may seem fatal, and guided by higher Powers.

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*A Parallel between the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Buckingham, by H. W.*

**T**He beginning of the Earl of *Essex* I must attribute wholly, or in great part to my Lord of *Leicester*: but yet as an Introducer or supporter, not as a Teacher: for as I go along, it will easily appear, that he neither lived nor died by his Discipline. Always certain it is, that he drew him first into the fatal Circle from a kinde of resolved privateness at his house at *Lampste*, in *South-wales*; where, after the Academical life, he had taken such a taste of the Rural, (as I have heard him say) and not upon any flashes or fumes of Melancholy, or traverses of discontent, but in a serene and quiet mood, that he could well have bent his mind to a retired course. About which time, the said Earl  
of

*Q Eliz.* of *Leicester* bewrayed a meaning to plant him in the Queens favour : which was diversly interpreted by such as thought that great Artizan of Court to do nothing by chance, nor much by affection. Some therefore were of opinion, that feeling more and more in himself the weight of time, and being almost tired (if there be a satiety in power) with that assiduous attendance, and intensive circumspection which a long-indulgent fortune did require, he was grown not unwilling, for his own ease, to bestow handsomely upon another some part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy.

Others conceived rather, that having before for the same ends brought in, or let in *Sir Walter Raleigh*, and having found him such an Apprentice as knew well enough how to set up for himself, he now meant to allie him with this young Earl, who had yet taken no strong impressions. For though the said *Sir Walter Raleigh* was a little before this, whereof I now speak by occasion, much fallen from his former splendour in Court : yet he still continued in some lustre of a favoured man, like billows that sink by degrees, even when the wind is down that first stirred them.

Thus runs the discourse of that time at pleasure ; yet I am not ignorant that there was some good while a very stiff averstation in my Lord of *Essex* from applying himself to the Earl of *Leicester*, for what secret conceit I know not ; but howsoever, that humour was mollified by time, and by his mother ; and to the Court he came under his Lord.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had another kinde of Germination ; and surely had he been a plant, he would have been reckoned amongst the *Sponte Na-*

*scents*

*Q. Eliz.*  


*scences*: for he sprung without any help by a kind of congenial compoſure (as we may term it) to the likenefs of our late Sovereign and maſter of ever bleſſed memory: who taking him into his regard, taught him more and more to pleaſe himſelf; and moulded him (as it were) Platonically to his own *Idea*; delighting firſt in the choice of the Materials, becauſe he found him ſuſceptible of good form; and afterward by degrees, as great Architects uſe to do, in the workmanſhip of his Regal hand: nor ſtaying here, after he had hardened and poliſhed him about ten years in the School of obſervance, (for ſo a Court is) and in the furnace of tryal about himſelf, (for he was a King could peruſe men as well as Books) he made him the associate of his Heir apparent, together with the new Lord *Cottington* (as an adjunct of ſingular experience and truſt) in forraign travels, and in a buſineſs of love, and of no equal hazard (if the tendernels of our zeal did not then deceive us) enough (the world muſt confeſs) to kindle affection even betwixt the diſtanteſt conditions; ſo as by the various and inward converſation abroad, (beſides that before and after at home) with the moſt conſtant and beſt-natured Prince, *Bona ſi ſua norint*, as ever *England* enjoyed; this Duke becomes now ſecondly ſeized of favour, as it were by deſcent, (though the condition of that eſtate be no more than a Tenancy at Will, or at moſt for the life of the firſt Lord) and rarely tranſmitted: which I have briefly ſet down, without looking beyond the vail of the Temple, I mean into the ſecret of high inclinations; ſince even Satyrical Poets, (who are otherwiſe of ſo licentious fancy) are in this point modeſt enough to confeſs their ignorance.

Q. Eliz.  


*Nescio quid certe est quod me tibi temperet Astrum.*

And these were both their Springings and Imprimings, as I may call them.

In the profluence or proceedings of their fortunes, I observe likewise not onely much difference between them, but in the Earl not a little from himself. First, all his hopes of advancement had like to be strangled almost in the very Cradle, by throwing himself into the Portugal Voyage without the Queens consent, or so much as her knowledge; whereby he left his Friends and Dependents near six months in desperate suspense what would become of him. And to speak truth, not without good reason: For first, they might well consider, That he was himself not well plumed in favour for such a flight: besides, that now he wanted a Lord of *Leicester* at home (for he was dead the year before) to smooth his absence, and to quench the practises at Court. But above all, it lay open to every mans discourse, that though the bare offence to his Sovereign and Mistress was too great an adventure, yet much more when she might (as in this case) have fairly discharged her displeasure upon her Laws. Notwithstanding, a noble report coming home before him, at his return all was clear, and this excursion was esteemed but a Sally of youth. Nay, he grew every day more and more in her gracious conceit: whether such intermissions as these do sometimes foment affection; or that having committed a fault, he became the more obsequious and plying to redeem it; or that she had not received

received into her Royal Breast any shadows of his popularity.

The e was another time long after, when Sir *Fulke Grevil*, (late Lord *Brooke*) a man in appearance intrinsecal with him, or at the least admitted to his Melancholy hours, either belike espying some weariness in the Queen; or perhaps, with little change of the word, though more in the danger-some marks towards him, and working upon the present matter, (as she was dexterous and close) had almost super-induced into favour the *Earl of Southampton*; which yet being timely discovered, my Lord of *Essex* chose to evaporate his thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common way) to be sung before the Queen, (as it was) by one *Hales*, in whose voyce she took some pleasure; whereof the complot me thinks had as much of the Hermit as of the Poet:

*And if thou shouldst by Her be now forsaken,  
She made thy Heart too strong for to be shaken.*

As if he had been casting one eye back at the least to his former retiredness. But all this likewise quickly vanished, and there was a good while after fair weather over-head. Yet still, I know not how, like a gathering of Clouds, till towards his latter time, when his humours grew tart, as being now in the Lees of favour, it brake forth into certain suddain recesses; sometimes from the Court to *Wanstead*, otherwhiles unto *Greenwich*, often to his own Chamber, Doors shut, Visits forbidden; and which was worse, divers contestations (between) with the Queen her self, (all preambles of ruine)



*Q E liz.* wherewith though now and then he did wring out of her Majesty some petty contentments, (as a man would press sowre Grapes) yet in the mean time was forgotten the counsel of a wife, and then a Prophetical Friend, who told him, that such courses as those were like hot Waters, which help at a pang, but if they be too often used, will spoil the stomach.

On the Dukes part, we have no such abrupt strains and precipices as these, but a fair, fluent and uniform course under both Kings: And surely, as there was in his natural Constitution a marvellous equality, wherof I shall speak more afterwards; so there was an image of it in his Fortune, running (if I may borrow an ancient comparison) as smoothly as a numerous Verse, till it meet with certain Rubs in *Parliament*, wherof I am induced by the very subject which I handle, to say somewhat, so far as shal concern the difference between their times.

**W**Hen my Lord of *Essex* stood in favour, the Parliaments were calm: nay, I find it a true observation, that there was no impeachment of any Nobleman by the Commons from the Reign of King *Henry* the sixth, until the eighteenth of King *James*, nor any intervenient precedent of that nature; not that something or other could be wanting to be said, while men are men: For not to go higher, we are taught easily so much by the very Ballads and Libels of *Leicestrian* time.

But above the aforesaid year, many young ones being chosen into the House of Commons more than had been usual in great Councils, (who though of the weakest wings, are the highest Flyers) there arose

arose a certain unfortunate and unfruitful Spirit in some places; not sowing, but picking at every stone in the field, rather than tending to the general harvest. And thus far the consideration of the Nature of the Time hath transported me, and the occasion of the subject.

Now on the other side, I must with the like liberty observe two weighty and watchful Sollicitudes, (as I may call them) which kept the Earl in extrem and continual Caution, like a bow still bent, whereof the Dukes thoughts were absolutely free.

First, he was to wrestle with a Queens declining, or rather with her very setting Age, (as we may term it) which, besides other respects, is commonly even of it self the more umbratious and apprehensive, as for the most part all Horizons are charged with certain vapours towards their evening.

The other was a matter of more Circumstance, standing thus, *viz.*

All Princes, especially those whom God hath not blessed with natural issue, are (by wisdom of State) somewhat shie of their Successors; and to speak with due Reverence, there may be reasonably supposed in Queens Regnant, a little proportion of tenderness that way, more than in Kings. Now there were in Court two names of *Power*, and almost of *Affection*, the *Essexian* and the *Cecilian*, with their adherents, both well enough enjoying the present, and yet both looking to the future; and therefore both holding correspondency with some of the principals in *Scotland*, and had received advertisements and instructions, either from them, or immediately from the King as induciat Heir of this Imperial Crown.

Q. Eliz.

But lest they might detect one another, this was mysteriously carried by several instruments and conducts, and on the *Essexian* side, in truth, with infinite hazard: For Sir *Robert Cecil* who (as Secretary of State) did dispose the publick Addresses, had prompter and safer conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable passage on either part, as the story following shall declare.

The Earl of *Essex* had accommodated Master *Anthony Bacon* in partition of his house, and had assigned him a noble entertainment. This was a Gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head; and through his hand run all the intelligences with *Scotland*: who being of a provident nature, (contrary to his brother the Lord Viscount Saint *Albans*) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could amend his Fortunes under the *Cecilians*, (to whom he was near of alliance, and in blood also) and who had made (as he was not unwilling should be believed) some great proffers to win him away: which once or twice he pressed so far, and with such tokens and signes of apparent discontent to my Lord *Henry Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, (who was of the party, and stood himself in much Umbrage with the Queen) that he flees presently to my Lord of *Essex*, (with whom he was commonly *prima admissio*) by his bed-side in the morning, and tells him, that unless that Gentleman were presently satisfied with some round sum, all would be vented.

This took the Earl at that time ill provided, (as indeed oftentimes his Coffers were low) whereupon he was fain suddenly to give him *Essex*-house;  
wh ch

which the good old Lady *Walsingham* did afterwards disengage out of her own store with 2500 pound; and before, he had distilled 1500 pound at another time by the same skill. So as we rate this one secret, as it was finely carried, at 4000 pounds in present money, besides at the least 1000 pound of annual pension to a private and bed-ridden Gentleman: What would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own business?

There was another accident of the same nature on the *Cecilian* side, much more pleasant, but less chargeable, for it cost nothing but wit. The Queen having for a good while not heard any thing from *Scotland*, and being thirsty of news, it fell out that her Majesty going to take the air towards the heath, (he Court being then at *Greenwich*) and Master Secretary *Cecil* then attending her, a Post came crossing by, and blew his Horn: The Queen out of curiosity asked him from whence the Dispatch came; and being answered, from *Scotland*; she stops her Coach, and calleth for the Packer. The Secretary, though he knew there were some Letters in it from his Correspondents, which to discover, were as so many Serpents; yet made more shew of diligence than of doubt to obey, and asks some that stood by (forsooth in great haste) for a Knife to cut up the Packet, (for otherwise he might perhaps awakened a little apprehension) but in the mean time approaching with the Packet in his hand, at a pretty distance from the Queen, he telleth her it looked and smelt ill-favouredly coming out of a filthy Budget, and that it should be fit first to open and air it, because he knew she was averse from ill Scents.

Q. Eliz



And so being dismissed home, he got leisure by this seasonable shift, to sever what he would not have seen.

These two accidents precisely true, and known to few, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my purpose, to shew how the Earl stood in certain perplexities, wherewith the Dukes days were not distracted. And this hath been the Historical part (as it were) touching the difference between them in the rising and flowing of their fortunes.

I will now consider their several Endowments both of *Person* and *Mind*, and then a little of their *Actions* and *Ends*.

The Earl was a pretty deal the taller, and much the stronger, and of the abler body: but the Duke had the neater limbs, and free delivery; he was also the uprighter, and of the more comely motions: for the Earl did bend a little in the neck, though rather forwards than downwards: and he was so far from being a good Dancer, that he was no graceful Goer. If we touch particulars, the Duke exceeded in the daintiness of his leg and foot, and the Earl in the incomparable fairness and fine shape of his hands; which (though it be but feminine praise) he took from his Father: for the general Air, the Earl had the closer and more reserved Countenance, being by nature somewhat more cogitative, and (which was strange) never more than at meals, when others are least: Insomuch, as he was wont to make his observation of himself, that to solve any knotty business which cumberd his mind,

mind, his ablest hours were when he had checked his *Q. Eliz.* first appetite with two or three morsels, after which he sat usually for a good while silent: yet he would play well and willingly at some games of greatest attention: which shewed, that when he list'd he could license his thoughts.

The Duke on the other side, even in the midst of so many diversions, had continually a very pleasant and vacant face, (as I may well call it) proceeding no doubt from a singular assurance in his temper. And yet I must here give him a rarer *Elogie*, which the malignest eye cannot deny him, That certainly never man in his place and power, did entertain greatness more familiarly, nor whose looks were less tainted with his felicity; wherein I insist the rather, because this in my judgement was one of his greatest *Verues* and *Victories* of himself.

But to proceed: in the attiring and ornament of their bodies, the Duke had a fine and unaffected politeness, and upon occasion costly, as in his *Legations*.

The Earl as he grew more and more attentive to business and matter, so less and less curious of cloathing: insomuch, as I do remember, those about him had a conceit, that possibly sometimes when he went up to the Queen, he might scant know what he had on: for this was his manner: His Chamber being commonly stived with Friends or Suiters of one kinde or other; when he gave his legs, arms, and breast to his ordinary servants to button and dress him with little heed, his head and face to his Barbour, his eyes to his letters, an ears to Petitioners, and many times all at once, then the Gentleman of his Robes throwing a cloak over his shoulders,

*Q. Eliz.* ders, he would make a step into his Closet, and after a short prayer, he was gone: only in his Baths, he was somewhat delicate. For point of diet and luxury, they were both inordinate in their appetites, especially the Earl, who was by nature of so different a taste, that I must tell a rare thing of him (though it be but a homely note) that he would stop in the midst of any physical Potion, and after he had licked his lips, he would drink off the rest; but I am weary of such slight Animadversions.

To come therefore to the inward furniture of their minds, I will thus much declare.

The Earl was of good Erudition, having been placed at study in *Cambridge* very young by the Lord *Burleigh* his Guardian, with affectionate and deliberate care, under the oversight of Doctor *Whitgift*, then master of *Trinity Colledge*, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*; A man (by the way) surely of a most reverend and sacred memory, and (as I may well say) even of the Primitive temper, when the Church in lowliness of temper did flourish in high examples, which I have inserted as a due recordation of his virtues, having been much obliged to him for many favours in my younger time.

About sixteen years of his age (for thither he came at twelve) he took the formality of master of Arts, and kept his publick Acts. And here I must not smother what I have received by constant Information, that his own Father dyed with a very cold conceit of him, some say through the affection to his second son *Walter Devereux*, who was indeed a diamond of the time, and both of an hardy and delicate temper and mixture: But it seemes, this Earl, like certain vegetables, did bud and open slowly;

ly ; Nature sometimes delighting to play an after-game as well as Fortune, which had both their turnes and tides in course.

The Duke was Illiterate , yet had learned at Court, first to sit and question well, and to supply his own defects by the drawing or flowing unto him of the best Instruments of experience and knowledge, from whom he had a sweet and attractive manner, to suck what might be for the publick or his own proper use ; so as the less he was favoured by the Muses, he was the more by the Graces.

To consider them in their pure Naturals, I conceive the Earls Intellectual faculties to have been his stronger part, and in the Duke his Practical.

Yet all know, that he likewise at the first was much under the expectation of his after-proof ; such a sudden influence therein had the Sovereign aspect. For their Abilities of discourse or pen, the Earl was a very acute and sound speaker when he would intend it ; and for his Writings, they are beyond example, especially in his familiar Letters and things of delight at Court, when he would admit his serious habits, as may be yet seen in his Impresses and inventions of entertainment ; and above all, in his darling piece of love, and self-love ; his Style was an elegant perspicuity, rich of phrase, but seldom any bold Metaphors, and so far from Tumour, that it rather wanted a little Elevation.

The Dukes delivery of his mind I conceive not to be so sharpe as solid and grave, not so solid and deep as pertinent, and apposite to the times and occasions.

The Earl I account the more liberal , and the Duke the more magnificent ; for I do not remember



**Q**u<sup>ELIZ</sup>ber that my Lord of *Essex* in all his life-time did build or adorne any house, the Queen perchance spending his time, and himself his meanes, or otherwise inclining to popular ways; for we know the people are apter to applaud house-keepers, than house-raisers. They were both great cherishers of Scholars and Divines; but it seems, the Earl had obtained of himself one singular point, that he could depart his affection between two extremes: for though he bare always a kind of filial reverence towards Dr. *Whitgift*, both before and after he was Archbishop; yet on the other side, he did not a little love and tender Master *Cartwright*, though I think truly, with large distinction between the persons and the Causes, howsoever he was taxed with other ends in respecting that party.

They were both fair-spoken Gentlemen, not prone and eager to detract openly from any man; in this the Earl hath been most falsely blemished in our vulgar Story: only against one man he had sworn all patience, namely *Henry Lord Cobham*, and would call him (*per Excellentiam*) the Sycophant (as if it had been an emblem of his name) even to the Queen herself, though of no small insinuation with her; and one Lady likewise (that I may civilly spare to nominate, for her sex sake) whom he used to terme the Spyder of the Court: yet generally in the sensitive part of their Natures the Earl was the worse Philosopher, being a great Resenter and a weak Dissembler of the least disgrace: And herein likewise, as in the rest, no Good Pupill to my Lord of *Leicester*, who was wont to put all his passions in his pocket.

In the growth of their Fortunes, the Duke was a  
little

little the swifter, and much the greater ; for from a younger brothers mean estate, he rose to the highest degree whereof a Subject was capable either in Title or Trust. Therein I must confess much more comfortable to *Charles Brandon* under *Henry the Eighth*, who was equal to him in both. Q. Eliza

For matter of Donative and addition of substance, I do not believe that the Duke did much exceed him, all considered, under both Kings.

For that which the Earl of *Essex* had received from her Majesty, besides the Fees of his Offices and the disposition of great Summes of money in her Armies, was (about the time of his Arraignment, when faults use to be aggravated with precedent benefits) valued at three hundred thousand pounds sterling in pure gift for his onely use, to the Earl of *Dorset* then Lord Treasurer ; who was a wise man, and a strict Computist, and not ill affected towards him. And yet it is worthy of note in the Margent of both Times, that the one was prosecuted with silence, and the other with murmur ; so undoing a measure is popular judgement.

I cannot here omit between them a great difference in establishing of both their Fortunes and Fames.

For the first, the Duke had a care to introduce into neer place at the Court divers of his confident Servants, and into high places very sound and grave Personages. Whereas, except a Pensioner or two, we can scant name any one man advanced of the Earls breeding, but *Sir Thomas Smith*, having been his Secretary, who yet came never further (though married into a noble house) than to the

Clerk

*Q. Eliz.* Clerk of the Councell, and Register of the Parliament: not that the Earl meant to stand alone like a Substantive (for he was not so ill a *Grammarians* in Court;) but the Truth is, in this point the *Cecilians* kept him back, as very well knowing, that upon every little absence or disaffiduity, he should be subject to take cold at his back.

For the Other, in managing of their Fames, I note between them a direct contrary wisdom; For the Earl proceeded by way of Apology, which he wrote and dispersed with his own hands at large, though till his going to *Ireland* they were but airy objections. But of the Duke this I know, that one having offered for his ease to do him that kinde of Service; He refused it with a pretty kinde of thankful scorn, saying, that he would trust his own good intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his Errours; and that he saw no fruit of Apologies, but the multiplying of discourse: which surely was a well-settled Maxime. And for my own particular (though I am not obnoxious to his memory) in the expression of *Taciturne, Neque injuria, neque beneficia*, saying that he shewed me an ordinary good Countenance: And if I were, yet I would distinguish between Gratitude and Truth. I must bear him this Testimony, that in a Commission laid upon me by Sovereign Command to examine a Lady about a certain filthy accusation grounded upon nothing but a few single names taken up by a Footman in a kennel, and straight baptized, A list of such as the Duke had appointed to be poisoned at home, himself being then in *Spain*; I found it to be the most malicious and frantick surmise, and the most contrary to his nature

ture that I think had ever been brewed from the beginning of the World, howsoever countenanced by a Libellous Pamphlet of a fugitive Physician even in Print; and yet of this would not the Duke suffer any answer to be made on his behalf, so constant he was to his own principles.

In their Military services the Characters of the Earls imployments were these, viz.

His forwardest was that of *Portugal*, before mentioned.

The saddest, that of *Roan*, where he lost his braye Brother.

His fortunatest peice I esteem the taking of *Cadiz* *Malex*, and no les modest; for there he wrote with his own hands a censure of his Omissions.

His jealousst imployment was to the relief of *Calais* besieged by the Cardinal Arch-duke: about which, there passed then between the Queen and the French King much Art.

His Voiage to the *Azores* was the best, for the discovery of the Spanish weakness, and otherwise almost a saving Voiage.

His blackest was that to *Ireland*, ordained to be the Sepulchre of his Father, and the Gulph of his own Fortunes.

But the first in 88, at *Tilbury-camp*, was in my judgement the very poyson of all that followed; for there whilst the Queen stood in some doubt of a *Spanish Invasion* (though it proved but a Morrice-dance upon our Waves) she made him in Field Commander of the Cavalry (as he was before in Court) and much graced him openly in view of the Souldiers and people, even above my Lord of *Leicester*

*Q. Eliz. cester:* the truth is, from thenceforth he sed too  
 salt.

The Dukes employment abroad in this nature, was onely in the Action of the *isle of Rees*, of which I must note somewhat for the honour of our Country, and of his Majesties times; and of them that perished and survived, and to redeem it generally from mis-understanding. Therefore after enquiry amongst the wisest and most indifferent men; of that Action, I dare pronounce, that all Circumstances pondered, A tumultuary banding on our part, with one thousand in the whole on theirs ready to receive us with two hundred horse, with near two thousand foot, and watching their best time of advantage, none of their foot discovered by us before, nor so much as suspected, and onely some of their Horse descried stragling; but not in any bulk or body: their Cavalry not a Troop of *Escoignors* mounted in haste, but the Greater part Gentlemen of Family, and of pickt Resolution, and such as charged home both in Front and on both Flanks into the very Sea; about *sixscore* of their two hundred horse strewed upon the Sand, and none of them but one killed with a great shot; and after this their foot likewise coming on to charge, till not liking the business they fell to flinging of stones, and so walked away:

I say, these things considered and laid together, we have great reason to repute it a great impression upon an unknown place, and a noble argument that upon occasion we have not lost our ancient vigour. Only I could wish that the Duke who then in the animating of the souldiers shewed them very eminent assurance of his valour, had afterwards  
 remem-

remembered that rule of *Apelles*, *Manum de Tā Q. Eliā.*  
*cula.* But he was greedy of honour, and not upon  
the publique ends, and too confident in the prosper-  
ity of beginnings, as somewhere *Polybius*; but great  
*Critique* of war, observeth of young Leaders whom  
fortune hath not before deceived. In this their mi-  
litary care and dispensation of reward and punish-  
ment, there was very few remarkeable occasions un-  
der the Duke, saving his continuall vigilancie and  
voluntary hazard of his person, and kindnesse to the  
Souldiers; both from his own Table and purse; for  
there could be few disorders within an Island where  
the troops had no scope to disband, and the Inferi-  
or Commanders were still in fight;

In the Earl we have two examples of his severity;  
the one in the Island Voyage, where he threw a  
Souldier with his own hands, out of a Ship; the o-  
ther in *Ireland*, where he decimated certain troops  
that ran away; renewing a peice of the Roman  
Discipline;

On the other side, we have many of his Lenitie,  
and one of his Facility; when he did connive at  
the bold trespass of Sir *walter Raleigh*, who before  
his arrivall at *Fyall*, had banded there against his  
precise Commandment; at which time he let fall  
a Noble word, being pressed by one, (whose name I  
need not remember) that at the least he would put  
him upon a Martial Court: That I would do (said  
he) if he were not my friend.

And now I am drawing towards the last Act,  
which was written in the Book of necessity.

At the Earls end I was abroad, but when I came

Tt

home

*Q. Eliz.* home (though little was left for Writers to glean after Judges) yet, I spent some curiosity to search what it might be that could precipitate him into such a prodigious Catastrophe; and I must, according to my professed freedom, deliver a circumstance or two of some weight in the truth of that story, which was neither discovered at his arraignment, nor after in any of his private Confessions.

There was amongst his nearest attendants one *Henry Cusse*, a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate Counsels smothered under the habit of a Scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity.

This person not above five or six weeks before my Lords fatal irruption in the City, was by the Earls special Command suddainly discharged from all further attendance, or access unto him, out of an inward displeasure then taken against his sharp and importune insusions, and out of a glimmering oversight, that he would prove the very instrument of his Ruine.

I must adde hereunto, that about the same time my Lord had received from the Countess of *Warwick* (a Lady powerful in the Court, and indeed a vertuous user of her power) the best advice that I think was ever given from either sex; That when he was free from restraint, he should closely take any out-lodging at *Greenwich*, and sometimes when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, (whereof she would give him notice) he should come forth, and humble himself before her in the field.

This Counsel sunk much into him, and for some days

days he resolved it: but in the mean time, through the intercession of the Earl of *Southampton*, whom *Cresse* had gained, he was restored to my Lords ear, and so working advantage upon his disgraces, and upon the vain foundation of Vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, spun out the final distrustion of his master and himself, and almost of his restorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches.

True it is, that the Earl in *westminster-hall* did in generall disclose the evill perswasions of this man; but the particulars which I have related by this dismission and restitution, he buried in his own breast for some reasons apparent enough; Indeed (as I conjecture) not to exasperate the Case of my Lord of *Southampton*, though he might therewith a little peradventure have mollified his own. The whole and true Report I had by infallible meanes from the person himself that both brought the advice from the aforesaid excellent Lady, and carried the discharge to *Cresse*, who in a private Chamber was stricken, therewith into a Sound almost dead to the Earth, as if he had fallen from some high steeple; such Turrets of hope he had built in his own fancy.

Touching the Dukes suddain period, how others have represented it unto their Fancies, I cannot determine: for my part, I must confess from my soul that I never recall it to minde without a deep and double astonishment of my discourse and reason.

First, of the very horreur and atrocity of the Fact in a Christian Court, under so moderate a Government; but much more at the impudencie of the pretence, whereby a desperate discontented Assassinate would after the perpetration have ho-



*Q* *Elizabeth*. nestled a meere private revenge (as by precedent Circumstances is evident enough) with I know not what publick respects, and would faine have given it a Parliamentary cover howsoever. Thus these two great Peers were dis-robed of their Glory, the one by judgement, the other by violence; which was the small distinct on.

Now after this short contemplation of their diversities, (for much more might have been spoken, but that I was fitter for Rhapsody than commentary) I am lastly desirous to take a Summary view of their Conformities, which I verily believe will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few, as are extant in any of the ancient Parallel.

They both slept long in the arms of Fortune: They were both of ancient blood, and of Forraign extraction: They were both of strait and goodly stature, and of able and active bodies: They were both industrious and assiduous, and attentive to their ends: They were both early Privie-Counsellours, and employed at home in the secretest and weightiest affairs in Court and State: They were both likewise Commanders abroad in Chief, as well by sea as by land, both Masters of the Horse at home, both chosen Chancellours of the same University, namely, *Cambridge*: They were both indubitable strong and high-minded men; yet of sweet and accostable nature, almost equally delighting in the press and affluence of Dependance and Suiters, which are always the Burres, and sometimes the Briets of Favourites. They were both married to very vertuous Ladies, and sole Heirs, and left issue of either Sex; and both their Wives converted to contrary Religions. They were both in themselves rare and excellent examples

examples of Temperance and Sobriety, but neither of them of Continency. *Q. Eliz.*

Lastly, after they had been both subject (as well Greatness and Splendor is) to certain obliques of their actions: They both concluded their earthly felicity in unnaturall ends, and with no great distance of time in the space either of Life or Favour.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Jeffery Fenton.*

**S**ir Jeffery Fenton, born in Nottinghamshire, was for twenty seven years Privy-Counsellour in Ireland to Queen Elizabeth and King James. He translated the History of Francis Guiscardine out of Italian into English, and dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth. He deceased at Dublin, October 19. 1608, and lyeth buried in St. Patricks Church, under the same Tomb with his Father-in-Law Doctor Robert Weston, sometimes Chancellour of Ireland. It is an happy age when great men do what wisemen may write; an happier, when wise men write what great have done; the happiest of all, when the same men act and write, being Histories, and composing them too. For these men having a neerer, and more thorow-insight to the great subjects of Annals than men of more distant capacities and fortunes, are the only persons that have given the world the right notion of Transactions, when men of lower and more pedantique spirits trouble it only with more Heavy Romances. Give

*Q. Eliz.* me the actions of a Prince transcribed by those Historians who could be instruments, The best History in the world is *Cesar's Commentaries*, written by him, and translated by *Edmonds*, with the same spirit that they were acted. *Xenophon* and *Thucydides*, whose pens copied their Narratives from their Swords. *Tacitus*, *Malvezzi*, *Machiavel*, *Comines*, *Moor*, *Bacon*, *Herbert* and a *Burleigh* (who write the affairs of former Ages with the same judgement that they managed those of their own.) In a word, an History written by such a Courtier as *Guicciardine*, and translated by such a Counsellour as *Fextor*. Diamond onely can cut Diamond, the great onely express the great: a person that hath a sight of the Intelligence, Negotiations, Conferences, and inward transactions of States, is one from whom I expect a more exact Chronicle of this age than yet this Nation hath been happy in.

*From the mouth of Mr. Ramsey Minister of Rough-amin Norfolk, who married the widow of Mr. Giles Fletcher son to this Doctor.*

*Observations on the Life of Doctor Fletcher.*

**G**iles Fletcher (brother to *Richard Fletcher* Bishop of *London*) was born in *Kent*, as I am credibly informed. He was bred first in *Eaton*, then in *Kings Colledge in Cambridge*, where he became Doctor of Law. A most excellent Poet (a quality hereditary to his two sons, *Giles* and *Phineas*) was sent Commissioner into *Scotland*, *Germany*, and the Low-Countries, for *Queen Elizabeth*, and her Embassador into *Russia*, Secretary

Secretary to the City of London, and Master of the Court of Requests, His Russian Embassie to settle the English Merchandise was his Master-piece, to Theodor, Janowich, Duke of Muscovia. He came thither in a dangerous juncture of time, viz. in the end of the year 1588.

First, some Forreiners (I will not say they were the Hollanders) envying the free Trade of the English, had done them bad offices.

Secondly, a false report was generally believed that the Spanish Armado had worsted the English Fleet, and the Duke of Muscovy, who measured his favour unto the English, by the possibility he apprehended of their returning it) grew very sparing of his smiles, not to say free of his frowns on our Merchants residing there. However, our Doctor demeaned himself in his Embassie with such cautiousness, that he not onely escaped the Dukes fury, but also procured many priviledges for our English Merchants, exemplified in \* Mr. Hackloir. Returning home and being safely arrived at London, he sent for his intimate friend Mr. Wayland, Prebendary of St. Pauls, and Senior fellow of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge (Tutor to my Father, from whose mouth I received this report) with whom he heartily express'd his thankfulness to God for his safe return from so great a danger; for the Poets cannot fancy Ulysses more glad to be come out of the Den Polyphemus, than he was to be rid out of the power of such a barbarous Prince, who counting himself by a proud and voluntary mistake Emperour of all Nations, cared not for the Law of all Nations, and who was so habit'd in  
In his v. l.ume of English Navigation.

**C. Eliz.** blood, that had he cut off this Embassador's head, he and his friends might have sought their own amends; but the question is, where he would have found it? He afterwards set forth a book, called *The Russian Common-wealth*, expressing the Government, or Tyranny rather thereof; where-  
**in** (saith my † Author) are many things most observable: but *Queen Elizabeth* indulging the reputation of the Duke of Muscovy as a confederate Prince, permitted not the publick printing of that; which such who have private Copies, know to set the valuation thereon.

°Camb. in  
 his Eliz.  
 Anno  
 1581.  
 when he  
 was Agent  
 in Muscov,  
 as after-  
 ward Am-  
 bassador;

*Observations on the Life of the Lord Mountjoy.*

**T**He Lord Mountjoy was of the ancient Nobility; as he came from Oxford, he took the Inner Temple in his way to Court, whither no sooner come, but (without asking) had a pretty strange kinde of admission. He was then much about twenty years of age, of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat compolure, and tall in his person; so that he coming to see the fashion of the Court, was spied out by the Queen, and out of the affection she bare to the very sight of his face, received him into favour: upon the first observation whereof, she professed that she knew there was in him some noble blood. He was one that wanted not wit and courage, for he had very fine attractions; and being a good Scholar, yet were they accompanied with the retractive of bashful-  
 bashful.

bashfulness, and a natural modesty. There was in *Q. Eliz.* him an inclination to Arms, with an humour of Travelling: and as he was grown by reading (whereunto he was much addicted) to the Theory of a Souldier, so was he strongly invited by his Genius to the Acquaintance of the Practick of the War, which were the causes of his excursions; for he had a Company in the Low-Countrys, from whence he came over with a noble acceptance of the Queen, but somewhat restless: in honourable thoughts he exposed himself again and again, and would press the Queen with the pretences of visiting his Company so often, that at length he had a flatdenyal, and yet he stole over with Sir *John Norris*, into the action of *Britain*; but at last the Queen began to take his Decessions for contempts, and confined his residence to the Court, and her own presence. She was so confident in her own Princely judgement and opinion that she had conceived of his worth and conduct, that she would have this noble Gentleman, and none other, to finish, and bring the *Irish War* to a propitious end; which (not deceiving her good conceit of him) he nobly achieved, though with much paines and carefulness.

*Among the greatest things laid to Queen Elizabeth her charge (saith the Censurer) as cast behinde the door of neglect, was the conduct of the Affairs of Ireland; a place lying all her Halcyon days under so great a contempt, that wise Walsingham thought it no Treason to wish it buried in the Sea, considering the charge it brought: yet she kept the Pale in good order, not suffering the Spanish party to grow more potent in the North,*

*Q. Eliz* North, than was convenient to consume his forces, and divert him from nearer and more dangerous attempts. It being impossible for her without being grievous to her people ( a Rock she chiefly studied to avoid ) at one time to maintain so dreadful a Navy at Sea, and foment the Dutch and French, to whose assistance she was called by a louder necessity, than to render a Nation quite desolate: none being willing during her life to exchange the present government of a natural Princess, for the less happy tyranny of a Vice-Roy; of which the most did study more their respective Grandeur by extending the war, than the ease of the Inhabitants, and lessening the Queens expence, till the noble Lord Mountjoy, was employed, who had no other design than the conclusion of the Work; which he had not yet brought about, but that the Spaniards found themselves betrayed through the covetousness and cowardize of the Natives, that for small sums would sell not onely such Forreigners as came to help them, but their nearest Relations. Nor was it possible to reduce them to civility, but by curing the Bogs and Fastnesses, and building castles and Garrisons, which he did; nor ease to subdue them without that severity to the Priests, which he used; whom he found exercising such an implicate power over the Peoples consciences, that they could not resolve themselves of their Sovereigns right or Religion.———

This for his Irish government: touching his Domestick relation; When Queen Elizabeths favour to Essex ( like a bone by breaches made more firm ) swelled him to such a degree

of confidence as frowned on them as enemies that acknowledged not his friendship, or depended not on his favour, to balance him and my Lord Cecil, this gallant Gentleman, and of honourable extraction, was placed in her eye; many hoping by his application to draw from her heart the affection they thought mortal to them and their design, the whole result concluding in a Duel that raised both in their Mistriss affections, as champions for her beauty now, and like to be so for her Government.

There are some Letters of this noble persons to be seen; I am told, of a plain and equal style becoming a States-man and business; not seldome yet admitting of several constructions, if of any interpretation at all, where the business related to a thing whose consequence could not easily be seen into.

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*Observations on the Life of Edward Earl of Rutland.*

**A** Noble-man, eminent for those several Endowments which single, do exact an entire man. For a person of his quality to be an accurate Critick in, he learned Tongues, and then as a Rhetorician to make all their Graces serve his Eloquence; to have traversed Ancient, and yet be no Stranger in Modern Writers; to be well versed in the more crabbed philosophy, and accurate in Politick classick Authors; to be learned in History and Policy, and Master in the Law of the Land, and of Nations.



*Eliz.* tions. For such a man to have devoured so much and yet digested it, is a rarity in nature, and in diligence, which hath but few examples: yet his speculative knowledge *that gave light to the most dark and difficult proposals, became eclipsed by the more dazzling lustre of his more practick and experimental prudence; which together with his alliance to my Lord Burleigh, had voted him to Bromley's place, but that they both sickned in one day, and died in one week; he leaving these four Advisers behind him, 1. Be always employed. 2. Look to the Issue. 3. Be furnished with a Friend. And 4. Reflect upon thy self—Vita est in se Reflexio.*

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*Observations on the Life of Sir John Smith.*

**H**IS Relation to *Edward* the sixth his Cousin German, was enough to countenance his parts, and his parts ripe and large enough to advance his person.—His gravity could be no where better employed than in *Spain*, nor his reservedness any where more suitable than in *Italy*. In *Spain* his carriage had a great impression upon the King, and his spirit upon the whole Court. For *Gasper Quiroga* Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, inveighing bitterly against the Queen's person, and more against her Title (*Defender of the Faith*) was answered by him with that Wisdom and Prudence, that his Majesty of *Spain* checked the Arch-Bishop as an *Impertinado*, as he called him,

him, and hugged Sir *John Smith*, as a man who had made *himself* dreadful, and his Mistress therefore much more to that Court— (They who least consider hazard in *the doing of their duty, fare best still.*) The surest way to safety, is to *have one interest espoused so firmly, as never to be changed.* Nor did he this out of a vainer bottom than an observation he made of his Mistress's resolution, already in despair of procuring good from any milder endeavours than those of power : A signal testimony of the commanding worth this Gentleman had, which extorted a reverence to his person in that very place where his business contracted an Odium. An excellent person he was, in whom honesty of manners strived with Nobility of Birth, and merit with honour ; of a composed and stayed temper, that would say under all temptations to disquiet, Either the thing before us is in our power, or it is not: If it be, why do we not manage it to our content ? If not, why are we discontented, especially since every thing hath two handles ? If the one prove hot, and not to be touched, we may take the other that is more temperate. Upon which consideration, all private concerns he passed over with a perfect indifference : the world and its Appendages hanging so loose about him, that he never took notice when any part dropt off, or sat uneasily.

Q. Eliz.  
*Observations on the Life of Sir Walter Rawleigh.*

**S**ir *Walter Rawleigh* was well descended, and of good Alliance, but poor in his beginning. He was one so tossed by fortune to and fro, that he was sometimes high, sometimes low, sometimes in a middle condition. He was brought up in the University and Inns of Court, but he stayed not long in a place: and being the youngest Brother, and the House diminished in Patrimony, he foresaw his own destiny, that he was first to roil (through want and disability) before he could come to a repose. He first exposed himself to the Land-service of *Ireland* (a Militia) which then did not yield him food and raiment; nor had he patience to stay there, (though shortly after he came thither again) under the command of the Lord *Grey*. As for his Native parts, and those of his own acquiring, he had in the outward man a good presence, in a handsome and well-compacted person, a strong natural wit, and a better judgement, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; and to these he had the adjuncts of some general learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great Augmentation, and Perfection, for he was an indefatigable Reader, whether by Sea or Land, and none of the least observers both of Men and the Times. Falling from that sudden grace, which he by his parts had gained

gained of the Queen, he went aside for a while, but *Q. Eliz.* at his return he came in with the greater strength, and so continued to her last, great in her favour, and Captain of the Guard. His prudence *under-* stood his capacity, and his industry *served* it; raising his fortune as high as his parts, and his parts as high as his mind. His Motto was, *Either dye nobly, or live honorably.* Never man prospered, but the resolute, and he that hath awaked an easie, soft, sleepy, or indifferent temper, to the noble adventure of being *Cesar*, or being none: a disposition meeting a large and capacious soul in this Gentleman, taught him the exact discipline of War in *Ireland* and the Low-Countries, the great skill of a Sea-man between *Europe* and *America*, and a patience as severe in enduring hardship, as his necessity in requiring it. Five hours he slept, four he read, two he discoursed; allowing the rest to his business and his necessities; no Souldier fared or lay harder, none ventured further: what is not *extraordinary* (he would say) is *nothing*: it being the end of all Arts and Sciencies to direct men by certain rules unto the most compendious way in their knowledge and practice: those things of which in our selves we have onely some imperfect confused notions, being herein fully and clearly represented to our view from the discoveries that other men have made, after much study and long experience; and there is nothing of greater consequence for the advancement of Learning, than to finde out those particular advantages which there are for the shortest way of knowing and teaching things in every profession. There was not an expert Souldier or Sea-man, but he consulted; nor a printed

Q. Eliz.

or manuscript, discourse of Navigation or War but he perused; nor were there exacter rules or principles for both services, than he drew: so content-plative he was; that you would think he was not active; so active; that you would say he was not prudent—A great Souldier, and yet an excellent Courtier: an accomplished Gallant, and yet a bookish man; a man that seemed born for any thing he undertook: his wit brought him to Court, and kept him there; for there happening a difference between him and my Lord Grey; under whom he served in Ireland, which was heard before the Council-Table; *Rawleigh* stated his case with that clearness; urged his arguments with that evidence and reason, offered his Apologies with those pertinent and taking allegations, and his Replies with that smartness; expressed himself with that fluency and eloquence; and managed his carriage and countenance with that discretion, that he was first the States-mens observation; next her Majesties Favourite, and at last her Oracle; as who was equally happy in his comprehensive discourses to her of her private interest in every part of her government, and in his effectuall Speeches to her Subjects in Parliament touching theirs in every part of their duty.

Two things he observed in his Mistress;

1. That she was penurious in her largesses.
2. That she was choice in her Favourites.

Whence he concluded, that there was no good to be done unless he got an estate first; and then a reputation.

To the first; we owe his Sea-voyages, when his whole fortune was often put up in one ship;

And

And to the last, his Land-services, when all his expectation depended on one action. Two Rivals he observed, *Essex* for action, *Cecil* for counsel: The one he went under abroad, to outvy him; the other he complied with at home, to undermine him: but wanting strength, though not parts to be both their Corrivals, he perished, because not thought to own humility enough to be their servants. *Cecil* indeed was his friend, because *Essex* was his enemy: but he taught him, *That it was more safe at Court to have many enemies of equall power, than one false and ambitious friend, that hath attained to the absoluteness of command:* But this he was often heard to say, he did not apprehend, before his Genius had dictated it to him, as he came in a Boat from the execution of the Earl of *Essex*, which was done at the Tower.—Yet two wayes I finde him getting up: 1. By uncouth projects in Parliament beyond expectation; which (though they might oblige his Mistresse) together with an opinion of his irreligion, lost him with the People. 2. By extraordinary undertakings in Warre beyond his Commission; which (though performed to outdo his Generals) had forfeited his head to their severity and justice, had not his wit complied with their easiness and goodnes. It's a question among the *Curiosoes*, whether his often absence from Court was his *prudence*, or his *weakness*, it being a *quodlibet*, whether that distance was a greater alay to his *enemies malice*, or his *Sovereigns love*; while his forreign actions were not so close at her ear to his advantage, as his Adversaries applications to his disparagement.

Two things I must needs say are wonderful in him. 1. The dispatch and industry of the former

*Q. Eliz.* part of his life. 2. The weakness of the latter.



Touching the first, he that shall consider his laborious way of study, immers'd in almost infinite reading and observation, to which the running over of innumerable books, and a vast multitude of men was necessary: His Obligations to read not only common Authors, but all Records, Schemes, and Papers that he could come by: His correspondence with Friends and Strangers; his review of his own Papers (which he sat close to by Sea and Land) that never passed him without three transcriptions; his reception of visits, whether of civility, or business, or discourse, which were numerous, and great devourers of his time; his agency for all sorts of persons (his interest with his thrifty Mistress being most part of his pension) in which capacity he set up a kinde of Office of Address—his Letters, which cost him one day in the week: The time lost upon his misfortunes, which made it necessary for him often to break his great series and method of undertaking. He, I say, that shall compute, and sum up this, the particulars whereof are nakedly told without any straining of the truth, or flourish of expression, must be *much* to seek how a man of so many actions should write any thing, and one of so many writings should do any thing; and *more*, how one of so many fatall diversions could keep up a steady minde for those great, but exact arguments that it hath left in the world; especially when there was one very difficult particular in all his compositions, *viz.* that none of his Discourses with which his History or other Books are embellished, passed his exact hand before the most knowing and most learned men in that faculty to which those discourses belonged, had debated them before him.

wh

who after their departure summed up all into those *Q. Eliz.* excellent pieces now abroad under his name, which I blame not King *James* for envying, being the nearest his own: though I think not that learned Prince of so low a spirit, as *out of an impertinent emulation to affect Sir Walter Rawleigh the less,* for the great repute that followed him because of his pen; which being more dangerous than his Sword, I wonder that wise Prince indulged him, especially since that Master Hampden a little before the Wars was at the charge of transcribing 3452 sheets of his Manuscripts, as the Amanuensis himself told me, who had his close chamber, his fire and candle, with an Attendant to deliver him the Originals, and take his Copies as fast as he could write them.

2. To the second, *viz.* the weaknes of the last part of his life: 1. There was not a greater reach in that advice of his to the Queen (when some were for attacking *Spain* one way, and some another) to cut off its commerce with the *Indies*, than there was shortness of spirit in trusting the most hopeful part of that expedition to Sir *John Burroughs*, when he sunk under the most disastrous himself. Yet 2. That he, when Captain of the Guard, Warden of the Cinque-ports, Governour of *Virginia* (a place of his own discovery) preferments enough to satisfy a regular spirit, should stand on terms with King *James* against the Law of the Land, the Genius of the Nation, the resolution of the Nobility, and Reason it self (that knoweth there is no cautions that hold Princes, but their interest and nature) was a greater infirmity. But 3. That he upon the Kings frown for his former indiscretion upon him, and *Cobham*, should



*Q. Eliz.* engage upon so shallow a Treason ( *so improbable to hurt others, or benefit themselves, that if ever folly was capable of the title, or pity due to innocence, theirs might claim so large a share as not possible to be too severely condemned, or slightly enough punished* ) and that with such weak and inconsiderable men, as were rather against the government, than for one another ( *Grey being a Puritan, and Cobham a Protestant* ) were the greatest: but there is one particular more behind; That he could employ his restraint so well, should eye under the justice as well as jealousy of K. James: And knowing that Princes must not pardon any able man that either they have wronged, or that hath wronged them, he so intent upon a foolish liberty, wherein he lost himself and his in that unhappy voyage of *Guiana*; a voyage, that considering King James his inclination to the Match, his own obnoxiousness to that King abroad, and Cecil here for obstructing the Peace with Spain, and *Gondamor's* vigilance, must needs be as unsuccessful, as it was difficult.

*Atethinks* he that was of so incomparable a dexterity in his judgement, as the Treasurer grew jealous of his excellent parts, lest he should supplant him; of so quick and ready apprehension and conduct, that he puzzled the Judges at Winchester: of so good a Head-piece, that it was wished then on the Secretary of State's shoulders: of so considerable an interest, that notwithstanding his fourteen years imprisonment, Princes interceded for him, the whole Nation pitied him, and King James would not execute him without an Apology: And to say no more, of so much magnanimity, that he managed his death with

*so high and so religious a resolution, as if a Christian had acted a Roman, or rather a Roman a Christian; might have gone off the world at a higher rate, but that there is an higher power governs wisdom, as invisibly, yet as really as wisdom doth the world; which when I look back upon my Lord of Essex, I call fate; but when from him I look forward to Sir Walter Rawleigh, I believe a providence.*

*He had a good presence in a handsome and well-compacted person, a strong natural wit, a better judgement, with a bold and plausible tongue, which set off his parts to the best advantage: to these he had the adjuncts of a general Learning; which by diligence and experience (those two great Tutors) was augmented to a great perfection, being an indefatigable Reader, and having a very retentive memory: before his Judges at Winchester humble, but not prostrate; dutiful, yet not deject: to the Jury assable, but not fawning; hoping, but not trusting in them, carefully persuading them with reason, not distemperately importuning them with conjurations; rather shewing love of life, than fear of death: patient, but not careless; civil, but not stupid.*

*Observations on the Life of Thomas Sackvil, Lord Buckhurst.*

**H**<sup>E</sup> was bred in the University of Oxford; where he became an excellent Poet, leaving both Latine and English Poems of his to posterity. Then studied he Law in the Temple, and took the degree of Barrister; afterwards he travelled into Foreign parts, was detained for a time a Prisoner in Rome, which he revenged afterwards in the Liberty of his speech at the Powder-Traitors Tryal, when his liberty was pro-  
sured

*Q. Eliz.* cured for his return into England, he possessed the vast inheritance left him by his Father, whereof in short time by his magnificent prodigality he spent the greatest part, till he seasonably began to spare, growing neer to the bottom of his Estate.

The story goes, that this young Gentleman coming to an Alderman of London, who had gained great penny worths by his former Purchases of him, was made (being now in the wane of his wealth) to wait the coming down of the Alderman so long, that his generous humour being sensible of the incivility of such Attendance, resolved to be no more beholding to Wealthy Pride; and presently turned a thrifty improver of the remainder of his Estate. But others make him, as above-said, the Convert of Queen Elizabeth, (his Cousin-German once removed) who by her frequent Admonitions, diverted the torrent of his profusion. Indeed she would not know him, till he began to know himself, and then heaped places of Honour and Trust upon him, creating him

1. Baron of Buckhurst in Suffex, Anno Dom. 1566.

2. Sending him Ambassador into France, Anno 1571. Into the Low-Countries, Anno Dom. 1576.

3. Making him Knight of the Order of the Garter, Anno 1589.

4. Appointing him Treasurer of England, 1599.


He was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, where he entertained Queen Elizabeth with a most sumptuous Feast. He was called the Star-Chamber-Bell, so very flowing his invention; and therefore no wonder if his Secretaries could not please him, being a person of so quick dispatch, (faculties which yet run in the blood.) He took a Roll of the names of all Sutors, with the Date

of their first Addresses, and these in order had their hearing, so that a Fresh-man could not leap over the head of his Senior, except in urgent Affairs of State. Thus having made ~~ends~~ <sup>ends</sup> to his house for his mispent time, both in increase of Estate and Honour, being created Earl of Dorset by King James, he died on the 19th of April, 1608.

The Lord Buckhurst was of the noble house of the Sackvils, and of the Queens consanguinity; his Father was that provident and wise man Sir Richard Sackvil, or as the people then called him, Fill-sack, by reason of his great wealth, and the vast Patrimony which he left to this his son, whereof he spent in his youth the best part, untill the Queen by her frequent admonitions diverted the torrent of his profusion; he was a very fine Gentleman of person and endowments both of Art and Nature. His elocution is much commended, but the excellency of his Pen more; for he was a Scholar, and a person of quick faculties, very facete and choise in his phrase and style. He was wise and stout, nor was he any ways ensnared in the factions of the Court, which were all his time very strong. He stood still in grace, and was wholly intente to the Queens service; and such were his abilities, that she received assiduous proofs of his sufficiency. As

1. In his Embassie to France, whereas the Queen-Mother complemented him, he behaved himself very worthy of his Mistresses Majesty, and his own Peerage: there he had an experienced Tuscan, Calacani by name, to deal with that Florentine Queen; Montmorancy's brother to undermine the Guises; and his own great party, to grapple with old Hospital: He began that subtile piece the French Match, under pretence whereof we balanced,

and

*Q. Eliz. and understood Europe; and Walsingham finished it*  


2. In his Negotiations in the Low-Countries, where he watched Leicester and the Commanders; he observed the States, and their changeable and various Interests, accommodating the present emergencies, and suiting their occasions.

They that censure this Nobleman's death, consider not besides the black worm and the white (day and night, as the Riddle is) that are gnawing constantly at the root of the Tree of Life, There are many insensible diseases, as *Apoplexies*; whose vapors suddenly extinguish the animal spirits; and *Apoplethumes* both in the upper and middle Region of man, that often drown and suffocate both the animal and vital, who are like embodied Twins, the one cannot subsist without the other: If the animal wits fail, the vital cannot *subsist*: if the vitals perish, the animals give over their operation: and he that judgeth ill of such an act of Providence, may have the same hand at the same time writing within the Palace-walls of his own body, the same period to his lives Earthly Empire, His posterity refused an Apology offered in his behalf, upon this ground, that the things objected to him, were of the number of those little Cavils, which come with that rule not holding in great accusations.

*Spreta exolefcunt, & irascere, agnita videntur.*

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The End of the Observations upon the  
 Lives of the Statesmen and Favou-  
 rites of *England*. in the Reign  
 of Queen *Elizabeth*.



T H E  
STATES-MEN and FAVOURITES  
O F  
*E N G L A N D,*  
I N  
The Reign of King *James.*

---

*Observations on the Lives of the Clif-  
fords, Earls of Cumberland.*

**T**H E name hath been for three Ages ancient and Noble, and in this last Age Warlike and serviceable : They had the government of the *North* in their own right for an hundred years, and the Hereditary Sheriff-dom of *Westmoreland* in right of the *Vipents* their Relations for two. --- *Henry* the first Earl of *Cumberland*, was raised by *Henry* the Eighth to that Honour, 1525, for his service at *Tournay* and *Berwick*. *Henry* his son was by Queen *Mary* honoured with the Garter for his conduct against *Wyat* ; and by Queen *Elizabeth* graced with peculiar favours for his Industry, Integrity and Vigilance in the *North*. As Nature, to

K. 7. *ancient*. Nobility subsists and grows by the same thing that it is made of: Vertue that creates, supports it.

### *Observations on the Life of the Lord George Clifford.*

“**G**EORGE Clifford, Lord Clifford, Vescy, &c. Earl of Cumberland, was son to Henry second Earl of that Family, by his second Lady; a person wholly composed of true honour and valour, whereof he gave the world a large and clear demonstration.

“It was resolved by the judicious in that Age, The way to humble the *Spanish* greatness, was not in pinching and pricking of him in the Low-Countries, which only emptied his veins of such blood as was quickly re-filled: But the way to make it a Cripple for ever, was by cutting off the *Spanish* sinews of War, his Monies from the *West-Indies* [the back-door robs the house.] In order whereunto, this Earl set forth a small Fleet on his own cost, and adventured his own person therein, being the best born *Englishman* that ever hazarded himself in that kinde. His Fleet may be said to be bound for no other Harbour but the Port of Honour, though touching at the Port of Profit in passage thereunto; I say, touching, whose design was not to enrich himself, but impoverish the Enemy.

“He was as merciful as valiant, (the best metal bends best) and left impressions of both in all places where he came. Queen *Eliz. Anno 1592.*

“honoured

“honoured him with the dignity of the Garter. K. James?  
 “When King James came first out of Scotland to  
 “York, he attended him with such an equipage of  
 “Followers for number and habit, that he seemed  
 “rather a King, than Earl of Cumberland. Here  
 “happened a Contest between the Earl and the  
 “Lord President of the North, about carrying the  
 “Sword before the King in York; which Office,  
 “upon due search and enquiry was adjudged to the  
 “Earl, as belonging unto him : and whilest Clif-  
 “ford’s Tower is standing in York, that Family  
 “will never be therein forgotten. His Anagram  
 “was as really as literally true :

“*Georgius Cliffordius Cumberlandinus.*

“*Davidis regno clarus cum vi fulgebis.*

He died Anno 1605. leaving one Daughter and  
 Heir, the Lady Anne, married to the Earl of Dorset.

This noble person taught the world, however o-  
 thers speak at pleasure, *jussit quod splendida bilis*: That  
 the Art of making War hath not a positive form, and that  
 it ought to be diversified according to the state of Oc-  
 currences. They that will commit nothing to  
 Fortune, nor undertake any Enterprize whose  
 event appeareth not infallible, escape many dan-  
 gers by their wary conduct, but fail of as many suc-  
 cesses by their unactive fearfulness. It’s *useless to be*  
*too wise*, and spend that time in a grave gaze on  
 business, that might serve the speedy dispatch of it.  
 Neither was our Peer great onely in the atchieve-  
 ments of the Field to please higher spirits, but  
 gaudy at Court to astonish and ravish the lowest ;  
 making noble expences when necessary, and ap-  
 pearing splendid on the important occasions, whose



*H. James.* principal quality resided in Magnificence. Yet was he not transported with these appearances, or to make them the greatest ornament of his conduct: the choicest expressions of his life, fixing neither his greatness upon a transitory Pageant, nor his glory upon a fading Pomp. No sullen opposer of the unavoidable occurrences of life; but a dexterous complier with present exigencies, comparing those that swelled doggedly against Providence, or the present state of affairs to King *Canutus*, who forbade the unobservant waves of the Sea to flow no higher; and they that repined at and spoke against it to *Xerxes*, who whipped the *Hellespont*.

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Smith.*

“*S*ir *Thomas Smith* was born at *Abington* in *Bark-shire*, bred in the University of *Oxford*:  
 “God and himself raised him to the Eminency he  
 “attained unto, unbefriended with any extraction.  
 “He may seem to have had an ingenious emulation  
 “of *Sir Thomas Smith Senior*, Secretary of State,  
 “whom he imitated in many good qualities, and  
 “had no doubt equalled in preferment, if not prevented by death. He attained onely to be Master  
 “of the Requests, and Secretary to King *James*  
 “for his *Latine* Letters: higher places expecting  
 “him, when a period was put at once to his life  
 “and to his hopes, *Novemb. 28. 1609*. The generous piety of the honourable Countess of *Exeter*  
 “having erected him one Monument at *Fulham*, &  
 “his own worth another in History. His

His Father died, when he was yet so young, that *K. James.* he knew not what a Father meant: but his Mothers affection for her Husband dyed not with him; whereupon she multiplyed her cares on this Gentleman and her other Children so abundantly, that a long while he little found the want of that dear name, her transcendent love so well supplying the place of both relations: For no sooner was he fit to learn, than she did by friends procure the best Masters those Times afforded, to render his education perfect in those exercises as well of the mind as of the body, wherein they that flattered him not, would say he was no ill Proficient: such *majesty*, such *modesty* in his carriage, that men would admire how two such distant things could meet in one subject. His eye was quick and piercing, his shape and motion charming; the air and lineaments of his countenance lively arguments that his soul was not inferiour to his body,---but that the one promised no more *pleasure* to those that looked on it, than the other did *service* to those that employed it: His *mean* deserving preferment from the favour of a Sovereign, and his parts gaining it from his justice. Fortune did him not so much wrong in his mean Birth, as he did himself right by *great merit*, so worthy a Prince's service, and a *Count's* favour: He read and saw what others did, but not with others apprehensions; his judgment of things being not common, nor his observations low, flat, or vulgar, but such as became a breast now furnishing it self for business and for government.

There was an ancient custom to celebrate the Anniversary of the King's Coronation with all the Shews of Magnificence and joy which the Art or

**K. James.** Affections of the People could invent; and because we are esteemed the Warlik'st Nation in the whole world, to continue that just regulation, we declined all those effeminacies which are so predominant in other Courts, and absolutely addicted our selves to such Martial exercises as are nothing less pleasing and delightful than the other, and yet fit and prepare men more for the real use of Arms, and acquisition of glory. Here our Knights praise came to my Lord of *Carlisle*'s notice, who first designed him a Commander; but finding his *Genius* more courtly than *Martial*, more learned than active recommended him to his Majesties softer services, where none more obliging to the People by his industry and interest at Court, none more serviceable to his Majesty by the good name he gained in the Countrey: So careful was he of publick content, that from five to nine his Chamber was open to all *Comers*; where you would find him with the one hand making himself ready, with the other receiving Letters; and in all this hurry of Business,\* giving the most orderly, clear, and satisfactory dispatches of any Statesman at that time. From nine to one he attended his Master, to whom he had as easie access as he gave to his People. Two things set him up; 1. A fair respect from his Master upon all occasions, and as fair a treatment of the People: He had his distinct Classis of Affairs, and his distinct Officers for those Classis: The order and method whereof incredibly advanced his dispatch, and eased his burden; which took up his day so, that there remained but some hours he stole from night and sleep, for his beloved and dear Studies; and King *James* said, he was the hardest

hardest Student in *White-Hall*—and therefore he *K. James.* did not alwayes trouble his Master with business, but sometimes please him with discourse. If Fortune had been as kind to him as Nature, greater Employments had been at once his honour and his business: But from all his services and performances, he derived no other advantage than the acting of them; and at his death he left no other wealth behind him, but that of a high reputation: never arriving at those enjoyments that enhance our Cares, nor having time to withdraw himself from those cares that take away the relish of our enjoyments.

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir Fulke Grevil.*

**S**ir *Fulke Grevil*, Son to Sir *Fulke Grevil* the Selder, of *Becham Court* in *Warwick-shire*, descended from *Willoughby Lord Brook*, and Admiral to *Hen. 7.* was bred first in the University of *Cambridge*: He came to the Court, back'd with a full and fair Estate; and *Queen Elizabeth* loved such substantial Courtiers as could plentifully subsist of themselves: He was a good Scholar, loving much to employ (and sometimes to advance) learned men, to whom worthy Bishop *Oversal* chiefly owed his Preferment; and Mr. *Camden* (by his own confession) feasted largely of his Liberality. His studies were most in Poetry and History, as his Works do witness: His stile conceived by some to be swelling, is allowed lofty and full

*K. James*. full by others. King *James* created him Baron *Brook of Beauchamp-Court*, as descended from the sole Daughter and Heir of *Edward Willoughby*, last Lord *Brook*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the 7<sup>th</sup>. His sad death, or murther rather, happened on this occasion: His discontented servant conceiving his deserts not soon, or well enough rewarded, wounded him mortally, and then (to save the Law the labour) killed himself; verifying the observation, that he may when he pleaseth be master of another mans life, who contemneth his own. He lyeth buried in *Warwick Church* under a Monument of black and white Marble, whereon he is stiled, Servant to Queen *Elizabeth*, Counsellour to King *James*, and Friend to Sir *Philip Sidney*.

Though a Favourite, he courts Ladies rather than Honour, and pursued his study rather than his ambition, being more contemplative than active: Others ministred to Queen *Elizabeths* government, this Gentleman to her Recreation and Pleasures: He came to Court when all men should, young, and stayed there until he was old; his fortune being as smooth as his spirit, and the Queens favour as lasting as his merit. He bred up *Statesmen*, but was none. Sir *William Pickering* was like to have gained the Queens Bed by studying, Sir *Philip Sidney* had her Heart for writing, and Sir *Fulke Grevil* had her favour for both: one great argument for his worth, was his respect of the worth of others; desiring to be known to posterity under no other notions than of *Shakespear's* and *Ben Johnson's* Matter, Chancellor *Egerton's* Patron, Bishop *Overal's* Lord, and Sir *Philip Sidney's* Friend.

Friend. His soul had the peace of a great fortune, *K. James.*  
 joyred to a greater mind: His worth commended  
 him to Majesty; his affableness endeared him to the  
 popularity: his mornings were devoted to his  
 Books, his afternoons to his knowing Friends, his  
 nights to his debonair Acquaintance: He was the  
 Queens Counsellor for persons, as others were for  
 matters and things: Sweet was his disposition,  
 winning his converse, fluent his discourse, oblig-  
 ing his looks, gestures, and expressions; publick  
 his spirit, and large his soul: his Genius prompted  
 him to prepare himself for Domestick services by  
 Forreign employments, but the great Mistress of  
 her Subjects affections and duties forbad it, and  
 his own prudence checked it. So dear was he to  
 the Queen, that when his horses were shipped at  
 Dover for the Netherlands, her Mandate by Sir  
 Edward Dier stopped him: When he went over  
 with *Walsingham*, he was remanded; and when  
 with *Leicester*, he was checked: He was the exact  
 image of action and quiet happily united in him,  
 seldom well divided in any. He would have acted  
 his great principles of Government, yet he could  
 be confined only to write them. He could sit down  
 with some Poetick and polite Characters of Ver-  
 tue, when he was debarred the real Exercises of  
 it. He had kept *Essex* his head on, had not that  
 unhappy man's Parasites made the Earl deaf to his  
 Counsels, and his Enemies removed him from his  
 presence, under a pretence of guarding the Seas a-  
 gainst his Enemies, while his *Kinsman* was betray-  
 ed by his Friends.

*In his book  
 called, The  
 Declinati-  
 on of Mo-  
 narchs.*

K. James.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Robert Cecil.*

SIR Robert Cecil, since Earl of Salisbury, was the Heir of the Lord *Burleigh's* prudence, the inheritour of his favour, and by degrees a Successor to his places, though not to his Lands, for he was a younger Brother. He was first Secretary of State, then Master of the Wards, and in the last of her Reign came to be Lord Treasurer; all which were the steps of his Fathers greatness, and of the honour he left to his house. For his person, he was not much beholding to Nature, though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside: but for his inside, it may be said he was his Father's own son, and a pregnant Proficient in all discipline of State. He was a Courtier from his Cradle, yet at the age of twenty and upwards, he was much short of his after-proof; but exposed, and by change of climate he shewed what he was, and what he would be: He lived in those times, wherein the Queen had most need and use of men of weight; and amongst able ones, this was a chief, as having a sufficiency from his instructions that begat him the Tutorship of the Times and Court, then the Academy of Art and Cunning, when English prudence and Counsel was at the height, as most exercised with Foreign dangers, and Domestick practices. Vast was his apprehension, because so large his prospect; Sir *Francis Walsingham* having opened the Conclave of Rome, and his Father

ther the Cabals of Spain; insomuch that he knew each design in both places, every Port, every Ship with the Burthens, whither bound, what impediments, for diversion of Enterprizes, Counsels, & Resolutions, as appears by his private dispatches (as his manner was) with those of the Councel, one whereof to my Lord Mountjoy, since Earl of Devonshire, with whom he seasonably closed, runs thus---

K. James.

~~~~~

----- I must in private put you out of doubt (for of fear I know you cannot be otherwise sensible than in a way of honour) that the Spaniard will not come to you this year: for I have it from my own what preparations are in all Paris, and what he can do: For be confident he beareth up a reputation by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe: but the next year be assured he will cast over unto you some Forlorn-Hopes; which how they may be re-inforced beyond his present ability, and his first intention, I cannot as yet make any certain judgment: but I believe out of my Intelligence, that you may expect their Landing at Munster; and the more to distract you in several places, as at Kingfale, Beer-haven and Baltimore, where you may be sure (coming from Sea) they will first fortifie and learn the strength of the Rebels before they dare take the Field.

Sir Robert  
Naunton's  
Fragments.

This States man's character is engraven upon his honour,



*K. James.* honour, and his portraiture drawn in his Patent for Earl of Salisbury; which to many formal words hath added these effectual expressions--- As also for his faithfulness, circumspection, stoutness, wisdom, dexterity, providence and care not onely in the great and weighty Affairs of Counsel, but generally also in all other Expeditions of the Realm.

And indeed not a man upon the Helm of this Common-wealth understood all points of the Compass better than himself, who in a stayed and calm settledness looked on the private designs that were promoted upon his Mistress declining, and privately overthrewed them and their Masters, while in an uninterrupted course of integrity towards his Mistress, and faithfulness to his Countrey, he kept clear the succession, equally careful not to enjalous his present Mistress, and not to obstruct his future Master, with whom he kept an honest correspondence, although there goeth this story of him, that a Post from Scotland meeting her Majesty upon Greenwich-heath, Sir Robert Cecil in all hast would needs cut open the Packet, and pretending it stunk, had time to perfume it [her Majesty being very curious in her smelling] and convey away his own Letters: be this so or so, it's certain, that when assistant to the Earl of Derby in his French Embassie, he promoted the young King of Scots interest against his Mothers: when Sir Francis Walsingham's Colleague, he defeated her Counsels against him; and when principal Secretary, he sounded, crossed, and undid the little plot that was shrowded under the great name of Essex, turning and winding, raising and ruining the Authors of it at his own pleasure. No sooner was the Queen dead, than his  
 Messenger

Messenger was with the King at *Edenburgh*, and he *K. James* himself with his Favourite [ *Sir George Humes* ] at *York*; with whose assistance, and honest *Sir Roger Aston*'s mediation, King *James* makes him his bosome-friend, his house [ *1 beobalds* ] his residence, and his account of the *English* Laws, Government, and temper his *rule*: Finding him but Knight and Secretary, he created him Baron of *Essenden*, Viscount *Cranbourn*, Knight of the Garter, and Earl of *Salisbury*: He promoted him Master of the Wards and Lord Treasurer; in all which capacities how vigilant he was against the Papists, and their Plots, their *Libels* (which he answered in *English* and a *Latine* very elegantly and wisely) demonstrate -- how careful of the publique Treasure, this Narrative shews.

a Adversus perducit.

King *James* had bestowed upon *Sir Robert Carr* twenty thousand pound: my Lord apprehending the sum as more correspondent with his Master's goodness, than his greatness, with the royalty of his heart, than the poverty of his Exchequer; and observing his Majesty more careful of what money passed his own hands, than what passed his servants, contrives that the good King should go through the place where this great sum lay in silver to a treatment; where demanding whose money it was, and being answered, that it was his own before he parted with it, He understanding the design, protested he was cheated, and intended not above five hundred pounds; and the Favourite was glad to make use of the Lord Treasurers mediation for the recovery of that great sum. How industrious in the improvement of his Masters Revenue, these particulars conclude, viz.

*K. James.* 1. A survey of the Crown-lands, known before by report rather than by measure; and let by chance, rather than knowledge. 2. A Revival of the Custody-lands Revenue by Commissioners of Asserts. 3. A tarrier of Crown-wood-lands, their growth and value; where he numbered, marked, & valued all the Timber hitherto unknown. 4. The Commissioners he procured to look into Copyhold-Lands, Wastes, and Commons. 5. The Rules to forfeited Estates and extended Lands. 6. The improvement of the Customs from 86000 to 135000 pounds *per annum*. 7. The bargain about the *London River-water*. 8. The encouragement of all *English* Inventions, Manufactures, and Trade, whereby the Subjects might be employed, our Commodities enhanced, and our Treasure kept among our selves. 9. The Plantations, and Transplantations in *Ireland*. And 10. The Reformation of the Court of Wards in the poynt of disposing of Orphans.

These services advanced him to great honour, and to as great envy, the popular effects whereof no man could have escaped but one whose soul was immoveable, temper, calm, thoughts deep, apprehensions large, and resolution great to engage vulgar Errors rather by the *greatness* of his Actions, than the *eminence* of his Interest---And satisfie the world leisurely by his Vertues, and not awe it rashly by his power; which got him even in that time *St. Gregories* Encomium, *That he was the first bad, and the last good Treasurer since Queen Elizabeth's Reign.*

I shall never forget his, or his Fathers discourse with *Claud Grollari* *primier* President of *Roan*,  
about

about the troubles in *France*, wherein he advised *K. James.* him to stick fast to the King, though he saw difficulties : For it was his Maxime, *That Kings are like the Sun, and Usurpers like falling-Stars* ; For the Sun, though it be offuscated and eclipsed with Mists and clouds, at length they are dispersed ; where the others are but the figures of Stars in the eyes of view, and prove no more but Exhalations, which suddainly dissolve, and fall to the earth, where they are consumed : A discourse which events there and elsewhere made an Oracle.

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*Observations on the Life of the Lord  
Howard of Effingham, Earl of  
Nottingham.*

**T**HE Lord *Howard of Effingham*, a man of most approved fidelity and invincible courage, and Governour of *Callice* ; though a Courtier betimes ; yet seemed not to be in favour before the Queen made him high Admiral of *England*. For his extract, it may suffice that he was the son of a *Howard*, and of a Duke of *Norfolk*. As for his person, he was as goodly a Gentleman as the times could afford ; he was one whom the Queen desired to honour, who at his return from *Cadiz* accounts, was created Earl of *Nottingham*. He was a good, honest, and a brave man, and a faithful servant to his Mistress, and such a one as the Queen out of her own Princely judgement knew to be a fit Instrument for the Admiral's service, having a great opinion of his fidelity and conduct :

And

**K. James.** And though his death was not honoured with much wealth, yet was it grac'd with the reputation of honesty. His was rais'd to check *Essex* his ambition, and *Leicester*'s undermining, being equally popular, and honest, yet having those at his heels that could lay a snare, and bring in the prize. Nature was a better friend to him than Fortune, and his Integrity than both; which commended him to a Mistress that understood Men as well as Books, and knew it was no less the interest of Princes to take counsel concerning Persons, than concerning matters: He had that goodness, without which man is a busy, mischievous, and wretched thing; yet that wisdom whereby he was not so good (as the *Italian* saith) as to be good for nothing: He was gentle, but not easie; mild, but not soft; obliging not the fancies of men, but their Interest: None more civil to Strangers (his heart being not a narrow Island (as my Lord *Bacon* observes) but a large Continent: ) None more tender of Inferiours, none more humble to Superiours; none more compassionate to the afflicted; none more loving to, or more beloved of all. The Queen said, she trusted her Kingdom to his faithfulness in 88. and her self to his conduct. His alliance to the Queen brought him to Court, but his honesty kept him there (when jealousy had overcast that great house of the *Howards*;) ancient Nobility was a good recommendation to the Q<sup>y</sup>. first Favours; but modesty, submission, and integrity were the Vertues that continued them: He had onely so much Ambition as rendred him active and serviceable, and not busy or dangerous: He knew a Nobleman cannot be safely aspiring, nor smooth man securely popular, and

and a man of his Retinue must not be busie. He liv-  
ed in an age when all honour was perillous that  
was not designed for service; when the State chose  
“Ministers that were more sensible of duty than of  
“rising; that loved business rather upon consci-  
“ence than upon bravery, and when the Prince  
“discerned a busie nature from a willing mind: as  
“the stone had need be rich that is set without  
foyl, so this noble person, that was only real, had  
need of great parts of vertue. So valiant he was,  
that he made the *Spanish* Fleet veil to him, though  
it carried the Empress of *Germany*; so active, that  
he tugged at the Cable himself in 88. and did  
much by his own pains, and more by his example:  
so skilful, that he contrived the Fire-ships that  
frighted and scattered the *Spanish* Navy. Two emi-  
nent services he did the Protestant Religion when  
but twenty one years of age: The first is, that he  
was so observant a witness of Arch-Bishop *Parker*’s  
consecration, that with his bare word the tale of  
the Nags head came to nothing. 2. That he was  
so close an Agent in the Court of *France*, that no  
Design was brewed in *Scotland*, none seconded in  
*France*, but he with the Emperour and the King  
of *Spain*’s Embassadors assistance [whom he had en-  
gaged with the hope of a Match between the King  
of the *Romans* and his Mistriss] discovered and  
defeated with that success, that the King of *France*  
courted his Mistriss to a Peace, and himself to Fa-  
vour. None more careful in matter of Business;  
none more splendid in business of Complement—  
condoling King *Francis* his death with a Majesty no  
less becoming the Personage he represented, than  
the Prince he addressed himself to. 1. His provi-

*K. James.* dence in contriving the *English* Ships nimble, and such as could tack about at pleasure. 2. His prudence in not hazarding his weak Navy against the *Spanish* Army and Armado in an Engagement wherein a victory would be but a little glory, and a defeat a ruine. 3. His activity in alarming the *Spanish* Navy day and night. 4. His wisdom in honouring the most serviceable under him, as *Hawkins*, *Forbisher*, *Sheffield*, &c. 5. His popularity that drew so many Volunteers to his service, as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, the *Cecils*, &c. 6. His wariness in dividing his fourteen Sail into four squadrons round about the *Spanish* Navy. 7. His excellent contrivance of eight Ships filled with pitch, wild-fire, rosin, &c. which sent down the wind in the dead of night so much to the terrour of the *Spaniards*, that fearing the Fire, together with some more deadly Engines, they raised a pitiful cry, weighed Anchor, cut their Cables, and in a terrible pannick Fear, with great hast and confusion put to Sea. 8. His admirable dexterity in disposing of the Navy, so as they met the *Spanish* Navy upon their dispersion with such success, that the invincible Fleet never saw again its own formidableness, ever since grown the most contemptible thing that ever sailed upon these Seas. 9. His seasonable order to the Dutch Fleet to watch the Duke of *Parma* in the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*. 10. His exact intelligence, whereby he understood what a Controverſie there was in the *Spanish* Navy about this point, whether they should stick to their Commission in staying for *Parma*, which was *their* duty, or follow the emergent advantages, which had been their

their discretion,-- and dealt with them according- *K. James.*  
ly. These grand particulars of this Noble-man's  
service were so eminent and signal, that *Queen E-*  
*lizabeth*, who was over-lavish neither of her ho-  
nour nor her preferments, would say commonly  
of him and those brave *Heroes* under him, *That they*  
*were born to save their Countrey.*

This noble person was of greater experience than  
knowledge, and more beholding to his years than to  
his *Education*, whence *K. James* took great pleasure  
in his discourse, that was not morose, obstinate,  
narrow, unactive or formal, like a Students ha-  
rangues; but free, active, and ingenuous, like a  
States-man's Maxims --- Whereof one was this;  
That never did Commander a noble Act that was  
Commission-bound; it being a question, whether  
the *Venetians* and *Spaniards* lost more at Sea and in  
the *Netherlands* before they discovered that Error,  
or gained more since. For whilst we address our  
selves to the State, occasions are lost; things take  
another countenance; and so many unexpected ac-  
cidents happen, for which suddain provision must  
be made, that opportunities escape before we dare  
lay hold of them; and sometimes we perish for  
want of a Commission to save our selves.

Great content did he give by his presence in the  
*French Court* 1605. and greater in his carriage at  
the Prince Elector's marriage, 1612. A prudent  
care did he discover in providing for posterity by  
the seasonable resignation of his Admiralty; a faith-  
ful friend he shewed himself in confirming Sir *Ro-*  
*bert Mansel's* place when he parted with his own; a  
great argument of his own worth and service, that  
he was so careful to reward others.



K. James.



*Observations on the Life of Sir Geo.  
Hume, Earl of Dunbar.*

N O wonder he is so great a Favourite of King James in his riper years, who was so faithful a servant of *his* in his youth: trusted with his *Royal secrets* in *Scotland*, and therefore in his *Royal bosome* in *England*. The natural reservedness of all *Scots-men*, and the vast depth of *this*, are not more necessary to all Princes, then they were pleasing to King James, who had no secrecies that endangered his Privadoes, though many that tried them, and particularly our Statesman, who had no *hidden weakness* to be over-reached, nor *private* Interest to be corrupted, but was a great Master of himself, owning a reach not to be comprehended, and thoughts not to be fathomed, but by him whose heart was as the sand of the Sea.

Exact was his correspondence with Sir Robert Cecil while in *Scotland*, and intimate was their friendship in *England*; both extorting from each other those observations touching their respective Countreys, which they might both communicate to His Majesty at their respective opportunities.

His Enterprizes were well laid, but unsuccessful; rational, but *unhappy*: an argument that *Designs* are only in our power, and *Events* in a higher. There was not a man more noble and renowned, more comely and graceful, of more years and experience

perience [*Versatus, Versutus*] of a greater estate or K. *James.*  
 revenue; more liberal and munificent, more ac-  
 countable and courteous, more resolved and reserved  
 (all the qualities of a compleat Ambassador) than  
 the Earl of *Dunbar* when sent to *Germany*; yet  
 none more ineffectual, having gained no more by  
 a tedious and chargeable Negotiation, than as the  
 Earl of *Nottingham* with his gallant Retinue in  
*Spain*, that the Papists who were formerly per-  
 swaded by their Jesuites that we were Monsters,  
 do now believe we are Men; so useless was soft  
 Courtship in rough tumults, and so little heed  
 was given to smooth complements in Arms and  
 Uproars.

• More happy was he in *Scotland*, where his pru-  
 dence as Lord Treasurer, and his Chaplain Doctor  
*Abbots* gravity as Preacher, reduced that Nation  
 to so much sobriety as to admit a regular Religion  
 and Government; for which service he had the  
 Exchequer and the Wardrobe for himself, and the  
 Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury* for the Doctor;  
 when the King was in a great streight between the  
 known merit of the incomparable Bishop *Andrews*,  
 and the last request of dying Sir *George Hume*; a  
 great instance of King *James* his abilities in what  
*Machiavel* calleth a Princes Master-piece, viz. the  
 choice of Servants.

K. James.



*Observations on the Life of the Earl of  
Somerset.*

**H**IS extraction from *Scotland* put him in the way, his Education in *England* set him in a capacity of Advancement. He was born seasonably when his Father served him that *should* be a King of *England*; and brought up happily, when he might please him that *was* so—His beauty and comeliness took his Majesty; his parts and prudence obliged him, who loved the Cabiner, but valued the Jewel: He was admitted Page of honour to King *James* when of *Scotland*, and his Favourite when of *England*: His Majesties first observation of him was at a solemn Tiltiing, where his delight in his person meeting with his pity of his mischance (I mean the breaking of his leg there) first took him to his tuition, and then to his Council. All King *James* his Favourites were of his own education, and so imbued with his principles, and engaged to his interest. It was his Majesties policy to retain *Scots* States-men to balance the *English*; It was *Somerset's* prudence to entertain *English* Favourites to endear the *Scots*; therefore Sir *Tho. Overbury* was as much of his Council as he was of his Majesties; too haughty a carriage was the miscarriage of other Minions, too good a nature was *his*: His great defect being that goodness and humanity that that knoweth no excess, but error, which was rather a softness than a kindness: his heart was as large to others, as his Masters was to him, and  
knew

knew as little how to mistrust, as how to do any thing for which he should be mistrusted. This is the Lesson he was short in, *That civilities should be common, but favours choice.* The Whale is steered at Sea by a far smaller Fish, and this States-man at Court by far meaner men than himself. I myself (*saith an ingenious man*) have known many so far strangers to what was convenient, as they would scarce concede or deny any thing out of the presence of their Secretary: and this proceeded not seldom from a distrust there was no cause for; manifest in the Earl of Somerset, who though himself owner of a competent sufficiency, was so enchanted with an opinion of Sir Thomas Overbury's parts, that he preferred him from a Servant to such an intimate friendship; as he could think nothing well educated for employment in his Office, that had not passed his correction, nor secret laid up but in his bosome; which swelled him (*saith he*) to such a monstrousity in pride, that I have heard (not being my self then near the *English Court*) how he offered to rant at his servants, and did once beat his Coachman for putting his commands under an inferior expostulation to his Master; and through this intollerable arrogance in him, and remissness in the Earl, the sparks first flew, that kindled the ruine of them both: Friendship being no more able to maintain its interest against a feminine affection, than so great a pride was to confine it self within the tedder of moderation. The greatest are not free, but led in triumph by the affections of others, through the mediation of their own. Sir Thomas Overbury would do what was most plausible,

*K. James.* ble, and the Earl must perform what was less popular. The King trusted *Carr* with his Dispatches, and *Carr* trusts *Overbury* a month together without examination, who had full Commission to receive and answer any Letters or other Expresses that came to his hands: Great opportunities offered themselves to Sir *Robert Carr*, and a great Soul he had to observe them (Fortune being nothing else but an attentive observation of the revolution of Affairs, and the occasions resulting therefrom :) observant he was of his "Master, who raised him not to eclipse others, but like a brave Prince to ease himself. For Princes (to use my Lord *Bacon's* words) being at too great a distance from their Subjects, to ease themselves into their bosomes, raise some persons to be as it were "*participes curam*, or their Companions: but this Favourite understood as well the humour of the People, as he did the disposition of his Prince, obliging the one no less, than he pleased the other. Gay he was, as a Courtier, grave as a Counsellour: to Scholars none more civil, to Soldiers none more liberal; of States-men none more respectful: He had his extraordinary great Vertues upon occasions to shew, and his ordinary little ones always to oblige; a compleatness in all turns, and upon all occasions was his nature. Familiar he was, yet not cheap; sociable upon regard, and not upon facility: His behaviour was his soul, free for any exercise or motion; finding many, and making more opportunities to endear himself: He broke his mind to small observations, yet he comprehended great matters: His carriage was so exact, as if affected; and yet so graceful, as if natural.

natural. That which overthrew the first, bewitched *K. James.*  
 the wisest, and tyred the most patient man, undid  
 this noble person: yet so regular were his affections,  
 that he did nothing publickly in the Countess of  
*Essex*, the Earl of *Suffolk's* Daughters case, but by  
 due course of Law, the approbation of the gravest  
 and wisest Divines and Counsellors, and the ap-  
 plause of *England*: his failings were the faults of his  
 years, rather than of his person, of his sodain for-  
 tune, than of his constant temper; his counsels were  
 safe and moderate; his publick actions honest and  
 plain; his first years of favour industrious and ac-  
 tive; his mind noble and liberal. His soul capa-  
 cious and inquisitive; his temper yielding and mo-  
 dest. In a word, Sir *Robert Carr* deserved to be a  
 Favourite, if he had not been one. -- He fell because  
 he meddled too little with the Secretaries place  
 while in it, and too much when out of it; giving  
*Overbury* too much scope: on the one hand to mate  
 him, and Sir *Ralph Winwood* too much offence to  
 undermine him; who finding that new Earls occasi-  
 ons growing with his advancements (I say his oc-  
 casions, because I think his miscarriages were not  
 his nature, but his necessity) apt to encroach upon  
 his and other Court-Offices, gave ear to that In-  
 telligence from *Flushing* that might ruine him, and  
 set free himself.

*a witness  
 his enter-  
 tainment at  
 London.*

The first Intimation of his guilt was his earnest-  
 ness for a general Pardon; and the first argument  
 of it was my Lord Chancellor's scruples in sealing  
 it: whence I date his first declining, attended with  
 as much pity as his first advancement was with envy.  
 We and the Troglodites curse not the Sun-rising  
 more heartily, than we worship it when it sets.

The

*K. James.* The Gentleman was as to his stature rather well compacted than tall; as to his features and favour, comely, rather than beautiful. -- The hair of his head was flaxen, and that of his face yellow: His nature was gentle, his disposition affable, his affections publick, until a particular person and interest engrossed them: and the good Gentleman being sensible of failers that might ruine him, was wholly intent upon a *treasure* that might preserve him:—His defect was, that he understood only his own age; and that the experience of man's life cannot furnish *examples and presidents for the events of one mans life.*

### *Observations on the Life of Arch-Bishop Abbot.*

**G**EOURGE Abbot being one of that happy Ternion of Brothers, whereof two were eminent Prelates, the third Lord Mayor of *London*, was bred in *Oxford*, wherein he became Mr. of University-Colledge; a pious man, and most excellent Preacher, as his Lectures on *Jonah* do declare. He did first creep, "then run, then flye into Preferment, "or rather Preferment did flye upon him without "his expectation. He was never incumbent on any "Living with cure of Souls, but was mounted "from a Lecturer to a Dignitary; so that he knew "the Stipend and Benevolence of the one, and the "Dividend of the other, but was utterly unacquainted with the taking of Tithes, with the many troubles attending it, together with the "causeless

“ causeless molestations which Parsons presented K. James.  
 “ meet with in their respective Parishes. And be-  
 “ cause it is hard for one to have a Fellow-suffering  
 “ of that, whereof he never had a suffering; this  
 “ (say some) was the cause that he was so harsh to  
 “ Ministers when brought before him.

Being Chaplain to the Earl of *Dunbar*, then  
 omni-prevalent with King *James*, he was un-  
 expectedly preferred Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*,  
 being of a more Fatherly presence than those, who  
 might almost have been his Fathers for age in the  
 Church of *England*. There are two things much  
 charged upon his memory;

First, That in his house he respected his Secre-  
 tary above his Chaplains; and out of it, alwayes ho-  
 noured Cloaks above Cassocks, Lay above Clergy-  
 men.

Secondly, That he connived at the spreading of  
 Nonconformity, insomuch that a Modern Author  
 said,

*Had Bishop Laud succeeded Bancroft, and the  
 project of Conformity been followed without inter-  
 ruption, there is little question to be made, but  
 that our Jerusalem (by this time) might have  
 been a City at unity within it self.*

“ This Arch-Bishop was much humbled with a  
 “ casual Homicide of a Keeper of the Lord *Zouch*'s  
 “ in *Bramel-Park*, though soon after he was so-  
 “ lemnly quitted from any irregularity thereby.  
 “ In the Reign of King *Charles* he was sequester'd  
 “ from his Jurisdictions, say some, on the old ac-  
 “ count of that Homicide, though others say, for  
 “ refusing to License a Sermon of *Dr. Sirpsborps*.  
 “ Yet there is not an Express of either in the In-  
 strument



*K. James.* “Instrument of Sequestration, the Commission only  
 “saying in the general, That the Arch-bishop could  
 “not at that present in his own Person attend those  
 “Services which were otherwise proper for his  
 “Cognizance and Jurisdiction.

To say the truth, he was a man of good intentions, and knew much, but failed in what those ordinarily do that are devoted to our modern singularities, being extremely obstinate in his opinions, which the King was more willing to understand than follow, because most times he looked upon things according to the rigour of Ecclesiastick maxims, and was either too curious and irresolute by variety of reading, or too peremptory and positive from the strictness of his Rules; or too zealous by reason of the seriousness of his Study; or wide from the matter, by reason of his *inexperience*, and aptness to require in the times he lived, the regularity of the times “he read of heeding “not the force of Circumstances, the errors of “Comparison, or the cautions of Application. I like his Apology for his severity to the Clergy (that he was *austere to prevent others being cruel*) as well as his zeal for the Protestant Religion; onely his Principles betrayed his profession, which he rendered too obnoxious, while he supported it by those novel grounds which our Adversaries could make us confess were Heterodox, and by those straight-laced foundations which we saw our selves too narrow. As for instance, King *James* his vast capacity took him up once for making the Scripture the onely rule of Civil Affairs; owning the piety, but observing to his face the imprudence of that assertion. Imprudence, I say, as for many

many reasons, so for this, because to assert a *K. James.*  
truth upon a weak principle, is to tempt the world  
to doubt of the strength of the first, when they see  
the weakness of the other. Whether he went off in  
discontent, and said, *He would not attend at the*  
*Council-Table, because he should not wait at the Altar :*  
Whether he had such malignant followers as called  
themselves *Nicodemites*, or Night-Disciples :  
Whether he turned noon-day into mid-night, and  
mid-night into noon-day, having a candle always  
burning in his Chamber ; or if so, for what reason,  
I would not have one of my years determine, but  
rather refer the present age to his Contemporaries  
pen, which describes him thus ;

A very learned man he was ; his Erudition all of  
the old stamp, fitly principled in the Doctrine of *S.*  
*Augustine*, pious, grave, and exemplary in his Con-  
versation : But some think him a better man than  
Arch-Bishop, and that he was better qualified with  
merit for the Dignity, than with a spirit answering  
the Function ; in the exercise whereof he was con-  
ceived too facile and yielding : his extraordinary  
remissness in not exacting strict Conformity to the  
prescribed Orders of the Church in point of Cere-  
mony, seemed to resolve those legal Determinati-  
ons to their first Principle of Indifference, and led  
in such an habit of Inconformity, as the future re-  
duction of those tender-conscienced men to long  
discontinued obedience, was interpreted an inno-  
vation ; as if he thought it might fall out in Poli-  
ticks as it doth sometimes in Physick, *bina venena*  
*juvant*, that the two contrary poysons of Super-  
stition and Innovation might prove a Cordial to  
the Church--

*Obser-*

## *Observations on the Life of Sir George Calvert.*

Sir George Calvert was bred first in Trinity-Colledge in Oxford, and then beyond the Seas. His Abilities commended him first to be Secretary to Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer of England. Afterwards he was made Clerk of the Council, and at last principal Secretary of State to King James, succeeding Sir Tho. Lake in that Office, Anno 1619.

H. Holland, p. 39.

Conceiving the Duke of Buckingham highly instrumental in his preferment, he presented him with a Jewel of great value; which the Duke returned him again, not owning any Activity in his Advancement, whom King James, *ex mero motu*, reflecting on his Abilities, designed for the Place. This Place he discharged five years, until he willingly resigned the same, 1624. on this occasion; He freely confessed himself to the King, that he was then become a Roman Catholick, so that he must either be wanting to his Trust; or violate his conscience in discharging his Office. This his Ingenuity so highly affected King James, that he continued him Privy-Councillor all his Reign, and soon after created him Lord Baltimore of Baltimore in Ireland.

During his being Secretary, he had a Patent to him and his Heirs to be *Absolutus Dominus & Proprietarius*, with the Royalties of a Count Palatine of the Province of Avalon in the New-found land, a place

a place so named by him in imitation of old *Avalon* in *Somersetshire*, wherein *Glassenbury* stands, the first-fruits of Christianity in *Britain*, as the other was in that part of *America*. Here he built a fair house in *Ferry-land*, and spent twenty five thousand pounds in advancing the Plantation thereof.

Indeed his publick spirit consulted not his private profit, but the enlargement of Christianity, and the Kings Dominions, in that his ancient, primitive, and heroick work of planting the world. After the death of King *James* he went twice in person to *New-found land*. Here when Mounſieur de l' *Arade* with three men of War sent from the King of *France*, had reduced our *English* Fishermen to great extreimity; this Lord with two Ships manned at his own charge, chased away the *Frenchmen*, relieved the *English*, and took sixty of the *French* Prisoners. He removed afterwards to *Virginia* to view those parts, and thence came into *England*, and obtained of King *Charles* the first (who had as great an esteem of, and affection for him, as King *James*) a Patent to him and his Heirs for *Mary-Land* on the North of *Virginia*, with the same Title and Royalties conferred on him, as in *Avalon* aforesaid, now a hopeful Plantation, peopled with eight thousand *English* Souls; which in process of time may prove more advantageous to our Nation.

Judge *Popham* and Sir *George Calvert* agreed not more unanimously in the publick design of Planting, than they differed in the private way of it: the first was for extirpating Heathens, the second for converting them. — He sent away the lewdest, this the soberest people: the one was for present profit, the

*K. James.* the other for a reasonable expectation (it being in the case of planting Countreys, as in that of planting Woods; you must account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompence in the end; it being necessary the Province should first find her self, and then enrich you.) The Judge was for many Governors, the Secretary for few, and those not concerned Merchants, but unconcerned Gentlemen: The one granted Liberties without any restraint, the other with great caution: The first set up a common Stock, out of which the Island should be provided for by proportions; the second left every one to provide for himself.

Two things are eminent in this man:

1. That though he was a Catholick, yet kept he himself sincere and disingaged from all Interests; and though a man of great judgment, yet not obstinate in his sentiments, but taking as great pleasure in hearing others opinions, as in delivering his own, which he heard moderated and censured with more patience, than applauded.

2. That he carried a digested and exact account of Affairs to his Master every night, and took to himself the pains to examine the Letters which related to any Interest that might be any ways considerable. He was the onely States-man, that being engaged to a decryed party, yet managed his business with that huge respect for all sides, that all who knew him, applauded him; and none that had any thing to do with him, complained of him.

*Observa-*

## Observations on the Life of Sir Arthur Chichester.

“**S**ir Arthur Chichester spent his youth, first in the University, then in the *French* and *Irish* Wars, where by his valour he was effectually assistant. First, to plough and break up that barbarous Nation by Conquest, and then to sow it with seeds of civility, when by King *James* made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Indeed good Laws and Provisions had been made by his Predecessors to that purpose: but alas, they were like good Lessons set for a Lute out of tune, useless, until the Instrument was fitted for them. Wherefore in order to the civilizing of the *Irish*, in the first year of his government, he established two new Circuits for Justices of Assize, the one in *Connacht*, the other in *Munster*. And whereas the Circuits in former times only encompassed the *English* Pale (as the *Cynosura* doth the Pole) henceforwards like good Planets in their several Spheres, they carried the influence of Justice round about the Kingdom. Yea, in short time *Ireland* was so cleared of Thieves and capital Offenders, that so many Malefactors have not been found in the 32 Shires of *Ireland*, as in six *English* Shires in the *Western* Circuits. He reduced the Mountains and Glinnes on the South of *Dublin* (formerly thornes in the side of the *English* pale) into the County of *Wicklow*; and in conformity to the *English* custom, many *Irish* began to cut their Mantles

*K. James.* into Cloaks. So observant was his eye over the actions of suspected persons, that *Tyrone*, was heard to complain, *That he could not drink a full carouse of Sack, but the State within few hours was advertised thereof.*

After he had been continued many years in his Deputyship, and deservedly made a Lord, King *James* recalled him home, and (loath to leave his Abilities unemployed) sent him Embassador to the Emperour and other German Princes. Being besieged in the City of *Mainchine* (a place much indebted to his prudence for seasonable victualling it) by Count *Tilley*, he sent him word, that it was against the Law of Nations to besiege an Embassador: *Tilley* returned that he took no notice that he was an Embassador. The Lord *Chichester* replied to the Messenger, *Had my Master sent me with as many hundred men; as he hath sent me on fruitless Missions, your General should have known, that I had been a Soldier, as well as an Embassador.*

King *James* at his return entertained him with great commendations, for so well discharging his Trust; and he died in as great honour as any Englishman of our Age. Thus far the Historians.

Whence I observe him stout in his nature above any disorder upon Emergencies, a resolved in his temper above any impressions from other Princes, and high in his Proposal beyond the expectation of his own. *Alvergonzoto el Diabolo traxo al Palacio,* Proverb. The Devil brought the Bashful to Court, where none succeeds but he who can ask enough to be granted, and enough to be abated. There is a memorable observation of *Philip* the second, King of *Spain*, called *El prudente*; That when he had

“delighted

a Domas-  
daallai,  
chen n  
Manchgra  
poi calare.  
Proverb.  
Hip. apud  
Infir. D.  
Fere II m  
de legatis.

“designed one for Ambassador, the man came *K. James.*  
“faintly and coldly to him to propose some things  
“for the accommodation of his Embassie; and he  
“said, *How can I expect that this man can promote  
and effectuate my business, when he is so faint and fear-  
ful in the solicitation of his own?*

Yet was not my Lord *Chichester* more resolute in  
*Germany*, than wary in *Ireland*, where his opinion  
was, that time must open and facilitate things for  
Reformation of Religion, by the Protestant Planta-  
tions; by the care of good Bishops and Divines, the  
amplification of the Colledge, the education of  
Wards, an insensible seizure of Popish liberties.  
&c. and that the Council there was so numerous  
(fifty or sixty at least) that the authority of it was  
debated, and its business divulged. In a word, this  
brave Gentleman had an equal mind, that kept up  
it self between the discourses of Reason, and the  
examples of Histories, in the enjoyment of a good  
fortune, and a conflict with a bad.


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*Observations on the Life of the Lord  
Chancellor Egerton.*

**T**HE Lord Chancellour *Egerton*, extracted  
from the ancient Family of the *Egerton's* of  
*Kidley* in *Cheshire*, was bred in the study of the Mu-  
nicipal Laws of our Land, wherein he attained to  
such eminency, that *Queen Elizabeth* made him  
her Solicitor, then Matter of the Rolls, and at  
last Keeper of the Great Seal, *May 6.* in the 38  
year of her Reign, 1596.



*K. James.* *Olaus Magnus* reporteth, that the Emperour of *Moscovia* at the Audience of Ambassadors, sende h for the gravest and seemliest men in *Mosco* and the Vicinage, whom he apparelleth in rich Vests; and placing them in his presence, pretendeth to For-aigners, that these are of his Privy-Council; who cannot but be much affected with so many reverent Aspects. But surely all *Christendome* afforded not a person which carried more gravity in his countenance and behaviour than *Sir Thomas Egerton*, in-  
 somuch that many have gone to the Chancery on purpose only to see his venerable Garb (happy they who had no other business) and were highly pleased at so acceptable a spectacle. Yet was his outward Case nothing in comparison of his inward Abilities, quick Wit, solid Judgement, ready Utterance. I confess Master *Cambden* saith, he entred his Office *Magna expectatione & integritatis opinione*, with a great expectation and opinion of Integrity: But no doubt, had he revised his work in a second Edition, he would have afforded him a full-faced commendation, when this Lord had turned his expectation to performance. In the first of King *James*, of Lord Keeper he was made Lord Chancellor, which is also another name for the same Office: and on *Thursday* the seventh of *November*, 1616. of Lord *Elismer* he was created Viscount *Brackley*. It is given to Courts whose Jurisdictions do border, to fall out about their bounds; and the contest betwixt them is the hotter, the higher the spirits and parts of the respective Judges. Great was the contention for many years together betwixt this Lord of Equity, and *Sir Edward Coke* the Oracle of Justice at *Westminster-Hall*:

*Hall* : I know not which of them got the better ; *K. James.*  
 sure I am such another Contest would (if this did )  
 not) have undone the Conqueror.

He was attended on with servants of most able  
 parts, and was the sole Chancellor since the Re-  
 formation, who had a Chaplain, which ( though  
 not immediately ) succeeded him in his place. He  
 gave over his Office which he held full twenty  
 years, some few days before his death ; and by his  
 own appointment, his body was brought down and  
 buried at *Doddleston* in *Cheshire*, leaving a fair estate  
 to his Son, who was afterwards created Earl of  
*Bridgewater*, as he did to his excellent Son now  
 living.


When he saw King *James* his munificence to  
 some Courtiers, with the grave Fidelity of a States-  
 man, he stuck not often to tell him, That as he  
 held it necessary for his Majesty amply to remune-  
 rate all those his Countrey-men, so he desired him  
 carefully to preserve his Crown lands, for his own  
 support, seeing he or his Successors might meet  
 with Parliaments which would not supply his occa-  
 sions, but on such conditions as would not be very  
 acceptable unto him. It was an ordinary speech  
 in his mouth to say, *'Frost and Fraud both end in  
 Foul.'*

His plain, but honest advice to my Lord of *Essex*  
 was,

1. Nor to trust himself, because they that stand  
 by, see more than they that play the game.

2. To yield to *Time* and *Fortune*, and not do that  
 for his Enemies, which they could never do for  
 themselves.

3. To have a careful eye upon those actions on

*K. James.* which he knew there were many envious ones.  And for himself, his supplication to King *James* was, That since his conceit and sense was grown so heavy, his Memory decay'd, his Judgement weak, his Hearing imperfect, and his Voice faltering, he might *desinere potius quam deficere*, and retire from his Business to his Meditation, as he did; while living, imparting many mysteries of the Chancery; and when dying, bequeathing as many choice Books and Directions to his then Chaplain, and his after-Successor Doctor *Williams*.—Secretary *Winwood* having received the Seal, and left this gracious Message with this good man, that his Majesty would be his Under-keeper, and not dispose of it while he lived to bear the name of Chancellor: nor did any receive the Seal out of the Kings sight, while he lived to bear the name of Chancellor.

A company of Citizens got a Cause passed by keeping a Witness away in this manner; one of them gets him to the Tavern, and there leaves him with a quart of Sack before him, and the glass at his mouth, and swears in open Court, that he left him in a condition, wherein if he continueth but *two hours, he is a dead man*. The other Party find out the cheat, and have their remedy in Chancery: Sir *Edward Cook* brings the matter to the Star-Chamber, and threatneth the Chancellor with a *Premunire*. The business is debated, and sentence passed for my Lord Chancellor; with the comfort whereof, and the Kings and Princes Letter to him upon his Death-bed, he went to his Grave.

*Observations on the Life of the Lord  
Chief-Justice Popham.*

**S**Ir *John Popham* in his youthful days was a stout and skilful man at Sword and Buckler as any in that Age, and wild enough in his Recreations. But oh ! saith my Author, if Quick-silver could be really fixed, to what a treasure would it amount ? Such is wild youth seriously reduced to gravity, as by this young man did appear, who applyed himself to a more profitable Fencing, the study of the Laws ; therein attaining to such eminency, that he became the Queens Attorney, afterwards Lord Chief-Justice of *England*. Being sent *Ann* 1600. by the Queen with some others to the Earl of *Essex*, to know the cause of the confluence of so many Military men unto his house, the Soldiers therein detained him for a time, which some made tantamount to an Imprisonment. This his violent detention Sir *John* deposed upon his Oath at the Earl's Tryal: which I note the rather, for the rarity thereof, that a Lord Chief-Justice should be produced as Witness in open Court.

In the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, his justice was exemplary on Thieves and Robbers. The Land then swarmed with people which had been Soldiers, who had never gotten (or else quite forgotten) any other Vocation. Hard it was for Peace to feed all the idle mouths which a former War did breed, being too proud to beg, too lazy

*K. James*, to labour : Those infested the High-ways with their Fellonies ; some presuming on their multitudes, as the Robber on the *Northern Road*, whose knot otherwise not to be untied ) Sir *John* cut a-funder with the Sword of Justice. He possessed King *James*, how the frequent granting of Pardons was prejudicial to Justice, rendring the Judges to the contempt of insolent Malefactors ; which made his Majesty more sparing afterwards in that kind. In a word, the deserved death of some scores, preserved the lives and livelihoods of some thousands : Travellers owing their safety to this Judges severity, many years after his death. Neither did he onely punish Malefactors, but provide for them ; for observing that so many suffered and died for none other reason but because they could not live in *England*, now grown too populous for it's self, and breeding more Inhabitants than it could keep, he first set up the discovery of *New-England*, to maintain and employ those that cou'd not live honestly in the old ; being of opinion, that banishment thither would be as well a more lawfull, as a more effectual remedy against those extravagancies ; the Authors whereof judge it more eligible to hang, than to work ; to end their dayes in a moment, than to continue them in pains :-- onely a great Judgment observes, it is a shameful and an unblesed thing, to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom to plant : And not onely so, but it spoyleth the Plantation, for they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to work, and do mischief, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certifie over to the Countrey, to the disgrace of the *Common-wealth*.

O serva-

*Observations on the Life of Sir Robert Dudley.*

**S**ir Robert Dudley, son to Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, by Douglas Sheffield (whether his Mistress or his Wife, God knows) was born at Shenè in Surrey, and bred by his Mother (out of his Fathers reach) at Offington in *Sussex*, where he became a most compleat Gentleman in all suitable Accomplishments, endeavouring in the Reign of King James to prove his Legitimacy; and meeting with much opposition from the Court, in distaste, he left his Land, and went over into *Italy*. But worth is ever at home, and carrieth its own welcome along with it. Therefore he became a Favourite to the Duke of *Florence*, who highly reflected on his Abilities, and used his Directions in all his Buildings. At this time *Legorn* from a Child, started to a Man, without ever being a youth; and of a small Town grew a great City on a sudden, and is much beholding to this Sir Robert for its Fairness and Firmness, as chief contriver of both. But by this time his Adversaries in *England* had procur'd him to be call'd home by a special Privy-Seal; which he refused to obey, and thereupon all his Lands in *England* were seized upon by the King, by the Statute of *Fugitives*. These losses doubled the love of the Duke of *Florence* unto him. And indeed Sir Robert was a much-meriting person on many Accounts, being an

Excellent

K. James.



- 1 Mathematician, especially for the Practical part thereof in *Architecture*.  
 2 Physician, his Catholicism at this day finding good Esteem amongst those of that Faculty.  
 3 Navigator, especially in the *Western Seas*.

Indeed long before his leaving of *England*, whilst as yet he was *Reclus in Curia*, well esteemed in *Queen Elizabeth's Court*, he sailed with three small Ships to the *Isle of Trinidad*, in which voyage he sunk and took nine *Spanish Ships*; whereof one an *Armada of 600 Tons*.

He was so acceptable to *Ferdinand the second*, Emperour of *Germany*, that by his Letters Patents bearing date at *Vienna*, *March 9. 1620.* he conferred on him and his Heirs the Title of a Duke of the Sacred Empire. Understand it a Title at large (as that of Count *Arundel's*) without the Assignation of any proper Place unto him.

King *James* had heard so much of the *Father*, that he did not care for the *Son*, who might have been near his Person, had not his Ancestors been so near his Predecessors—no other Considerations being likely to keep so extraordinary parts at this distance from a King that valued them so highly, or a Kingdom that needed them so much.—That Prince being as jealous an observer of *Original sin* in Policy, as he was an Orthodox Assertor of it in Religion, would trust no tainted blood. He writ an excellent discourse of Religion as the blind Senator in *Juvenal* made a large Encomium of the goodly

goodly Turbet which lay before *Caſar*, but as ill *K. James.*  
 luck would have it, turned himſelf quite the con-  
 trary way; at ill *deſervat* *jocibat bellum*, a man right  
 of *Chryſippus* his temper, who ſometimes wanted  
 Opinions; but never Arguments, which he ma-  
 naged all ways with contempt of, and oppoſition  
 to the School-way, which going the diſtincteſt  
 way to ſtate, went the neareſt way to end contro-  
 verſies, but was ſlighted by him as unintelligible,  
 becauſe it had been paſſed by him as unſtudied, as  
 the old Woman in *Seneca*, complained that the  
 Room was dark, when only her Eyes were ſo, and  
 his new *eugruas* wherein he made his private and  
 crazy judgment the Standard and Seal of common  
 truth, took a little with mens firſt thoughts,  
 but loſt themſelves with their wiſer, and ſecond,  
 like the Log in the Fable which terrified the poor  
 Frogs with the noiſe it made at the firſt falling of  
 it into the waters, but afterwards they inſulted  
 over it, and took their turns to leap upon it. When  
 I conſider *Metiochus* his carriage in *Plutarc*, and  
 Sir Robert's Character in Florence, *hec a ſe non mu-*  
*tum abludit imago*: *Metiochus* is Captain, *Metiochus*  
 is Surveyor, *Metiochus* bakes the Bread, *Metiochus*  
 grinds the Corn, *Metiochus* doth all; right one  
 of *Aſop's* fellows, that could ſay and do *all things*;  
 ſo that others need ſay and do *nothing*, a very happy  
 man if while living he had deſerved the Character  
 idle *Vaccia* had when dead. *Hic ſumus eſt Vaccia*,  
 here lyeth *Vaccia*.



K. James.



## *Observations on the Life of Arch-Bishop Bancroft.*

**D**OCTOR *Richard Bancroft*, (whom his Adversaries character a better States-man than Divine, a better Divine than Preacher, though upon good occasion he shewed he was all these) was bred in *Jesús Colledge in Cambridge*, where his parts in discovering the bottom of Presbytery, and his sufficiency when his Patron *Hatton's* Examiner commended him to *Queen Elizabeth*. to be Bishop of *London*, and to *King James* to be Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. Indeed he was in effect Arch-Bishop while Bishop, to whom Doctor *Whig* in his decrepit age remitted the managing of matters, so that he was the soul of the High-Commission. A great States-man he was, and grand Champion of Church-discipline; having well hardned the hands of his Soul, which was no more than needed for him, who was to meddle with Nettles and Bryars, and met with much opposition.

No wonder if those who were silenced by him in the Church, were loud against him in other places. *David* speaketh of poyson under mens lips; This Bishop tasted plentifully thereof from the mouths of his Enemies, till at last (as *Mithridates*) he was so habited to poisons, that they became food unto him. Once a Gentleman coming to visit him, presented him a Libel, which he found pasted on his door; who being nothing moved thereat, said, *Cast it to an hundred more which lye here on a heap*

Psa. 104.3.

*beep in my Chamber.* Many a Libel, (*Lye*) (because *K. James.* false) (*Bell*) because loud) was made upon him. The aspersions of covetousness, though cast, doth not stick on his memory, being confuted by the Estate which he left, small in proportion to his great preferment, being but 6000 *l.* after being above twelve years in *London* and *Canterbury*.

He cancelled his first Will, wherein he had bequeathed much to the Chorch : suspecting an impression of popular violence on Cathedrals, and fearing an Alienation of what was bequeathed unto them, he thought fit to cancel his own, to prevent others cancelling his Testament. This partly appears by his second Will, wherein he gave the Library at *Lambeth* (the result of his own, and three Predecessors collections) to the University of *Cambridge* (which now they possess) in case the Arch-Episcopal See should be extinct.

How came such a jealousy into his mind? what fear of a storm when the Sun shined, the Sky clear, no appearance of Clouds? Surely his skill was more than ordinary in the complexion of the Common-wealth, who did foresee what afterward (for a time) came to pass. This clause providentially inserted, secured this Library in *Cambridge* during the vacancy of the Archi-Episcopal see, and so prevented the embezzelling, at the least the dismembring thereof, in our late civil distempers.

They that accuse this excellent Prelate of cruelty, never read this story : A Minister privately protested to him, that *it went against his conscience to conform.* Which way said the good Arch-Bishop (observing the mans ingenuity) will you live, if you be put out of your Benefice? The other answered,

*He*

**K. James.** *He had no other way but to go a begging. Not so (said the Arch-bishop) that you shall not need to do, but come to me, and I will take order for your maintenance.*

They that exclaimed against his unserviceableness, never observed *this passage*: A company of young Courtiers appeared extraordinary gallant at a Tilting, far above their Fortunes and Estates, giving for their Motto, *Solvat Ecclesia*. Bishop *Bancroft* then of *London* hearing of it, finds on enquiry that the Queen was passing a considerable parcel of Church-lands to them, and stops the business with his own and his friends Interest, leaving these Gallants to pay the shot of their pride and prodigality out of their own purses. -- And *this*; that a prevalent Courtier had swallowed up the whole Bishoprick of *Durham*, had not this Arch-Bishop seasonably interposed his power with King *James* (ready enough to admit such Intercessions) and dashed the design. They that traduce him for a Papist, forget that he fomented the difference between the Seculars, and Regulars, to the weakning, and promoted the foundation of *Chelsey-Colledge*, to the ruining of that cause.

But they that perform great actions, reserving as it is fit the reason of them in their own bosomes, may sufficiently satisfy their Consciences towards God, though they can hardly avoid the censures of men.

I shall add no more concerning this excellent Prelate, but that it was observed as the Historian writes, That at *Hampton-Court-Conference* Arch-Bishop *Whitgift* spake most gravely, Bishop *Bilson* most learnedly, but Bishop *Bancroft* [when out of passion] most politickly. *Observa-*

*Observations on the Life of the Lord Grandison.*

Sir Oliver Saint-John, Lord Grandison, &c. descended of an ancient and honourable Family, whose prime Seat was at *Lediard-Tregoze* in *Wiltshire*, though their first settlement was in *South-Wales*. He was bred in the Wars from his youth, and at last by King *James* was appointed Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and vigorously pursued the Principles of his Predecessors for the civilizing thereof. Indeed the Lord *Mountjoy* reduced that Countrey to obedience, the Lord *Chichester* to some civility, and this Lord *Grandison* first advanced it to considerable profit to his Master. *T. Walsingham* writeth, that *Ireland* afforded unto *Edward* the third thirty thousand pounds a year paid into his Exchequer: but it appears by the *Irish* Records (which are rather to be believed) that it was rather a burthen, and the constant Revenue thereof beneath the third part of that proportion.

But now, the Kingdom being peaceably settled, the income thereof turned to good Account, so that *Ireland* (called the Land of *Ire* for the constant broils therein for four hundred years) was now become the Land of Concord.

This noble Person recalled into *England*, lived many years in great repute, leaving his Honours to his Sisters son by Sir *Edward Villiers*, but the main of his Estate to his Brothers son Sir *John* *St. John* Knight and Baronet. So sweet and charming

*K. James.*

ing his Conversation, that he was *belov'd* by all his Superiours, and *envied* by no Inferiour; being never advanced to any great Dignity, but he was wish'd to a greater: So exact his vigilancy, so constant his industry, so plausible his actions, attended with no less civility to all men, than duty to his Sovereign: So frank and ingenious his Integrity, that none feared him; so discreet his management of Business, and so strong his judgment, that any might confide in him. One he was that cross'd the *Italian* Proverb,

*Di Dunaridi senno, e di fede,  
In e Mancho che non Crede:*

having more money, more faith, yea and more wisdom too than was generally esteem'd. I mean wisdom of behaviour, wisdom of business, and wisdom of State; in the last whereof he aimed at a general settlement, which he observ'd would bear particular errors, provided that Care, Labour, Vigilancy, and prudent inquietude attended, that forceth Difficulties, constrains Fortune, *assures good Counsels*, corrects bad, supports and overthroweth designs, disposeth of accidents, observeth time, manageth hazards, forgets nothing; seldom trusts others, and improveth all Occurrents: and that first maxime of Policy he observ'd, *That who layeth out most, layeth out least*, that petty frugalities undo the main Interest.

*Observa.*



*Observations on the Life of Sir Tho.  
Overbury.*

SIR *Thomas Overbury*, son to *Sir Nicholas Overbury*, one of the Judges of the Marches, was born at *Burton on the Hill* in *Gloucestershire*, bred in *Oxford*, and attained to be a most accomplished Gentleman, partly at *Grays-Inn*, and partly in *France*; which the happiness of his Pen both in Poetry and Prose doth declare. In the later he is observed to be the first writer of Characters of our Nation. But if the great parts of this Gentleman were guilty of Insolence and Petulancy, "which some since have charged on his memory; "reporting of him, that he should say, *Somerset* owed his advancement to him, and that he should "walk with his hat on before the queen; we may "charitably presume, that his reduced age would "have corrected such Juvenile extravagancies. It "is questionable, whether *Robert Carr* Earl of *Somerset* were more in the favour of King *James*, or "this *Sir Thomas Overbury* in the favour of the Earl "of *Somerset*, until he lost it by disswading that "Lord from keeping company with a Lady (the "Wife of another person of honour) as neither "for his credit here, or comfort hereafter. Soon "after *Sir Thomas* was by King *James* designed "Embassador for *Russia*. His false friends perswaded him to decline the Employment, as no better than an honourable Grave. Better lye some "days in the Tower, than more months in a worse  
D d d "Prison.

*K. James.* "Prison; A ship by Sea, and a barbarous cold  
 "Country by Land. Besides, they possessed him,  
 "that within a small time, the King should be  
 "wrought to a good opinion of him. But he that  
 "willingly goes into a Prison, out of hope to come  
 "easily out of it, may stay therein so long, till he be  
 "too late convinced of another Judgement. Whi-  
 "lest Sir *Thomas* was in the Tower, his Refusal was  
 "presented to the K. as an Act of high Contempt,  
 "as if he valued himself more than the Kings ser-  
 "vice. His strict restraint gave the greater liberty  
 "to his enemies to practice his death, 1615. which  
 "was by poyson performed: Yet was his blood le-  
 "gally revenged, which cost some a violent, and  
 "others a civil death, as deprived of their Offi-  
 "ces. The Earl was soon abated in King *James* his  
 "affection (Oh! the short distance betwixt the  
 "cooling and quenching of a Favourite) being con-  
 "demned, and banished the Court.

Exact are the remarks he drew up of Foreign  
 Countreys, & therefore no less such his transactions  
 for his own. In this most esteemed with King  
*James* and his Master, that he suited both their  
 Genius's in the easie and clear method, wherein  
 he expressed the most difficult and knotty Affairs;  
 for they both being perplexed with that variety of  
 Affairs in general, that they could not readily  
 look into difficult Cases in particular, loved those  
 that made things out easie and clear to them, as  
 well fitted for their apprehensions, as obvious to  
 their judgement--owning a Soul so quiet, that a-  
 bate its youthful extravagancies, it knew not a  
 motion but what was Duty and Interest; felt no a-  
 gitation but what was reason, and what Philoso-

phy conveyed into the souls of the wisest, and ob-  
 servation inſinuated into the ſpirit of the cloſeſt; *K. James.*  
 if he expected a recompence ſuitable to his ſervi-  
 ces, or an acknowledgment anſwerable to his me-  
 rit, he underſtood not the humour and nature of  
 mankind, the intereſt of Favourites, or his own  
 Parts, too guilty of reputation to be advanced,  
 and of power not to be ſuppreſſed.—It's *Machiav-  
 vel's* rule; *That they who riſe very high, ſhould  
 deſcend timely, and quit the envy, leſt they loſe  
 the honour of their greatneſs.* Although this Gen-  
 tleman's ſkill in accommodating Faſtions, in the  
 Art of Negotiation, in the charm of Language,  
 in the Intereſt of Princes, in maſtering his own  
 Reſentments as well as his Enemies that provoked  
 him, had preſerved him, if he had known as well  
 how to hold his Tongue, as how to ſpeak; if  
 he had underſtood others humours as well as  
 they did his; and if he had ſkilled as well from  
 whom to have reſuſed kindneſs, as from whom  
 he deſerved it.—In a word, he that conſidered ſo  
 many other Maxims, was defective in compliance  
 with his own, viz. *That virtue is there unproſitable,  
 where too great;* and that many had loſt the favour  
 of their Maſters by over-much meriting it.



K. James.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Clem.  
Edmonds.*

\* Vere's  
Commentaries.

Sir *Clement Edmonds*, that learned and judicious Remembrancer of the City of *London*, was born at \* *Sbratwardine* in *Sbropshire*, and bred Fellow of *All-Souls Colledge* in *Oxford*, being generally skilled in all Arts and Sciences; witness his faithful Translations of, and learned Illustrations on *Caesar's Commentaries*. Say not that Comment on Commentary was false Heraldry, seeing it is so worthy a work, that the Author thereof may pass for an eminent instance to what perfection of Theory they may attain to in matter of War, who were not acquainted with the Practick part thereof; being once employed by *Queen Elizabeth*, with a dispatch to Sir *Francis Vere*, which occasioned his presence at the Battel at *Newport*: For he doth so smartly discuss, *pro* and *con*, and seriously decide many Martial Controversies, that his judgment therein is praised by the best Military Masters.

King *James* taking notice of his Abilities, made him Clerk of the Council, and Knighted him; and he was at last preferred Secretary of State, in the vacancy of that place; but prevented by death, he acted not therein. At this day his goodness in his general carriage out-did his prudence, and his prudence in particular, his goodness; but his industry both in all things, and in nothing more than in his *Scotch Negotiation*, where he over-reached the sly *French*, composed and settled the unsatisfied

fied King, and sent those weekly Advertisements *K. James.* to his Mistresses, that Sir Robert Cecil confessed the Master-wheel of those years revolutions.

When Charles the fifth presented Secretary Erasmo to his Son Philip the second, he said, *He gave him somewhat greater than his Estate, and more royal than his Empire.* When Sir William Waad introduced Sir Clement Edmonds to Court, he brought thither in that person more than he could carry away in his own : A person much accomplished in the great precepts and rules he observed ; more in his experience and application of those he practised ; wherein he was wise, but not presumptuous ; exact, but not pedantick ; allowing much to old Observations, more to new Circumstances : He was not more beholding to his Nature, than his Nature to his Study and Meditation ; and that to time and experience, which offered at once occasions of instruction, and matter of exercises, to his great understanding, so well acquainted with the affairs of former Ages, that he could not be surprized with those of his own, knowing how to command, before he was called to obey, as who trusted not to his own, short and perplexed life, that scarce holds out five or six important *Negotiations*, and ordinarily ceaseth to be, before it beginneth to know : but his policy may be guessed from his morality ; and his publick carriage in the tumults of Affairs, from his private conduct and command in the disorders of nature, these being as well managed by his reason, as the former by his prudence : His lesser skill in governing the little world being an earnest of that more large in ruling the greater.—The Government of others, saith Philosophy, is not fit for him who is a Slave to himself.

*Observa-*

K. James.

*Observations on the Life of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle.*

ONE Hay his Ancestor saved *Scotland* from an Army of *Danes* at *Longcarty* with a *Reverse a Yrak* in his hand. *James Hay* 600 years after saved the King of that Countrey from the their sup- *Gonvies* at their house with a *Caster* in his : the first had as much ground assigned him by King *Kenish* as a Falcon could flye over at one flight, and the other as much Land as he could ride round in two dayes. The whole Family fell before *Dublin-Castle* in former dayes, save a child left in his Mothers womb ; and had decayed in ours, but that the heir of it was cut out from his. He served his Master in *Scotland* by his *Generosity* ; and in *England* with his *Hospitality* ; the decay whereof King *James* observed the defect of the *English Nobility* ; and the restauration of it, he designed the honour of the *Scots Gentry*. Royal was his Masters munificence towards him, noble his towards others ; His Majesty being not more intent upon his advancement for publick service, than he was upon the advancement of others to his private assistance : His Majesties gracious inclination being for a Reign of Peace, this servants estate was spent upon the Arts of it, I mean upon Feasts, Masques, gay Cloathes, and such other Delicacies as might soften our harsher natures to quietness, that Princes interest, who was first to understand, and then to manage the strength of this Nation.

Although

Although he failed in most of his *Negotiations*, *K. James.*  
 because he carried his money on his back, rather  
 than in his purse; rather to *spend*, than to bestow;  
 and amaze Foreigners, rather than oblige them: Yet  
 was his Embassie more suitable to the *French* vanity,  
 than either the *Dutch* thrift, or the *German* plain-  
 ness; and his carriage more answerable to a gaw-  
 dy Treaty of Marriage, than to a close Agency for  
 Interest, or the intricate consultations of War.  
 So great the report of his Hospitality, that an Host  
 of *Delph* demanded sixty pounds for providing him  
 a Supper, though he never came that way; yet so  
 displeasing to the Prince of *Orange*, that when his  
 Steward asked what he should provide extraordi-  
 narily for the great Embassador's entertainment;  
 the Prince looks on his Bill of Fare, and whereas  
 there was but one Pig, he bid them write two;  
 tartly reflecting as well on my Lords Nation, as his  
 magnificence.---- One of his Entertainments I  
 understand not the reason of, I mean his Ante-  
 Suppers; the manner of which was, to have the  
 Board covered at the first entrance of Guests, with  
 dishes as high as a tall man could well reach, filled  
 with the choicest and dearest Viands Sea or Land  
 could afford: and all this once seen, and having  
 feasted the eyes of the invited, was removed, and  
 fresh set on to " the same height, having onely this  
 " advantage of the other, that it was hot; at one  
 " whereof, an Attendant eat to his single share a  
 " whole Pye reckoned to my Lord at twenty  
 " pounds, being composed of Amber-greece, Ma-  
 " gisterial of Pearl, Musk, &c. yet was so far from  
 " being sweet in the morning, that he almost poi-  
 " soned his whole Family, flying himself like the

K. James. "Satyr from his own stink: and another went away  
 with forty pound of Sweet-meats in his Cloak-  
 bag. Yet must I needs judge him uncharitable  
 that writ of this noble person, that when the most  
 able Physicians, and his own weakness had passed  
 a judgement he could not live many dayes, he did  
 not forbear his Entertainments, but made divers  
 brave Cloaths; as he said, to *outface naked and*  
*despicable Death*; adding wistly, *That nature want-*  
*ed wisdom, power or love, in making man mortal and*  
*subject to diseases*: Forgetting (as that censorious  
 Pen goeth on) that if every Individual his own lust  
 had been able to have produced, should have  
 prosecuted an equal excess with *his*, they would in  
 a far less time than an age have brought themselves  
 or the world into the same disease he died of, which was  
 a Consumption.

For my part, I adhere to their Civility that re-  
 present his nature modest, his demeanor fair and  
 Court-like, his obligations general, his interest as  
 great with the Favourite as with the King, and so  
 much the greater with the King, as he studied him  
 more, and understood him better than any man:  
 though one observeth, he was rather in his favour,  
 than in his bosome, and therefore he took care,  
 That as his Expedition and Civility made him the  
 great Master of Requests at Court, so his Marriage  
 with the Heir-general of the *Dennies* should get  
 him an Estate in the Countrey --- wherewith he  
 compleated his kindness with bounty, and adorne  
 his bounty with courtesie. --- Courtesie not affe-  
 cted, but naturally made up of humility, that se-  
 cured him from Envy, and a Civility that kept  
 him in esteem; he being happy in an expression that

was

was *high*, and not *formal* ; and a Language that was *K. James.*  
*Courtly*, and yet *real*.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Lake.*

SIR *Thomas Lake* was bred a Scholar under *Saravia* in *Hampshire*, a States-man under *Sir Francis Walsingham* at Court, where such his dexterity and dispatch, that he would indite, write, and discourse at the same time, more exactly than most men could severally perform them, being then called the *Swift-sure* ; such his celerity and solidity in all Affairs ! From the Secretaries *Ammanuensis*, he was promoted the Queens Clerk of the Signet, to whom he read *French* and *Latine* to her dying day ; for he was reading to her, when the Countess of *Warwick* told him that the *Queen* was departed. In which Tongues she often said he surpassed her Secretaries. Such his sufficiency (especially in keeping secrets) that King *James* employed him in some *French* Affairs at his first arrival without *Cecil*, and afterwards as Secretary of State above him.

For King *James* (that loved what ever was facile and fluent) being taken among other his Abilities with his *Latine* pen, said, that he was a Minister of State fit to serve the greatest Prince in Europe ; and that the Secretaries place needed him more than he it. Of whom I have no more to add, but that he was one of the three noble hands that first led *Mr. George Villiers* to King *James* his Favour.

*Observati-*

K. James.

*Observations on the Life of Lyonel  
Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex.*

Sir *Lyonel* was born in *Basinghal-street*, a Citizen, bred in the Custom-house, a Merchant-Adventurer; his own Tutor, and his own University; though his Family was ancient in *Gloucestershire*, and his Arms in the Heralds Office. King *James* was taken with him for his brief, clear, strong and pertinent discourses: The Duke of *Buckingham* was displeased because he would stand without him, yea in some things against him: many were as active as this stirring Lord, none more exact; his presence was comely, his countenance cheerful and grave, his soul witty and wise, his apprehension quick and solid, his thoughts settled and resolved. When one asked him how a man might prevent death, he said, *Get to be Lord-Treasurer, for none died in that Office*. Though no Scholar, yet was he bountiful to Scholars; though a Courtier, yet was he hospitable in the Countrey; though he suffered much, yet was he contented; and though he lost much, yet was he charitable. Very serviceable he was to the State in the business of Trade in general, but most in that of the Custom-house in particular: His first preferment was the custody of the Wardrobe, his second was the Mastership of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and his third the Treasurership of *England*. In the last whereof, his improvement of the Revenue, gained him not more honour with the King, than it did him envy from

from the Courtiers; While to piece out the Treas-  
ure with the expence, he husbanded the one so  
thriftilly, and retrenched the other so rigidly, that  
malice it self after many attempts to that purpose,  
could find no fault with his exact account in the  
*boundless trust of the tempting Treasury.*

When the Prince was in *Spain*, he was the Staseman of the Council-Table, and the chief Minister of the Cabal, managing all the Dispatches, and overlooking all the Expences: In the last of which services he ran counter to the Duke of *Buckingham's* inclination, and his own Interest; which was to keep himself up by that noble Person's favour, as he rose by his *alliance*. The occasion of his preferment might be some saving secrets of the Custom-house-men to improve the Revenue; the reason of his decline, was some thrifty suggestion touching the Courtiers to preserve it.

This is certain, he was a man fit for government, who quickly apprehended where any evil was, and had capacity enough to apply the remedy; onely he had a little too stiffe a nature that would not easily yield, when he found on which side there was most reason; and too much of the City in his maxims, which pretended to attain to that in a short time, which Politicians think not proper to arrive at but by a leasurely succession of Ages and Generations.

*Observations*



K. James.

*Observations on the Life of Henry  
Howard Earl of Northampton.*

**T**His Family had endeared it self to many Kings by its services, but to none more than King *James* by its obligations. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* being as it were his Mothers Martyr [executed for a design to marry her] and all his Relations his Confessors [kept under for their inclinations to advance him:] Reasonable therefore it was, that my Lord that Dukes brother should be made Baron of *Marnhill*, Earl of *Northampton*, Knight of the Garter, Privy-Counsellor, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports.--Learning in any man had King *James* his affection, especially in a Noble-man, as our States-man, who was as serious a Student in *Kings-Colledge* and *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*, as a discerning observator in *Rome* and *Florence* in *Italy*. His *Dispensative* against the supposed poison of *Prophecies*, dedicated to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, bespeaks him a great and a general Scholar: His Speeches at *Cambridge* and in *Star-Chamber*, argue him both witty and wise: His expences shewed him publick-spirited, the unparallel'd port of his Family and dependants an *Ancient Noble-man*: His designing of *Audley-End*, and building of *Suffolk-house*, an Architect: His Hospital for twelve poor women, and a Governour at *Rise* in *Norfolk*; for twelve poor men, and a Governour at *Clin* in *Shropshire*; for twenty poor men, and a Governour at *Greenwich* in *Kent*  
[whereof

[whereof eight to be chosen out of *Shose-Sham K. James*; where he was born] a charitable man: his using of all his interest to avoid the burthen and weight of the Treasurer's place, and procure it for the Earl of *Suffolk* his Nephew, his noble disposition, not to advance himself by Court-flattery, or his fortune by State employment, being a Batchellour and a Student; An instance of my Lord *Bacon*'s observation; "He that hath Wife and Children, hath given Hedges to Fortune, for they are Impediments to great Enterprizes either to Vertue or Mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the Publick proceed from the unmarried and the Childless, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the Publick.

But to conclude this particular; this Lord told his intimate Secretary Mr. *George Penny* (who related it to my Author) that his Nativity (at his Father's desire) was calculated by a skilful *Italian Astrologer*, who told him that this his Infant-son should taste of much trouble in the midst of his life, even to the want of a meals meat; but his old age should make amends for all, with a plentiful estate: which came to pass accordingly. For his Father dying in his infancy, no plentiful provision was made for him: and when his eldest Brother *Thomas Duke of Norfolk* was executed, his condition was much impaired; insomuch that being once in *London* (not overstocked with money (when his noble Nephews the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Thomas Howard* were out of Town) and loath to pin himself on any Table uninvited) he was fain to dine with the Chair of Duke *Humphrey*; but other (not

**K. James.** (not to say better company) viz. reading of books in Stationers Shops in St. Paul's Church-yard; though afterwards he attained to great wealth, honour and command: However that Lord gave little credit to, and placed less confidence in such Predictions, as appeared by a learned Work he hath written on that subject.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir John Ramsey, Earl of Holderness, and Sir Tho. Ereskin Earl of Kelley.*

**B**Oth their preferments began on the same occasion; both their natures were eminent for the same innocence and goodness; both their services tend to the same issue, and therefore both their Characters come under one observation; which it's more proper to take in the word of their Countrey-man and Contemporary that knew them, than in the expression of a stranger that only heard of them. The whole story runs thus:

The name of *Ruthen* in Scotland was not notorious, until Anno 1568. when *Ruthen* amongst others, *Confederates*, in those divided times of trouble, laboured much for the imprisoning Queen Mary Mother to King James. In 1582. his son William was created Earl Gowry, in the time of that King's minority, though the Father bore deadly hatred to the King's prosperity. And in 1584. himself was in actual Rebellion, in which he suffered at Dondoe. His eldest son John, then in Travel in Italy,

returns home to inherit his lands and honours; but not one jot changed in disposition from the *traiterous* ways of his *Predecessors*: For not long after he falls into this *Conspiracy*; which is not so *ancient*, but that many then and now living, can, and my self, have heard the *repetition*.

The house of *Gowry* were all of them much addicted to *study Chymistry*; and these more to *practise* it, often publishing (as such Professors usually do) more *rare experiments* then ever could be *performed*; wherein the King (a general Scholar) had little faith. But to *infuse* more *credit* to the *practice*, *Alexander Ruthen* the second brother takes this occasion; and withal *conspires* with *Gowry* to *assassinate* the King; and taking *opportunity* in his *hunting*, not far from his house *St. Johnstone*, invites the King to be an eye-witness of his *prodigious*. In their way *Sir Thomas Erskin* (after Lord *Kelley*) overtakes them and others, Demanding of the Duke of *Lenox*, then present, why *Alexander* had *ingrossed* the King's ear, to carry him from his *Sports*? *Peace man*, said the Duke, *Wee's all be'tw'n'd into gold*. Not far they rid, but that the Earl *Gowry* made good by *protestation* his Brother's *story*. And thus was the King brought to be a Guest.

Neer the end of *Dinner*, at his *Fruit*, and the *Lords* and *Waiters* gone to eat, *Alexander* begs of the King, at this opportunity to *withdraw*, and to be partaker of his *Production*, to the view of that which yet he could not believe.

And up he leads the King into by-lodgings locking each door behind them, till they came into a *Back-Room*; where no sooner entered, but that *Alexander* claps on his *Bonnet*, and with *stern* coun-

*K. James*. *tenance*; faces the King, and says; *Now Sir; you must know, I had a Father, whose blood calls for revenge, shed for your sake.* The King *amazed*, deals gently with his *fury*, excuses the *guilt* of his *death*, by his then-*Infancy*. Advising him not to lay *violent hands* on the *sacred Person* of his *Anointed Sovereign*, Especially in a cause of his *Innocency*: Pleading the *Laws* of God and Man; which so much wrought upon him, that he said, *Well, I will speak with my Brother*; and so put the King into a *Lobby Room* next the *Chamber*; where no sooner *entered*, but that there appeared a fellow *weaponed*, ready for *execution*, to whose *custody* the King is committed till his *return*.

*Alexander* gone down; the fellow trembles with *Reverence*, puts down his *Sword*, and craves *pardon*; which gave the King occasion to work upon that *passion*, and to ask him whether he resolved to *murder him*? Being assured to the contrary, the King gets leave to open a *window*, that looked into a *back Court*. When presently *Alexander* returns, and tells the King that he must *dye*: But much *affrighted* at the *Fellow's countenance*, with his sword offers *violence* to the King; Which the fellow *seemingly opposes*, and between them began a *scuffle*, which gave advantage to the King to cry *Treason* at the *Window*, which looked into a *back-Court*, where *Sir Thomas Erskin*, and one *Herries*, were come in pursuit of the King, who was rumoured to be gone out the *back-way* to his *hunting*.

At the cry of *Treason*, and known to be the King's *voice*, they both hastened up a *back-stair*, called the *Turn-pike*, being directed by a servant of the

the house, who saw *Alexander* ascend that way. *K. James.* And so forcing some doors, they found them above, panting with the fray; and up comes also at heels of them, *John Ramsey* (after Earl of *Holderness*;) by them *Alexander* was soon dispatched.

Not long after came the Earl *Gowry* (by his double key) the first way, with a case of *Rapiers*, his usual weapons, and ready drawn. To whom *Erskine* said, as to divert his purpose; *What do you mean, my Lord? the King is kill'd:* (for the King was shadowed, having cast himself upon a Bed from his sight, and his Cloak was thrown upon the Body of *Alexander*, bleeding upon the ground :) At which *Gowry* stops, sinking the points of his weapons; when suddenly *Herries* strikes at him with a hunting *Falckion*. And *Ramsey* having his Hawk on his fist, casts her off, and steps in to *Gowry*, and stabs him to the heart; and forthwith more Company came up.

Not long after this Conspiracy, *Herries* dies well rewarded. *John Ramsey* hath the Honour of *Knighthood*, with an additional bearing to his Coat of Arms, *A Hand holding forth a Digger, reversed proper, piercing a bloody Heart, The point crowned Imperial, with this Distick, Hac Dextra Vindex Principis & Patriæ.* Afterwards he was created Lord *Haddington*, and Earl of *Holderness*.

*Sir Thomas Erskin* was afterwards created Earl of *Kelly*, Knight of the *Garter*, Captain of the King's Guard, and Groom of the Stool; and the Fellow designed for the Murtherer, had a large Pension confirmed by Act of their Parliament.

*K. James.* And all these men (but *Herries*) were living, with other witnesses, at King *James* his journey, when he went from hence to visit *Scotland*, and met together by direction at the same house, with Ceremony; and all of them, with a number of Courtiers, ascended into the same Room, the blood yet remaining, where the King related the Story, which was confirmed by them. And afterwards kneeling down, with tears of Contrition for his Sins to God, and thankfulness for this Mercy, using marvellous Ejaculations, embraced all these Actors in the former Tragedy; when the poor fellow also kissed the King's hand.

These circumstances gave occasion then, that this whole story was freshly revived, to the common Satisfaction of the whole Countrey, and our English Courtiers. And in especial, unto the very reverend Bishop, and nobly born, *James Mountague*, then present, to whom the King addressed himself in this Relation, and from whose Mouth saith the Relator, I received these particulars, at his return into England.

And thus much we have by word of mouth: somewhat I shall add out of writings, for more satisfaction.

This Treason was attempted the fourth of August 1600. And though there followed sundry Suspicions and Examinations of several other Persons, supposed Abettors and Contrivers; yet it lay undiscovered, *tanquam e postliminio*, until eight years after, by the circumspection principally of the Earl of Dunbar, a man of as great wisdom as those times and that Kingdom could boast of, upon the person of one *George Spier*, Notary-publick of  
Aymouth

*A rememb* in Scotland, from some words which at *K. James.* first he sparingly or *unanimously expressed*, and also by some papers which were found in his house; whereof being examin'd, with a little ado he confessed, and was condemned and executed at *Edenburgh* the 12th. of Aug. 1608.

A Relation I conceive not common, but in my hands to be produced, and written by that learned Gentleman *William Hart*, then Lord Justice of Scotland, and Principal in all the Acts of Judicature herein.

Neither of these Lords professed any skill in Politicks; yet neither wanted a strong judgment, which they could make good use of in time and place convenient, giving testimonies in those Employments they had, of a strict secrecy, a great moderation, and a happy compliance with opportunity, Qualities exceedingly well lodged in men of Interest and Command, especially in these two, who neither too easily closed with others resolutions, nor too obstinately adhered to their own; one of which was alwayes to suspect men of new words, as much as men of new opinions, because to flye from proper School terms to vulgar conceptions, is a way seldome troden but by false Prophets, and Seditious Orators--who have done this onely good in the world, that from their collition a considerable deal of light hath proceeded towards the clearing of several points in Philosophy and Religion-- in the speculations whereof the men whose lives are so practical and involved in business, are not so distinct, being not at leisure to quest at every Lark which men spring in either; though otherwise the best qualified for such undertakings, be-



*K. James.* cause men of most judgement and experience; and of the least passion and prejudice, and by so much the less impetuous and censorious, by how much the more judicious and discreet; and by so much the more value in the Eyes of others, by how much the less they are in their own; who have this advantage in controversies, that their Religion is thought as much better than their Adversaries, as their Charity and moderation is greater.

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*Observations on the Fall of Sir Tho. Lake.*

A Great Estate this Gentleman had honestly got, and a greater esteem, being King *James* his right hand, and the *Scots* both hands; that with which they begged, and that with which they bestowed; the instrument of the meaner sorts relief, and the greater bounty; until that *Malice* and *Revenge*, two violent passions over-ruling the *Weaker Sex*, concerning his *Wife* and *daughter*, involved him in their quarrel, the chief and onely cause of his *ruine*. He had by his *Wife* sons and daughters: His eldest married unto the Lord Baron *Resse* (in right of a Grand-mother) the son of *Thomas* Earl of *Exeter* by a former venter. And upon the credit of Sir *Thomas Lake*, he was sent Ambassador Extraordinary into *Spain*, in a very gallant Equipage, with some hopes of his own to continue *Liege*, to save charges of transmitting any other.

In his absence there fell out an extream deadly *K. James.*  
fewd ('tis no matter for what) between the Lady *Lake*, and the Countess of *Exeter*. A youthful Widow she had been, and *vernuous*, and so became *Bedfellow* to this aged, *gouty*, *diseased*, but noble *Earl*. And that *preferment* had made her subject to *Envy* and *Malice*.

Home comes the Lord *Rosse* from his *Embassie*, when being fallen into some neglect of his Wife and his kindred, I conceive upon refusal of an increase of *allowance* to her settlement of *foyniture*, which was promised to be compleated at his return; not long he stays in *England*, but away he gets into *Italy*, turns a professed *Roman Catholick*, being cozened into that *Religion* by his publick *Confident Gondamore*.

In this his last absence (*never to return*) the *Mother* and *Daughter* accuse the *Countess* of former *Incontinency* with the Lord *Rosse* whilest he was here, and that therefore upon his *Wives discovery* he was fled from hence, and from her *Marriage-Bed*; with other devised *Calumnies*, by several designs and contrivements, to have poysoned the *Mother* and *Daughter*.

This quarrel was soon blazon'd at Court, to the *King's ear*, who as privately as could be, singly examines each party. The *Countess* with tears and imprecations professeth her *Innocency*; which to oppose, the *Mother Lake* and her *Daughter* counterfeit her hand to a whole sheet of Paper; wherein they make the *Countess* with much contrition to acknowledge her self *guilty*, crave pardon for attempting to poyson them, and desire *friendship* with them all.

*K. James.* The King gets sight of this, as in favour to them, and demands the *time*, *place*, and *occasion* when this should be writ. They tell him, that all the parties met in a visit at *Wimbleton* (the house of the Lord of *Exeter*) where, in dispute of their *differences*, she confesses her guilt of attempting their poyson. And being desirous of absolution and friendship (being required thereto) consents to set down all *Circumstances* therein, under her own hand, which presently she writ at the *Window* in the upper end of the great *Chamber* at *Wimbleton*, in presence of the *Mother* and *Daughter*, the Lord *Rosse*, and one *Diego* a *Spaniard* his confiding *Servant*. But now they being gone, and at *Rome*, the King forthwith sends Mr. *Dendy* (one of his *Serjeants at Armes*, sometimes a *Domestick* of the Earl of *Exeters*, an *honest* and worthy *Gentleman*) post to *Rome*, who speedily returns with *Rosse* and *Diego's* hand, and other testimonials, confirming, That all the said *Accusation*, and *Confession*, *Suspitions* and *Papers* concerning the *Countess*, were notorious *false* and *scandalous*; and confirms it by receiving the *Hoast*, in assurance of her *Honour*, and his *Innocency*. The King well satisfied, sends to the *Countesses* *Friends* and *Trustees* for her *Joynture* and *Estate*; who comparing many of her *letters* with this *Writing*, do confess it *counterfeit*.

Then he tells the *Mother* and *Daughter*, That this writing being denied by her, and their testimonies, being parties, would not prevail with any belief, but any other *Additional witness* would give it sufficient credit. To which they assure him, That one *Sarah Swarton*, their *Chamberesse*, stood behind

behind the Hanging, at the entrance of the *K. James. Room*, and heard the *Countess* read over what she had writ: and her also they procure to swear unto this before the *King*.

To make further tryal, the *King* in a hunting journey at *New-park* near *Wimbleton*, gallops thither, views the *Roosa*, observing the great distance of the *Window* from the lower end of the *Room*; and placing himself behind the *Hanging*, and so other *Lords* in turn, they could not hear one speak loud from the window.

Then the *Houfekeeper* was call'd, who protested those Hangings had constantly furnisht that *Room* for thirty years; which the *King* observed to be two foot short of the ground, and might discover the woman, if hidden behind them. I may present also, the *King* saying, *Oaths cannot confound my sight*.

Besides all this, the *Mother* and *Daughter* counterfeited another Writing, a *Confession* of one *Luke Hutton*, acknowledging for 40 pound annuity, the *Countess* hired him to poison them; which *Man*, with wonderful providence was found out privately, and denies it to the *King*.

And thus prepared, the *King* sends for *Sir Thomas Lake*, whom indeed he very much valued; tells him the danger to imbarque himself in this Quarrel, advising him to leave them to the *Law*, being now ready for the *Star-Chamber*. He humbly thanked his Majesty, but could not refuse to be a Father and a Husband; and so puts his Name with theirs in a *cross Bill*, which at the hearing, took up five several days, the *King* sitting in Judgment. But the former testimonies, and some private con-

*K. James*, sessions of the Lady *Rosse*, and *Sarah Wharton*, which the King kept in private, from publick proceedings, made the Cause for some of the days of Tryal, appear doubtful to the Court, until the Kings discovery, which concluded the Sentence, and was pronounced in several Censures; Sir *Thomas Lake* and his Lady fined ten thousand pounds to the King, five thousand pounds to the Countess, fifty pounds to *Hutton*, *Sarah Wharton* to be whipt at a Cart's tail about the streets; and to do penance at *St. Martin's Church*. The Lady *Rosse*, for confessing the truth and plot in the midst of the Tryal, was pardoned by the Major Voices from penal Sentence.

The King, I remember, compared their Crimes to the first plot of the first sin in *Paradise*, the Lady *Lake* to the *Serpent*, her Daughter unto *Eve*, and Sir *Thomas* to poor *Adam*, whom he thought in his conscience, that his love to his Wife had beguiled him. I am sure, he paid for all, which, as he told me, cost him thirty thousand pounds, and the loss of his Masters favour, and Offices of gain and honour, but truly with much pity and compassion of the Court.

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### *Observations on the Life of the Earl of Suffolk.*

**H**is Uncle *Northampton* negotiated his pre-ferment, and his Father *Norfolk* deserved it, for whose sake the eldest Son *Philip* Earl of *Arundel* was made Lord Marshal, and this second first Chamberlain, and then Treasurer: wherein

wherein as the Earl of *Middlesex* understood well *K. James.* the priviledges of the City, so my Lord kenned well the Revenues of the Crown. But his fair Daughter, that gained him most favour, did him most harm; he falling with his Son *Somerset's* mis-carriages, when he might have stood without his Relation: being as plain as his brother *Henry* was subtle; as obliging, as he was insinuating; as knowing, as he was cunning; the one conversing with *Books*, the other with *Men*. A Gentleman from whom I requested his Character, returns me no more but this: *He was a man never endued with much patience, and one that much retarded the progress of his fortune, by often speaking publickly with too much liberty: Otherwise very true to the Maximes of his Age.* 1. Linking himself to the *Scots*. 2. Buying Fee-Farm Rents to avoid envy, as my Lord of *Salisbury* before him in the *Scots* Debenturers names. 3. Promoting *Northern* Suits. And 4. projecting for money.

He was also Chancellor of *Cambridge*, loving and beloved of the University. When at his first coming to *Cambridge*, Mr. *Francis Nethersole* Oratour of the University, made a Latine Speech unto him; the Lord returned, *Though I understand not Latine, I know the sense of your Oration is to tell me that I am welcome to you; which I believe verily: I thank you for it heartily, and will serve you faithfully in any thing within my power.* Dr. *Harsenet* the Vice-Chancellor laying hold on the handle of so fair a Proffer, requested him to be pleased to entertain the King at *Cambridge*; a favour which the University could never compass from their former great and wealthy Chancellours; *I will do it (saith the Lord) in the best manner I may, and with the speediest conveniency.*

Nor

*K. James.* Nor was he worse than his word, giving his Majesty such a Treatment in the University, as cost him five thousand pounds and upwards. Hence it was, that after his death, *Thomas* his second son Earl of *Bark-shire* (not suing for it, nor knowing of it) was chosen to succeed him, losing the place (as some suspected) not for lack of Voices, but fair counting them.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Rob. Cary.*

**H**E was born an ingenious man, of good parts and breeding; but of so uncourtly a temper, that in all likelihood we had not heard of him, had he not had the luck to have been the first Messenger let out of the Court by the favour of his Father the Lord Chamberlain, to bring King *James* news that Queen *Elizabeth* was dead; when the *Scots* expectation was so tyred, that they thought Queen *Eliz.* would never dye, as long as there was an old woman that could either wear good cloaths, or eat good meat in England. Upon which good account he is a Bed-chamber-man to King *James*, and a Tutor to Prince *Charles*; though he had made better use of his Talent as a Soldier, than as a Courtier, having too much of the Candor of that Family; that as the Historian observed, *spake of things alwayes as they deserved*: And though he had wit enough, yet he had not the judgment or way to make those stand in awe of him, who were most obliged to him.

*Observations on the Lives of Sir Robert Naunton, and Sir Francis Nethersole.*

**S**ir *Robert Naunton* is the Author of one Book of Observations upon the States-men of *Queen Eliz.* times, and must be the subject of another of *King James's*: He noted then in his youth, what he was to practice afterwards in his more reduced years. His University-Studies at *Trinity-Colledge*, whereof he was Commoner; and at *Trinity-Hall*, whereof he was Fellow; His Speeches both while Proctor and Orator of *Cambridge*, discovered him more inclined to publick Accomplishments, than private Studies: He improved the opportunity of the speech he was to make before *K. James* at *Hinchinbrook* so well, that as His Majesty was highly affected with his Latine and Learning, so he exactly observed his prudence and serviceableness; whereupon he came to Court as *Sir Thomas Overbaries* Assistant first, and then as *Sir George Villiers* friend, who promoted him to be Secretary of State, *Jan. 8. 1617.* as his Majesty did a while after to be Mr. of the Wards. The first place whereof he discharged with as much ability and dexterity, as he did the second with integrity; onely he was observed close-handed, whether out of his natural inclination "to Parsimony, or some fixed design to regulate and reduce the great expences of this Nation; or from some hidden and refined politick con-



*K. James.* consideration, that that might be done by a wary observation of men's integrity and inclination, which was usually done with money : and indeed, as a great man observeth, to procure good "in-formation of particulars touching persons, their "natures, their desires and ends, their customs "and fashions, their helps and advantages, and whereby they chiefly stand : So again, their weaknesses and disadvantages, and where they lye most open and obnoxious ; their friends, factions, and dependencies : and again, their opposites, envyers, and Competitors ; their moods and times, their principles; rules, observations, &c. their actions how conducted, how favoured, how opposed, &c. is the onely way of success in business, and of prevailing in fortune, especially if attended with this Gentleman's two master-Qualities ; 1. Reservedness, the security ; 2. Slowness of belief, the finew of wisdom. Finding his temper agreeable with the University, he allowed himself more scope and liberty ; but observing his particular constitution not suitable to the general state of his times, the whole course of his life was more close, retyred, and reserved, opening it self but with an half-light, and a full advantage : and what he was to others, he believed all others were to him, as hardly trusting *them*, as he was understood *himself*, unless surprized in his countenance by the motions of it, or in his actions by the suddenness of them, or in his temper by his passion, but as far as can be guessed ; from the Letters that passed between them about the Palatinate. He was of the same make in the State, as Arch-Bishop *Abbot* was in the Church, zealous and sullen ; if others had a better wit than

he in abusing him, he had a better *memory* than *K. James*: they to think of it; for one Mr. *Wiemark* a wealthy man, a great Novilant, and constant *Pant's* walker, hearing the news that day of the beheading of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*; His head (said he) would do well upon the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton Secretary of State. These words were complained of, and *Wiemark* summoned to the Privy-Council, where he pleaded for himself, that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, whose known worth was above all detraction; onely he spake in reference to an old proverb, *Two heads are better than one*; and for the present he was dismissed. Not long after, when rich men were called on for a contribution to *St. Pauls*, *Wiemark* at Council-Table subscribed a hundred pounds; but Mr. Secretary told him, *Two hundred were better than one*; which betwixt fear and charity *Wiemark* was fain to subscribe.

Neither was he sooner up, than he gave his Colleague and Successor in the Orators place, Sir *Francis Nethersole*, his hand to advance him too; whom after his elegant Speech on Prince *Henry*, we find a prudent Agent with the Princes of the Union, and a faithful Secretary to the Queen of *Bohemia*, for whom he did much, and suffered more. Yet was he lately alive, and as *charitable* in his elder years, as ever he was *noble* in his younger.

K. James.



*Observations on the Life of Sir Arthur Ingram.*

SIR *Arthur* had wit in *Italy*, where he was a Factor, and wealth in *London*, where he was a Merchant, to be first a *Customer*, and then a Cofferer to that King, who had this happiness, that he understood so much of all his affairs, as to make a judgement of what persons might be most serviceable to him in each of them. So pragmatical a person as this Gentleman, was necessary among the Custom-house-men, who were about to engross all the wealth of the Kingdom; and as useful among the Green-cloath-men, who shared amongst themselves vast Concealments. The activity of his head had undone him, had not the odium of it been allayed by the discretion of his tongue; whatever he spake, being naturally accompanied with such a kind of modesty and affability as gained the affection, and attracted the respect of all that conversed with him; onely some wary men were jealous of that watchful and serene habit he had attained to in every conference and action, as well to observe as to act: though it was more than they needed, he having not that good stay and hold of himself, his much observing tempting him to much meddling; though never more need of it than at that time, when ninety and odd thousand pounds were spent upon the *Palsgrave*; to reimburse which money, he set up the improvement of Coyn, the Farthings, the borrowing of money

or

of the Customers, and as many other Projects to *K. James.*  
get money, as others had to spend it.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Henry  
Yelverton.*

**T**HIS Gentleman's relation to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, brought him to the Earl of *Somerset's* service, and my Lord of *Somerset's* service recommended him to the Kings favour; where-  
by he was at first his Counsel learned, and after-  
wards his Attorney-General; in which last place  
his duty enjoyned him the impeachment of that  
Earl, but his gratitude forbad him: Loth he was to  
refuse his Masters command, more loth to have a  
hand in his Patrons ruine; his civility outweighed  
his prudence, and his obligations his safety: for re-  
fusing to implead his Mr. as a great Delinquent at  
the Bar, he was sent by the Council as a greater to  
the Tower, where he continued until (as some  
say) the Duke of *Buckingham* came to him at mid-  
night; and hearing from him such mysteries of  
State as nearly concerned his own safety, not onely  
released, sed, but advanced him to a place of Ju-  
dicature; which his Integrity and Ability might  
deserve, but his niceness and narrowness could not  
keep it: *Law and Equity have two Courts, but Law  
and Discretion should dwell in one breast.* The truth  
is there is a great advantage in the "well-setting  
forth of a mans vertues, fortunes, merits; and  
"again, in the Artificial covering of a mans  
"weaknesses, defects, disgraces; staying upon  
"the

*K. James.* "the one, sliding from the other, making use of circumstances, &c. which this good and plain man was a stranger to, being not so true to himself, or so settled, but that either upon heat, or bravery, or kindness, or trouble of mind and weakness, he would open himself to his Enemies satisfaction, and his own hazard. — Yet I must needs say, That his Letter of submission to the Duke was *ingenuous*, if he was *guilty*; and *Courty*, if he was *innocent*. Sir *Francis Bacon* took a wiser course in my Lord of *Essex* his Case, than he in the Earl of *Somersetts*; for when that Lord entertained destructive, before displeasing Counsel, the knowing Knight fairly forsook not his person, whom his pity attended to his Grave, but his practices; and herein was not the *worse* friend, for being the *better* Subject.

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### *Observations on the Life of Bishop Mountague.*

**J**ames *Mountague* son to Sir *Edward Mountague*, was born at *Boughton* in *Northamptonshire*, bred in *Christ-Colledge* in *Cambridge*: He was afterwards Master, or rather nursing Father to *Sidney-Colledge*; For he found it in bonds to pay twenty Marks *per annum* to *Trinity-Colledge* for the ground whereon it is built, and left it free, assigning it a rent for the discharge thereof. When the *Kings Ditch* in *Cambridge* made to defend it by its strength, did in his time offend it with its stench, he expended a hundred Marks to bring running-water

water into it, to the great conveniency of the Uni-<sup>K. James.</sup>  
 versity. He was afterwards Bishop first of *Bath* and *Wells*, then of *Winchester*, being highly in favour  
 with King *James*, who did ken a man of merit,  
 as well as any Prince in *Christendom*. He translated  
 the Works of King *James* into Latine, and improv-  
 ed his greatness to do good Offices therewith.  
 He dyed *Anno Dom. 1618. Aetat. 49.* and lyeth  
 buried within his fair Monument, within his fairer,  
 I mean a goodly Tomb in the Church of *Bath*,  
 which oweth its well-being and beauty to his Mu-  
 nificence. King *James* cast his eye upon him at  
*Hinchingbrook* (where the University of *Cambridge*  
 met him as he came from *Scotland*) because he ob-  
 served him one of those he knew he must oblige,  
 I mean a Gentleman: He set his heart upon him at  
 Court, because he found him one he intended to  
 employ, I mean a *Scholar*. He was the onely man  
 of all the Doctors he conversed with there, and the  
 onely man of all the Bishops he consulted with at  
*White-Hall*. His nature inclined him to magnifi-  
 cence, and his vertue to *Thrift*; sparing from  
 lesser vanities, what he might expend upon greater  
 enterprizes; never sparing when just designs call-  
 ed for great charge. Grateful he was to his follow-  
 ers, though not prodigal: Good men choose rather  
 to be loved "for their benefits to the Community,  
 " than those to private persons: His understand-  
 ing was as large as his heart was honest, compre-  
 hensive both of *men* and *things*; even those things  
 that were either below or besides his care, going  
 not besides his observation; he held a freedom of  
 the will not from an humble dependance upon the  
 first cause, but from a fatal compulsion by the

*K. James*, second causes, *nec trunco nec Sacrilegos*, abhorring to make that noble creature Man created by God after his own Image, to be the Governour of the Universe, Lord and Master of the Creatures should be no more than the man in the beginning of Almanacks, who is placed immoveable in the midst of the 12 Signs, as so many second causes, if he offer to stir, *Aries* is over his head ready to push him; and *Taurus* to goar him in the Neck, &c.

He anticipated his age with his worth, and died at fourscore in merit, when not fifty in years; filling his time not with dayes but with vertues so early, as seemed rather innate than acquired: For which he was so popular in the Countrey, as well as favoured at Court; that a corpulent Officer of Bath Church being appointed on the day of his Burial to keep the doors, entred on his employment in the morning, but was buried himself before night, and before the Bishop's body was put in the ground; because being bruised to death by the pressing in of people, his Corps required speedy interment.— In those days the *Plebs* concurred with the King in their affections to, because they submitted to him in their choice of persons; for then wisdom was thought to dwell in the Head, and good Folks thought their Sovereign wiser than themselves.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Edm. Anderson.*

**S**ir *Edmund Anderson* was born a younger brother of a Gentile Extract at *Flixborough* in *Lincolnshire*, and bred in the inner Temple. I have been informed that his Father left him a thousand pounds for his portion, which this our Sir *Edmund* multiplyed into many, by his great proficiency in the Common-Law, being made the 24th of *Queen Elizabeth* Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas. When Secretary *Davison* was sentenced in the Star-Chamber for the business of the *Queen of Scots*, Judge *Anderson* said of him, that therein he had done \* *justum non juste*; and so acquitting him of all malice, censured him with the rest of his indiscretion. When *H. Cusse* was arraigned about the rising of the Earl of *Essex*, and when Sir *Edward Coke* the Queens Solicitor opposed him, and the other answered Syllogistically, our *Anderson* (sitting there as a Judge of Law, not Logick) checked both Pleader and Prisoner, *obstolidos syllogismos*, for their foolish Syllogismes, appointing the former to press the Statute of *Edward the third*. *Idem*, An- He died in the third of King *James*, leaving great no 1600. Estates to several sons. He was a pure Legist, that had little skil in the affairs of the world, always alledging a decisive Case or Statute on any matter or question, without any regard to the decency, or respect to be had towards a State, or Government, and without that account of a moderate interpretation

\* *Camb-*  
*den Eliz.*  
*An. 1587.*



*K. James.* on some circumstances of things require, being so much the less useful as he was incompassant, and one whom none addressed to, because, as one observes of Cardinal Corrado; *Such think they do in some manner sacrifice themselves, when they do but in the least against their own opinions, to do a man a little pleasure.* There are a kind of honest men of good conscience, whose capacities being narrow, entertain private resolutions, inconsistent with publick interest; who may for me pass for good men, but shall never be censured or registered for good Citizens; because when straight-laced and short apprehensions are resolved into conscience and maxims, those men are obliged to be so obstinate as to change or remit nothing of their first resolutions, how unreasonable soever in themselves, or dangerous in the consequence. State-policy is wholly involved in matter and circumstances of time, place, and persons; not capable of such exact rules as *Geometry, Arithmetick,* and other Sciences, whose subject is abstracted from matter; he who manageth State-affairs by general rules; will quickly ruine both himself and those who are committed to his government; the quintessence of policy doth consist in the dexterous and skilful application of general rules to the subject matter: one of the great ends of policy and government, is the creating a mutual confidence amongst men; and to allay those distracting jealousies grounded on an universal suspicion of humane nature, much like the good Womans fear that the Log would leap out of the fire, and knock out the brains of her Child) which have no other use, than the begetting of perpetual vexations, the discouragement of  
free

free Trade and Converse; a teaching of them who *K. James.* are suspected often to do worse than they imagined, and the creating of sedition and troubles.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, by himself.*

1. **I** Was born at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*, March 2. 1544. descended both by Father and Mother of worshipful Parents. My Father in the time of *Queen Mary*, being noted and known to be an enemy to Popery, was so cruelly threatened and so narrowly observed, by those that maliced his Religion, that for the safeguard of himself and my Mother, who was wholly affected as my Father, he knew no way so secure as to flye into *Germany*.

2. My Father fixed his abode in the City of *Geneva*; where, as far as I remember, the *English* Church consisted of some hundred persons. I was at that time of twelve years of age, but through my Fathers cost and care, sufficiently instructed to become an Auditor of *Chevalierius* in Hebrew, of *Bernaldus* in Greek, of *Calvin* and *Beza* in Divinity, and of some other Professors in that University (which was newly then erected) besides my domestick Teachers in the house of *Philsterius Saracenus*, a famous Physitian in that City, with whom I was boarded, were *Robertus Constantinus*, that made the *Greek Lexicon*, read *Homer* to me.

K. James.

3. In the first of *Queen Elizabeth*, my Father returned, and settled his dwelling in the City of *London*. It was not long after, that I was sent away from thence to the University of *Oxford*, recommended to the teaching and tuition of Doctor *Humphrey*. In the year 1563. I took the degree of *Bachelor of Arts*; within which year I was chosen *Probationer* of *Merton Colledge*, and the next year ensuing admitted *Fellow*. Afterwards, in the year 1565, by special perswasion of some of my Fellowes, and for my private exercise, I undertook the publick reading of a *Greek Lecture* in the same Colledge-Hall, without requiring or expecting any stipend for it: Nevertheless it pleased the Fellowship of their own accord to allow me soon after four marks by the year, and ever since to continue the Lecture to that Colledge.

4. In the year 1566, I proceeded *Master of Arts*, and read for that year in the School-streets natural Philosophy. After which time, within less than three years space, I was won by intreaty of my best affected friends to stand for the Proctorship, to which I and my Colleague were quietly elected in the year 1569, without any competition or counter-suit of any other. After this for a long time, I supplied the Office of University-Oratour, and bestowed my time in the study of sundry faculties, without any inclination to profess any one above the rest; insomuch as at last I waxed desirous to travel beynd the Seas, for attaining to the knowledge of some special modern Tongues, and for the increase of my experience in the managing of affairs; being wholly then addicted to employ my self and all my cares in the publick service of the State.

5. After

5. After my return, in the year 1585, I was *K. James.* employed by the Queen to the King of *Denmark*, and to the *German* Princes: Next, to *Henry* the third, King of *France*: After this, in 88, for the better conduct of her Highness Affairs in the Provinces United, I was thought a fit person to reside in those parts, and was sent thereupon to the *Hague* in *Holland*; where, according to the Contract that had formerly pass'd between her Highness and the States, I was admitted for one of their Council of Estate, taking place in their Assemblies next to Count *Maurice*, and yielding my suffrage in all that was proposed. During all that time, what approbation was given of my painful endeavours by the Queen, by the Lords in *England*, by the States of the Countrey there, and by all the *English* Soldiery, I refer it to be notified by some others Relation.

6. I received from her Majesty many comfortable Letters of her gracious acceptance of my diligence and care: and among the Lords of the Council had no man more to friend, then was the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*. For when occasion had been offered of declaring his conceit as touching my service, he would always tell the Queen (which I received from her self and some other Ear-witnesses) that there was not any man in *England* so meet as my self to undergo the Office of the Secretary. And since his son, the present Lord Treasurer hath signified unto me in private conference, that when his Father first intended to advance him to that place, his purpose was withal to make me his Colleague: But that the daily provocations of the Earl of *Essex* were so bitter and sharp against him,

*K. James*, and his comparisons so odious when he put us in a balance, as he thought thereupon he had very great reason to use his best means, to put any man out of hope of raising his fortune, whom the Earl with such violence, to his extream præjudice, had endeavoured to dignifie.

7. When I had well considered, how ill it did concur with my natural disposition, to become or to be counted either a stickler or partaker in any publick faction; how well I was able, by Gods good blessing, to live of my self, if I could be contented with a competent livelihood; I resolved thereupon to possess my soul in peace all the residue of my days, to take my farewell of State-employments, and so to retire me from the Court.

8. Now although after this, by her Majesties direction, I was often called to the Court, by the now Lord Treasurer, then Secretary, and required by him, and also divers times since, by order from the King, to serve as Ambassador in *France*, and to negotiate in other very honourable employments, yet I would not be removed from my former final resolution; but have continued at home my retired course of life, which is now methinks to me as the greatest preferment the State can afford.

9. This I must confess of my self, that though I did never repent me yet of my often refusals of honourable offers, in respect of enriching my private Estate; yet somewhat more of late I have blamed my self and my nicety that way, for the love that I bear to my Reverend Mother the University of *Oxford*, and to the advancement of her good by such kind of means as I have since undertaken.

10. Having

10. Having examined what course I might take, *K. James.*  
I concluded at the last to set up my stae at the Library door; being throughly perswaded, that in my solitude and surcease from the Commonwealth affairs, I could not busie my self to better purpose then by reducing that place (which then in every part lay ruined and waste) to the publick use of Students;

11. For the effecting whereof, I found my self furnished in a competent proportion, of such four kinds of aids, as unlesse I had them all, there was no hope of good success. For without some kind of knowledge, as well in the learned modern Tongues, as in sundry other sorts of Scholastical literature; without some purse-ability to go through with the charge; without very great store of honourable friends to further the design, and without special good leasure to follow such a work, it could but have proved a vain attempt, and inconsiderate.

12. But how well I have sped in all my endeavours, and how full provision I have made for the benefit and ease of all frequenters of the Library; that which I have already performed in sight; that besides, which I have given for the maintenance of it; and that which hereafter I purpose to add, by way of enlargement to that place (for the project is cast, and whether I live or dye, it shall be, God willing, put in full execution) will testifie so truly and abundantly for me, as I need not to be the publisher of the dignity and worth of mine own institution. *Written with mine own hand,* Anno 1609.  
Decemb. 15.

K. James.



*Observations on the Life of Henry Vere Earl of Oxford.*

“**H**enry Vere was son of *Edward Vere*, the seventeenth Earl of *Oxford*, and *Anne Trentham* his Lady; whose principal habitation “(the rest of his patrimony being then wasted) “was at *Heningham-Castle* in *Essex*: A vigorous “Gentleman, full of courage and resolution, “and the last Lord Chamberlain of *England* of “this Family. His sturdy nature would not bow “to Court-compliants, who would maintain what “he spake, speak what he thought, think what “he apprehended true and just, though sometimes dangerous, and distastful. Once he came “into Court with a great milk white feather about “his hat, which then was somewhat unusual, save “that a person of his merit might make a fashion. “The Reader may guess the Lord who said to him “in some jeer, *My Lord, you wear a very fair Feather*: *It’s true* (said the Earl) *and if you mark it, there is ne’r a Taint in it.* Indeed his Family was ever loyal unto the Crown, deserving their “Motto,

*Vero nil Verius.*

His predecessors had not been more implacable enemies to *Spain* in the Low-Countries, than he was at *White-Hall*, backing those arguments against the Match stoutly in the Presence-Chamber, that Doctor *Hackwel* had urged zealously in the

the Pulpit; and as resolutely suffering imprisonment for the one, as the Doctor did suspension for the other; declaring himself as freely against the Agent *Gondomar*, as against his business, the Marriage: For chancing to meet *Gondomar* at an Entertainment, the *Don* accosted him with high Complements, vowing; *That amongst all the Nobility of England, there was none he had tendered his service to with more sincerity than to his Lordship, though hitherto such his unhappiness, that his affections were not accepted according to his integrity that tendered them.* It seems (replied the Earl of Oxford) *that your Lordship hath good leisure, when stooping in your thoughts to one so inconsiderable as my self, whose whole life hath afforded but two things memorable therein. It is your Lordships modesty (returned the Spaniard) to undervalue your self, whilst we the spectators of your Honours deserts, make a true and impartial estimate thereof; hundreds of memorables have met in your Lordships life: But, good my Lord, what are those two signal things more conspicuous than all the rest? They are these two (said the Earl) I was born in the year 88, and christened on the fifth of November.*

Neither was he a more inveterate enemy to the Church of Rome, than a cordial friend to that of England; for presenting one Mr. Copinger to *Laneham*, he added, to try him, *He would pay no tythes of his Park:* "Mr. Copinger desired again "to resign it to his Lordship, rather than by such "sinful gratitude to betray the rights of the "Church.—*Well, if you be of that mind (said the Earl) than take the tythes; I scorn that my Estate should swell with Church-goods.*



*K. James.* Going over one of the four *English* Colonels into the Low-Countries, and endeavouring to raise the siege of *Breda*, he so over-heated himself with Marching, Fighting and vexing (the Design not succeeding) that he dyed after, *Anno Dom. 16—* He married *Diana*, one of the Co-heirs of *William* Earl of *Exeter*, (afterwards to *Edward* Earl of *Elgin*) by whom he left no Issue.

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Francis Vere.*

*S*ir Francis Vere (Governour of Beil and Portsmouth) was of the ancient; and of the most noble extract of the Earls of Oxford; and it may be a question, whether the Nobility of his house, or the honour of his Achievements might most commend him, who brought as much glory to his name, as he received honour from it: He was amongst his Queens Sword-men inferiour to none, but superiour to many: He lived oftner in the Camp, than Court: but when his pleasure drew him thither, no man had more of the Queens favour, and none less envied. He was a Soldier of great worth, and commanded thirty years in the service of the States, and twenty years over the English in "Chief as the Queens General; and he that "had seen the Battel of Newport, might there best "have taken him and his noble Brother the Lord of "Tilbury to the life. They report that the Queen as she loved Martial men, would court this Gentleman as soon as he appeared in her presence; for he seldom troubled it with the noise and alarms

of supplication; his way was another sort of under-  
 mining, as resolved in the Court as in the Camp, as well to *justify* his \* Patron, as to *serve* her Maje-  
 sty, telling her the plain truth more sincerely than any man; choosing (as he said) rather to fall by the  
 malice of his enemies, than be guilty of Ingrati-  
 tude to his friends: Yea, and when he sued for the  
 government of *Portsmouth*, and some Grandees  
 objected, that that place was always bestowed on  
 Noblemen, he answered; *There were none ennobled*  
*but by their Princes favour, and the same way he*  
*took.*

K. James.

\* The Earl  
of Essex.

\* The Lord  
Norris.

*The Veres compared.*

*Veri sciipiadæ, Duo fulmina belli.*

Sir *Francis* and Sir *Horace Vere*, sons of *Jessery Vere* Esquire, who was son of *John Vere*, the  
 fifteenth Earl of *Oxford*; We will first consider  
 severally, and then compare joyntly, to see how  
 their Actions and Arms performed, what their  
 birth and blood promised.

Sir *Fran.* was of a fiery  
 Spirit & rigid nature,  
 undaunted in all danger,  
 not overvaluing the price  
 of mens lives to purchase  
 a victory therewith. He  
 served on the Scene of all  
*Christendom* where War  
 was acted, One Master-  
 piece

Sir *Horace* had more  
 meekness, & as much  
 valour as his brother; so  
 pious that he first made  
 peace with God, before  
 he went to war with man  
 One of an excellent tem-  
 per; it being true of him  
 what is said of the *Caspi-*

*K. James.* piece of his valour was *an Sea*, that it doth never  
 at the Battel of *New-*ebb nor flow; observing  
*port*, when his ragged Re- a constant tenor, neither  
 giment (so were the elated nor depressed  
*English-men* called, from with success. Had one seen  
 their ragged Cloathes) him returning from a vi-  
 helped to make all ctory, he would by his si-  
 whole, or else all had lence have suspected that  
 been lost. he had lost the day; and

Another was, when had he beheld him in a  
 for three years he de- retreat, he would have  
 fended *Ostend* against a collected him a Conque-  
 strong and numerous ror, by the cheerfulness  
 Army, surrendring it of his spirit. He was the  
 at last a bare Skeleton first Baron of *K. Charles*  
 to the King of *Spain*, his Creation. Some years  
 who paid more years after, coming to Court,  
 purchase for it, than he fell suddenly sick and  
 probably the World speechless, so that he died  
 would endure. He dy- afore night, *Anno Dom.*  
 ed in the beginning of 163... No doubt he was  
 the Reign of *K. James*, well prepared for death,  
 about the year of our seeing such his vigilan-  
 Lord, 16— cy, that never any enemy  
 surprised him in his  
 Quarters.

Now to compare them together (such their E-  
 minency, that they would hardly be parallel'd by  
 any but themselves:) Sir *Francis* was the elder  
 Brother, Sir *Horace* lived to be the elder man.  
 Sir *Francis* was more feared, Sir *Horace* more lo-  
 ved by the Soldiery: The former in Martial Disci-  
 pline was oftentimes *Rigidus ad ruinam*, the latter  
 seldom

seldome exceeded *ad terrorem*. Sir Francis left *K. James* none, Sir Horace no Male-Issue, whose four Co-Heirs are since Matched into honourable Families. Both lived in War, much honoured; dyed in peace, much lamented.

What is a great question among all Martial men, was so between these Brethren; whether to repair a reputation ruined by some infamous disgrace, "and the honour abused by some notorious loss, the General ought to oppose the fortune that oppresseth him, and hazard what remains, to recover what is lost? Sir Francis was of opinion, *That though it's not the interest of a supreme Prince, yet it is the concern of a subordinate Commander to support his credit at the rate of his Army.* But Sir Horace was never for sacrificing the whole for the advancing of any part, or of many for the humouring of one; but chose rather to break the impetuosity of his misfortunes by yielding to them, and rather recover both himself and his success by a prudent retreat, than lose both in an obstinate misadventure. -- It being far more eligible to suffer in the imaginary interest of repute, than that real one of strength; though appearances are yet so useful, that dexterously to manage the reputation of Affairs, is to imprint in men a great opinion of vertue and fortune, to enhance successes, and raise that respect and confidence that seldom fail to the share of *reservation* and *fear*. But apart from that too much caution that betrayeth, and overmuch rashness that hazardeth our fortunes, both these Heroes were very choice in the places of their Engagements; for when all the Generals before the Battel of *Newport* were for quitting the upper Downs,

*K. James.* Downs, Sir *Francis Vere* well knowing how much it imported the business of the day to hold a place of such advantage, perswaded Count *Maurice* rather to expect the Enemy in that ground, than attaque him in a worse; wherein as his opinion prevailed, so all that were present, were Eye-witnesses both of the truth of his conjecture, and the soundness of his judgement: For the Enemy, as he said, did not long gaze upon them; but charging up the hills, were beaten back so effectually, that our men had the execution of them for half a mile; which was no small advantage to the fortune of that day.

Neither were they less observant of their time, that Mother of Action, than their place; neither hasty nor slow to manage an opportunity that is neither often or long the same; — or of the order of their Army than both, whereof each part assisted the other at *Nenport*, and elsewhere so readily, that their shouts and charges equally amazed their Friends and Enemies.

The Reliefs of *Rhingleigh* were actions of great resolution, ready dispatch, a watchful circumspection, and good pursuit: The succour of *Litkenhaoven* was a performance of great and mature deliberation; the surprize of *Zutphen* by young Soldiers in womens apparel, was a piece of service of many particular stratagems; and the Siege of *Dinwenter* of as much sage advice. — All instances of the wonders that courage can do when wise, valour when sober, a passion when rational, and a great spirit when advised.

*Observa-*

*Observations on the Life of Richard Cofin, LL. D.*

**R**ichard Cofin, LL. D. (one of the greatest Civilians our Nation bred, the grand Champion of Episcopacy, was (amongst all the Countreys of *England*) born in the Bishoprick of *Darham*. His Father was a person of Quality; a Captain of a Company at *Muscleborough-Field*, whence his valour returned with victory and wealth; when crossing the River *Tweed* [O the uncertainty of all earthly happiness!] he was drowned therein, to the great loss of his son *Richard*; and greater, because he was not sensible thereof, as left an Infant in the Cradle. His Mother afterwards married one Mr. *Medow*, a *York-shire* Gentleman, who bred this his Son-in-law at a School at *Skipton* upon *Craven*; wherein such was his proficiency, that before he was twelve years old (little less then a wonder to me, in that age, from so far a Countrey) he was admitted into *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge*. Some of his friends in *Queens-Colledge* in that University had a design to fetch him thence, had not *Doctor Beaumont* prevented the plot, in making him Scholar and Fellow as soon as by his Age, Degree, and the Statutes he was capable thereof.

He was a general Scholar, Geometrician, Musitian, Physitian, Divine, but chiefly, Civil and Canon Lawyer. By Arch-Bishop *Whitgift* he was preferred to be first Chancellor of *Worcester*, [in that

*K. Fame*: age a place *non tam gratioſus quam negotioſus*] and afterwards Dean of the Arches, wherein he carried himself without giving (though many took) offence at him.

Of these one wrote a Book against him called the *Abstract* [abstracted, saith my Author, from all Wit, Learning, and Charity] to whom he returned such an answer in defence of the High-Commission, and Oath *Ex Officio*, that he put his Adversary to silence.

*Plaut. in  
Aulularia.*

Others lay to his charge, that he gave many black Licences, the common occasion of unlawful Mariages; and the procurer is as bad as the thief, robbing many a Parent of his dear Child thereby. But alwayes malice looks through a multiplying-glasse. *Enclio* complained, *Intromiſiſti ſexcentos Coquos*, Thou haſt let in ſix hundred Cooks, when there was but two truly told [*Anthrax* and *Congrio*] ſo here was but one, which a Fugitive ſervant ſtole from a Register to make his private profit thereby. GOD in his ſickneſs granted him his deſire which he made in his health; that he might be freed from Torture, which his corpulency did much ſuſpect, beſtowing *εὐδαιμονία* upon him, a ſweet and quiet departure. Pious his dying expreſſions; *I deſire to be diſſolved, and to be with Chriſt*, Phil. 1. *The wages of ſin is death*, Rom. 6. *Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly*, Revel. 12. And his laſt words were theſe; *Farewel my ſurviving friends; remember your Mortality, and Eternal life.*

He gave forty pounds to the building of a Chamber in *Trinity-Colledge*, and fifteen pounds *per annum* for the maintenance of two Scholarſhips there-

therein : a good gift out of his estate, who left not *K. James.* above fifty pounds a year clear to his Heir : a great argument of his integrity, that he got no more in so gainful a place. Dying at Doctors Commons, he was buried by his own appointment in *Lambeth Church*, and Doctor *Andrews* preached his Funeral-Sermon. Amongst the many Verses made by the University of *Cambridge*, this (with the allowance of Poetical Licence) came from no bad Fancy.

*Magna Deos inter lis est exorta : creatas  
Horum qui lites dirimit, ille deest  
Cofinum potiere dii componere tantas  
Lites, quod vero jure peritus erat.*

A most moderate man he was in his own nature, but more earnest in the business of the Church, in the behalf of which he writ many Books of validity, &c.

It must not be forgotten, that Doctor *Barlow* (afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*) was bred by Doctor *Cofin* at his charge in his own Family ; who in expression of his Thankfulness, wrote this *Dr. Cofin's Life*, out of which most of the aforesaid Character hath been taken.



K. James



*Observations on the Life of the Lord  
Chief-Justice Cook.*

**T**HIS accomplished person was well born at *Milham* in *Norfolk*, of *Robert Cook* Esquire, and *Winifred Knightly* his Wife, and as well bred.  
 1. When ten years of age at *Norwich* School.  
 2. At *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge*. 3. After four years University-study, first in *Cliffords Inn*, and then in the Inner Temple. The first occasion of his *Rice*, was his stating of the *Cooks Case* of the Temple so exactly, that all the House who were puzzled with it, admired him; and his pleading it so, that the whole Bench took notice of him. Such his proficiency, that at the end of six years (exceeding early in that strict age) he was call'd to the Bar, and soon after, for three years, chosen Reader in *Lyons Inn*. Here his learned Lecture so spread forth his fame, that crouds of Clients sued to him for his Counsel; and his own suit was the sooner granted, when tendering his Affections in order to Marriage, unto *Bridget* daughter and Coheir of *John Paston* Esquire, whose portion moderately estimated, *Vis & medis*, amounted unto thirty thousand pounds, her vertues not falling under valuation, and she enriched her Husband with ten Children.

Then began preferment to presse upon him; the City of *Norwich* choosing him Recorder, the County of *Norfolk* their Knight for Parliament, the Queen her Speaker therein, as also her Solicitor and

and Attorney. King *James* honoured him with *K. James.* Knighthood, and made him Chief-Justice, first of the Common-Pleas, then of the Kings-Bench. Thus beginning on a good bottom left him by his Father, marrying a Wife of extraordinary wealth; having at the first great and gainful practice, afterwards many and profitable Offices, being provident to choose any penny worths in Purchases, leading a thrifty and living to a great age during flourishing and peaceable times (born as much after the persecution under *Q. Mary*, as dying before our Civil Wars) no wonder if he advanced to a fair estate, so that all his sons might seem elder brethren, by the large possessions left unto them.

Some falsely character him a back-friend to the Church and Clergy, being a grand Benefactor to the Church of *Norwich*, who gratefully under their publick Seal honoured him with this ensuing Testimony.

*Edwardus Coke Armiger, sapius & in multis difficillimis Negotiis Ecclesie nostrae auxiliatus est, & Nuper eandem contra Templorum Hælluones, qui Dominia, Maneria & Hæreditamenta nostra devorare sub Titulo obscuro (Concelatum dicunt) sponte suâ nobis insciis, & sine mercede ullâ legitimè tutatus est; atque eandem suam nostri Defensionem in perpetuum tanta rei memoriâ, & posterorum gratiâ, (si opus fuerit) magna cum industria & scriptis redegit, & Nostra Ecclesia donavit.*

*K. James.* As for the many Benefices in his own Patronage, he freely gave them to worthy men, being wont to say in his Law-language, *That he would have Church-Livings pass by Livery and Seisin, not Bargain and Sale.*

He was our English *Trebonianus*, very famous for his Comments on *Littleton* and our Common-Law. 1628. A Parliament was call'd and the Court party was jealous of Sir *Edward* weactivity against them, as who had not digested his discontentments as he had done the Law. Hereupon to prevent his Election as a Member, he was confined to *Buckinghamshire* as a Sheriff.

He scrupled to take the Oath, pretending many things against it, and particularly that the Sheriff is bound thereby to prosecute *Lollards*, wherein the best Christians may be included.

It was answered; *That he had often seen the Oath given to others without any regret, and knew full well that Lollard in the modern sense imported the opposers of the present Religion, as established by Law in the Land.*

No excuses would serve his turn, but he must undertake that Office: However his friends beheld it as an injurious degradation of him, who had been Lord Chief-Justice, to attend on the Judges at the Assizes.

Five sorts of people he us'd to fore-design to misery and poverty; Chymists, Monopolizers, Concealers, Promoters, and Rhyming Poets. For three things he would give God solemn thanks; That he never gave his body to Physick, nor his heart to cruelty, nor his hand to corruption. In three things he did much applaud his own success; In

In his fair fortune with his Wife, in his happy study of the Laws, and in his free coming by all his Offices, *nec prece, nec pretio*, neither begging nor bribing for Preferment. K. James.

His parts were admirable: he had a deep Judgment, faithful Memory, active Fancy, and the Jewel of his mind was put into a fair Case, a beautiful body with a comely countenance: A case, which he did wipe and keep clean, delighting in good Cloaths, well worn, and being wont to say, *That the outward neatness of our bodies, might be a Monitor of purity to our souls.*

In his Pleadings, Discourse, and Judgements, he declined all Circumlocutions, usually saying, *The matter lyes in a little Room* \*. In all Places, Callings, and Jurisdctions, he commended Modesty and Sobriety within their boundaries, saying, *If a River swelleth beyond the banks, it loseth its own Character.* \* Though some observe that his digressions marred his reputation, and had broke his neck, had he lived in any Kings reign but K. James's.

If any adverse party crossed him, he would patiently reply, *If another punisheth me, I will not punish myself.* In the highest Term of Business he made Vacation to himself at his Table; and would never be perswaded privately to retract what he had publicly adjudged, professing, *He was a Judge in a Court, not in a Chamber.* He was wont to say, *No wise man would do that in prosperity, whereof he should repent in adversity.* His Motto was, *Prudens qui Patiens*; and his practice was accordingly, especially after he fell into the disfavour of King James, when he did *Frui suo Infortunio*, and improved his loss to his advantage. He triumphed in his own Innocency, that he had done nothing illegally; calling to mind the Motto which he gave

*K. James.* in his Rings when made Sergeant, *Lex est tutissima Classis*, The Law is the safest Helmet. And now he had leisure to peruse what formerly he had written, even thirty Books with his own hand, most pleasing himself with a Manual, which he called *VADÉ ME CUM*, from whence at one view he took a prospect of his Life past, having noted therein most Remarkables. His most learned and laborious Works on the Laws will last to be admired by the Judicious Posterity, whilst Fame hath a Trumpet left her, and any breath to blow therein. His judgement lately passed for an Oracle in Law; and since the credit thereof hath causelessly been questioned, the wonder is not great. If the Prophet himself, living in an incredulous Age, found cause to complain, *Who hath believed our report?* it need not seem strange that our licentious Times have afforded some to shake the Authenticalness of the Reports of any earthly Judge.

He constantly had Prayers said in his own house, and charitably relieved the Poor with his constant Almes. The Foundation of *Sutton's* Hospital (when indeed but a Foundation) had been ruined before it was raised, and crush'd by some Courtiers in the hatching thereof, had not his great care preserved the same. The Free-School at *Thetford* was supported in its being, by his assistance; and he founded a School on his cost at *Godrick* in *Norfolk*.

It must not be forgotten, that Doctor *Whitgift* afterward Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, sent unto his Pupil when the Queen's Attorney, a fair new Testament, with this Message: *He had long enough studied Common Law, now let him study the Law of God.*

When

When he was under a cloud at Court, and out-<sup>K. James.</sup> ed of his Judges place, the lands belonging to the Church of *Norwich*, which formerly he had so industriously recovered and settled thereon, were again called into question, being begged by a Peer. Sir *Edward* desired him to desist, telling him, that otherwise he would put on his Gown and Cap, and come into *Westminster-Hall* once again, and plead there in any Court in justification of what he had done. He died at *Stoke-Poges* in *Buckingham-shire*, on *Wednesday* the third of *September*, being the 83 of age, whose last words were these, *Thy Kingdom come, thy Will be done.*

The infirmities of this Judge, as my Lord *BACON* recited them in a Letter to him, were these :

1. That he delighted to speak more than hear.
2. That he would run out of his Profession ; and as he observed of Divines, so it was observed of him, none erred worse out of his element.
3. That he conversed with Books rather than Men, and onely with such men that he spake to as Scholars, rather than treated as friends.
4. That he obruded those things as Novelties that were stale.
5. That he would jest on men in place, and insult on men in misery.
6. That he made the Law lean too much to his opinion.
7. That his Tenants in *Norfolk* were hardly used; and that though he had ten thousand pounds *per an.* he relieved not the poor.

8. That

*K. James.* 8. That in his last proceedings against *Somerset*, he was too open and dilatory, giving too much advantage, and breaking out to some unadvised expressions.

9. That he stood out against Power; for which, and other failures, he was dismissed the Council-board with this expression from King *James*, *That he was the fittest instrument to serve a Tyrant.*

Indeed he had some projects for the Revenue, and looked for the Treasury, when he was absolutely cast off; though he made such shift, that throw him where you would (as King *James* said) he fell upon his legs.

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Ralph Winwood.*

**S**ir *Ralph Winwood* was a Gentleman well seen in most Affairs, but most expert in matters of Trade and War; for he was first a Soldier, and then an Agent in the *Netherlands*, where he remonstrated against *Vorstius* learnedly and resolutely, representing as well his Masters parts as his power: It was the very guise of that time to be learned; the wits of it were so excellent, the helps and assistants of it were so great; Printing was so common; the world (by Navigation) so open; great experiments so disclosed; the leisure of men so much, the age was so peaceable; and his *Majesty*, after whom all writ, so knowing.

When

When the Earl of *Somerset* was made Chamber-*K. James.*  
lain by his Majesty in his Fathers place, *Sir Ralph*  
*Winwood* was by the Queen made Secretary in his ;  
succeeding him in his Office, but exceeding him in  
his success ( *Fortune may begin any mans greatness,*  
*but Vertue must continue it* ) for this Favourite ta-  
king upon him to over-rule *Winwood*, *Winwood* makes  
it his business to overthrow him ; to which pur-  
pose his Agents discover some secrets abroad ( *you*  
*may understand more of England at Amsterdam, than*  
*at London* ) and he useth his Arts at home ; for  
Mr. *Villiers* being now brought to Court , when  
others were for raising him by interest, *Sir Ralph*  
was for advancing him with Compliance—a Com-  
pliance, as he said, that must either supple or break  
his Adversaries, and either way ruine them.---Ac-  
cordingly *Sir George* is directed to offer his service  
to the Earl of *Somerset* ; that Earl fatally tells him,  
*He would have none of his service, but would break his*  
*Design.*---These words coming so cross to the Kings  
inclination, and the Court's plot, provoked all per-  
sons to look further into *Sir Ralph Winwood's* In-  
telligence concerning *Sir Tho. Overbury's* death.  
Now “mens weakneses and faults are best known  
“ by their enemies, their vertues and abilities from  
“ their friends ; their customes and times from  
“ their servants ; their conceits and opinions from  
their familiars, to whom they are least masked. To  
all these he applyeth himself, until he had discover-  
ed as much of the practices concerning *Overbury*,  
as might humble the Earl ; and as much corruption  
in the conveyance of publick money to the build-  
ing of *Audley-End*, as might displace his Father.  
An Apothecaries boy gives the first, and a servant  
that



*K. James.* that carried the money, the second, both whom he surprized with the *Spanish* proverb; *Di mentura, y sacaras verdad: Tell a lye, and find a truth.* Indeed the natures and dispositions, the conditions and necessities, the factions and combinations, the animosities and discontents; the ends and designs of most people were clear and transparent to this watchful man's intelligence and observation, who could do more with King *James* by working on his fear, than others by gratifying his pleasure.

When I observe how close and silent he was at the Council-Table, it puts me in mind of the man that gave this reason why he was silent in a Treaty and Conference: *Because (said he) the Enemy might know, that as there are many here that can speak, so here is one that can hold his peace.*

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Francis Bacon.*

**S**Ir *Francis* was born where we are made men, bred where we are made States-men; being equally happy in the quickness of the City, and politeness of the Court: He had a large mind from his Father, and great abilities from his Mother; his parts improved more than his years: his great, fixed, and methodical memory, his solid judgement, his quick fancy, his ready expression, gave high assurance of that profound and universal knowledge and comprehension of things which then rendered him the observation of great and wise men, and afterwards the wonder of all. The  
great

great Queen was as much taken with his witty discourses when a School-boy, as with his grave Oracles when her Counsel learned. He was a Courtier from his Cradle to his Grave, sucking in experience with his milk, being inured to policy as early as to his Grammar: Royal Maxims were his *Sententia Patris*; and he never saw any thing that was not noble and becoming. The Queen called him her young *Lord Keeper*, for his grave ingenuity at seven years of age; and he could tell her Majesty *he was two years a younger, than her happy Reign.* At twelve, his industry was above the capacity, and his mind above the reach of his Contemporaries: A prodigy of parts he must be, who was begot by wife Sir Nicholas Bacon, born of the accomplished Mrs. Anne Cook, daughter to Sir Anthony Cook, King Edward the 6<sup>th</sup>s. Tutor, a good Grecian and Latinist, and bred at *Trinity-Colledge*, under the wise, learned, and pious Doctor *Whitgift*. His strong observations at Court, his steady course of study in the University, must be improved for State-business, by a well-contrived Travel abroad: where his conversation was so obliging, his way so inquisitive, his prudence so eminent, that he was Sir *Amie Paulet*'s Agent between the Jur-cto of France and the Queen of England: He allayed the solidity of England with the Ayre of France, until his own Affairs and the Kingdoms service called him home at his Fathers death to enjoy a younger Brothers estate, and act his part: Policy was his business, the Law was onely his livelihood; yet he was so great a States-man, that you would think he only studied men: so great a Scholar, that you would say, he only studied Books. Such insight

K. James.  
~~~~~

a He was  
born Jan.  
22. 1562.  
at York.  
house in  
the Strand.

*K. James.* insight he had in the Law, that he was at thirty her Majesty's Advocate, and extraordinary Counsel; such his judgement, that he was the Student of *Gray's-Inn's* Oracle; being well seen in the grounds and mysteries of the Law, though not experienced in the Cases of the Common Law, while he made that profession his accessory, and not his principal: so generous and affable his disposition, that he was all mens love and wonder: He instilled wholesome precepts of Prudence and Honour to Noblemen (particularly the Earl of *Essex*, to whom he was more faithful, than he to himself:) Great principles of Arts and Sciences to the learned; noble Maxims of government to Princes, excellent rules of Life to the Populacy. When his great Patron *Essex* sunk, he was buoyed up by his own steadiness, and native worth, that admitted him to the Queen's own presence, not only to deliver matter of Law, which was his profession, but to debate matters of State, which was his element: his judgement was so eminent, that he could satisfy the greatest; his condescension so humble, that he instructed the meanest: his extraordinary parts, above the model of the age, were feared in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, but employed in King *James's*. Favour he had in her Reign; but Trust only in *his*. It's dangerous in a factious Age to have my Lord *Bacon's* parts, or my Lord of *Essex* his favour. Exact was his correspondence abroad and at home; constant his Letters, frequent his Visits, great his Obligations, moderate and temperate his Inclination; peaceable, humble, and submissive his mind; complying and yielding, his temper: In Queen *Elizabeth's* time, when he could not rise by the publick way  
of

of service, he did it by that more private of Marriage, with one *Alice Barneham*, an Alderman's Heiress, and other commendable Improvements; whereby he shewed a great soul could be rich in spite of Fortune, (for his Father dying while he was in *France* before he had purchased an estate, he designed for him his youngest Son and Darling, he had but a Portion of the money divided among five Brethren, whereby he was in streights till *Gorambum* fell to him by his dearest Brother Mr. *Anthoni Bacon's* death, a Gentleman of his parts, though not his learning, having nothing either of honour or profit from that Queen, but a reversion of the Register of the Star-Chambers place, worth 1500. a year, which he stay'd for 20 years, saying that it was like another mans ground, buttalling upon his house: which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his Barn) though it scorned it in point of Honour. In the House of Commons none more popular, (where he was allowed to sit as Member, when Attorney, which is allowed none in that place) none more zealous, none so knowing a Patriot: In the house of Lords, none more successfully serviceable to the Crown: the easie way of Subsidies was his design in Queen *Elizabeth's* time; the union with *Scotland* was his contrivance in King *James's*.

His make and port was stately, his speech flowing and grave, each word of his falling in its place; the issue of great reason when conceived, and of great prudence when expressed: so great skill he had in observing and contriving of occasions and opportunities, in suiting of Humours, and hitting of Junctures and Flexures of Affairs, that he was  
in

*K. James.* in his time the Master of speech and action, carrying all before him.

The Earl of *Salisbury* saith, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was a good Orator, but a bad Writer; the Earl of *Northampton* was a good Writer, but a bad Orator; Sir *Francis Bacon* excelled in both: Much he said he owed to his Books, more to his innate Principles and Notions: When *he thought*, he said, he aimed more at Connexion than Variety: When he spake, he designed rather the life and vigour of expression, and perspicuity of words, (asking often if the meaning were expressed plainly enough) than the elegance or order of phrase. His axiome was; *Words* should wait on *things*, rather than *things* on *words*; and his resolution was, *That all affected elegance was below the gravity and majesty of a publick discourse*: He rather judged *Books* and *Men*, than either read or talked with them.

His Exercises were man-like and healthful, walking and riding; his Meditations coherent, every minute of his time improved; his Table temperate and learned, where his great Discourses were the entertainment, and he himself the treat; resolving Cases most satisfactorily, it was observed that he would express another mans words with great advantage, speaking with liberty and respect to all hearers, amend much the phrase of it though retaining the substance, stating Questions most exactly, relating Histories most prudently, opening great Secrets most clearly, answering Arguments and replying most familiarly, and speaking what he had thorowly weighed and considered most effectually.—All matters and speeches

speeches came from him with advantage; so acute *K. James*, and ready his wit, so faithful his memory, so penetrating his judgment, so searching his head, so large and rational his soul. He drew out of every man he spake with, what he was best for.

My Lord of *Salisbury* said, he had the clearest prospect of things of any man in his age; and King *James*, by whom he was never reprov'd in eighteen years, said, *That he knew the method of handling Matters, after a mild and gentle manner*: Not ingaging his Master in any rash or grievous courses, insulting over no offender, but carrying it decently and compassionately to the person of the offender, when most severe against the offence. His Religion was rational and sober, his spirit publick, his love to Relations tender, to Friends faithful; to the hopeful liberal, to men universal, to his very Enemies civil. He left the best pattern of Government in his actions under one King, and the best principles of it in the Life of the other. His Essays and History made him the admiration of polite *Italy*; his Accomplishments, the wonder of *France*; Monsieur *Fiat*, the *French* Ambassador, who called him Father, saying to him, after an earnest desire to see him, *That he was an Angel to him, of whom he had heard much, but never saw him*. Solid, less dissippable and juicy Meat was his Diet, and Rhubarb infused in Wine before meat his Physick: four hours in the morning he made his own, not by any means to be interrupted: business was his fate, retirement his inclination. *Socrates* brought Morality from Discourse to Practice; and my Lord *Bacon* brought Philosophy from Speculation to Experience, *Aristotle* whom he disliked at 16 years of

*K. James.* age, not for his person, for he valued him highly ; but his way which bred disputations, but not useful things for the benefit of the life of man , continuing in that judgment to his dying day , he said, taught many to dispute, more to wrangle, few to find out Truth, none to manage it according to his principles :—My Lord *Bacon* was a man singular in every faculty , and eminent in all : His Judgment was solid, yet his memory was a wonder ; his Wit was quick, yet his Reason staid ; His Invention was happy, yet methodical : and one fault he had, that he was above the age he lived in ; above it in his bounties to such as brought him Presents (foremembring that he had been *Lord-Chancellor*, that he forgot he was but Lord *Vernham* : Great his *understanding*, his knowledge was not from Books, though he read much ; but from grounds and notions in himself, which he vented with great caution ; Dr. *Rawley* attesting that he saw twelve Copies of the *Instauratio Magna* revised and amended year by year till it was published, and great his *mind* too) above it in his kindness to servants, to whom he had been a better Master , if he had been a worse ; and more kind, if he had been less indulgent to them. Persons of Quality courted his Service. For the first of his Excesses, *K. James* jeered him in his progress to *New-market*, saying, when he heard he gave ten pounds to one that brought him some Fruit, *My Lord, my Lord, this is the way to Beggars-bush*. For the second, he reflected upon himself, when he said to his servants as they rose to him in his Hall ; *Your rise hath been my fall*. Though indeed he rather trusted to their honesty, than connived at their falshood ; for he did impar-

tial

tial Justice commonly to both parties, when one *K. James.* servant was in fee with the *Plaintiff*, and the other with the *Defendant*. -- How well he understood his own time, his Letters, and compliances evidence; than whom none higher in spirit, yet none humbler in his Addresſes [ *The proudeſt man is moſt ſervile.* ] How little he valued wealth, appeareth, in that when his ſervants would take money from his Cloſet, even while he was by, he would laugh, and ſay, *I poor men, that is their portion.* How well he kenneſt the art of Converſe, his *Effayes* diſcover, a piece (as he obſerved himſelf) that of all his Works was moſt current, for that they *come home to mens buſineſs and boſomes.* How far ſkilled in the Art of Government, the *Felicities of Queen Elizabeth*, written by him in Latine, ordered by his laſt Will to be Printed ſo, but publiſhed in *Engliſh* in his reſuſcitatio by his *Amannaenſis* Dr. Rawley, his *H. 7. War with Spain, Holy War, Elements of the Law*, irrefragably demonſtrate; and how well ſeen in all Learning, his *Natural Hiſtory*, and *Advancement of Learning* anſwerably argue. In a word, how ſufficient he was, may be conjectured from this inſtance, that he had the contrivance of all King *James* his Deſigns, until the Match with *Spain*; and that he gave thoſe Directions to a great Statesman \*, which may be his Character, and our con-  
\*Vid. Duſſet of Buck-ingham's Life.



*K. James.* (they say) looking upon him as a burden in his Family, and the Lord *Brook* denying him a bottle of small beer. Though in a Letter to King *James* he thanks him for being that Master to him that had raised and advanced him six times in Office; *i.e.* Councel learned extraordinary, Solicitor and Attorney General, Lord Keeper, and Chancellor, Knight-Lord *Verulam*, Viscount St. *Alban's*, with 1800*l.* a year out of the broad *Zeal*, and Alienation Office to his dying day, most of which he allowed to his Wife, towards whom he was very bountiful in gifts, bestowing on her a Robe of honour which she wore while she lived, which was above twenty years after his death. His Religion was like a Philosophers, rational and well grounded as appears by his confession of faith, composed many years before his death, an instance of the truth of his own observation; that a little Philosophy maketh men apt to forget God, as attributing too much to second causes; but depth of Philosophy bringeth a man back again to God; he being constant at the publick Prayers, frequent at the Sermons and Sacraments of the Church of *England*, in whose Communion he dyed of a gentle Feaver, accompanied with a choaking defluxion and cold, *April 9.* being *Easter-day 1626.* 66th. year of his age, in the Earl of *Arundel's* house at *High-gate* near *London*, being Buried according to his Will at St. *Michael's* Church in St. *Alban's*, the onely Church in old *Verulam*, near his Mother under a white Marble, set up by Sir *Tho. Meauwy*, Secretary to his Lordship, and Clerk of the Councel to King *James* and King *Charles*, whereon he is drawn in his full Stature studying; with an Inscription

*Bentli*  
*Burgham*,  
an Alder-  
man of  
*London's*  
Daughter  
and Co-  
heir.

scription by Sir *Henry Wotton*. He had one peculiar temper of body, that he fainted alwayes at an Eclipse of the Moon, though he knew not of it, and considered it not. His Receipt for the Gout which eased him in two hours, is at the end of his Natural History. His Rhubarb-draught before meat he liked; because it carryed away the gross humours, not lessening the spirits as sweating doth.

It was the great effect of his Religion, that as he said (notwithstanding the opportunities he had to be revenged) he neither bred nor fed malice, saying no worse to the King (who enquired of him what he thought of a great man newly dead, that had not been his friend) than that he would never have made his Majesties estate better, but he was sure he would have kept it from being worse.

And it was the consequence of his great worth, all men applauded him. *Fulk Lord Brook*, after the perusal of his *H. 7th.* returned it him with these words: *Commend me to my Lord, and bid him take care to get good Paper and Ink, for the work is Incomparable.* *Dr. Collins* the Kings Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, said when he had read his advancement of Learning, that he found himself in a case to begin his Studies again; as having lost all his former time.

Forreigners crossing the Seas to see him here, and carrying his Picture at length that he might be seen abroad. An *Italian* writes to the Lord *Cavendish*, since Earl of *Devonshire*, thus concerning the Lord *Bacon*; *I will expect the new Essays of my Lord Chancellor Bacon, as also his History with a great deal of desire; and whatsoever else he shall compose;*

*K. James.* but in particular of his History; I promise my self a thing perfect and singular; especially King Henry the 7th. where he may exercise the talent of his Divine understanding.

This Lord is more and more known; and his Books here, more and more delighted in; and those men that have more than ordinary knowledge in humane affairs, esteem him one of the most capable spirits of this age.

### *Observations on the Life of the Lord John Digby.*

**J**ohn Lord Digby of Sherborn, and Earl of Bristol, was a younger Son of an ancient Family, long flourishing at Koleskull. To pass by his younger years, (all Children being alike in their Coats) when he had only an Annuity of fifty pounds *per annum*, only his youth gave pregnant hopes of that Eminency, which his mature age did produce. He did ken the Embassador's craft, as well as any in his age, employed by King James in several Services to Foreign Princes, recited in his Patent, as the main motives of the Honours conferred upon him. But his managing the matchless Match with Spain was his Master-piece, wherein a good (I mean a great) number of State-Traverses were used on both sides: Where if he dealt in *Generalities*, and did not press *Particulars*, we may guess the reason of it from that expression of his; *I will take care to have my Instructions perfect, and will pursue them punctually*: If he held

held Affairs in suspense, that it might not come to a War on our part, it may be he did so with more regard to his Mr. King *James* his inclination, than his own apprehension: If he said; *That howsoever the business went, he would make his fortune thereby,* it rather argued his weakness that he said so, his sufficiency that he could do so, than his unfaithfulness that he did so. This is certain, that he chose rather to come home, and suffer the utmost displeasure of the King of *England*, than stay in *Spain*, and enjoy the highest favour of the King of *Spain*. He did indeed intercede for some indulgence to the Papists; but it was, because otherwise he could do no good for the Protestants. --- But whatever was at the bottom of his Actions, there was resolution and nobleness atop, especially in these actions.

1. Being carried from Village to Village after the King of *Spain*, without that regard due to his person, or place; he expressed himself so generously, that the *Spanish* Courtiers trembled; and the King declared, *That he would not interrupt his Pleasures with business at Lerma,* for any Ambassador in the world but the *English*; nor for any *English* Ambassador but *Don Juan*. 2. When impure *Scioppius* upon his Libel against K. *James*, and Sir *Humphrey Bennet's* complaint to the Arch-Duke against him, fled to *Madrid*; my Lord observing that it was impossible to have Justice done against him from the Catholique King because of the Jesuites, puts his Cousin *George Digby* upon cutting him; which he did over his Nose and Mouth wherewith he offended, so that he carried the mark of his Blasphemy to his Grave. 3. When he was extraordinary Ambassador in *Germany*, upon his return

*K. James.* by *Heidelberg*, observing that Count *Mansfield's* Army, upon whom depended the fortune of the *Palsgrave*, was like to disband for want of money, he pawned all his Plate and Jewels to buoy up that sinking Cause for that time. That his spirit was thus great abroad, was his honour; but that it was too great at home, was his unhappiness: for he engaged in a fatal Contrast with the Duke of *Buckingham*, that hazarded both their safeties, had not this Lord feared the Duke's power (as the Duke this Lord's policy) and so at last it became a drawn Battel betwixt them; yet so, that this Earl lost the love of King *Charles*, living many years in his disfavour: But such as are in a Court-cloud, have commonly the Countreys Sun-shine; and this Peer during his Eclipse, was very popular with most of the Nation. It is seldom seen, if a Favourite once broken at Court, sets up again for himself; the hap (rather than happiness) of this Lord, the King graciously reflecting on him at the beginning of the Long *Parliament*, as one best able to give him the safest Council in those dangerous times. But how he incensed the *Parliament* so far, as to be excepted pardon, I neither do know, nor dare enquire. Sure I am, that after the surrender of *Exeter*, he went over into *France*, where he met with that due respect in Foreign, which he missed in his Native Countrey. The worst I wish such, who causelessly suspect him of Popish inclinations (saith my Author) is, that I may hear from them but half so many strong Arguments for the *Protestant Religion*, as I heard from him, who was to his commendation a cordial Champion for the Church of *England*. This Family hath been much talked of this last for-

ty years; though all that I can say of it is this, that *K. James* great spirits, large parts, high honours, penned with narrow Estates, seldom bless their owners within *moderation*, or the places they live in with *peace*.

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*Observations on the Life of the Lord  
Spencer.*

**H**Ee was the fifth Knight of his Family, in an immediate succession, well allied and extracted, being descended from the *Spencers*, Earls of *Gloucester* and *Winchester*. In the first year of the Reign of *King James*, being a moneyed man, he was created Baron of *Wormeleiton* in the County of *Warwick*. He had such a ready and quick Wit, that once speaking in Parliament of the valour of their *English* Ancestors in defending the Liberty of the Nation, returned this Answer to the Earl of *Arundel*, who said unto him, *Your Ancestors were then keeping of Sheep; If they kept Sheep, yours were then plotting of Treason.* But both of them were at present confined; but to the Lord *Spencer* the Upper-House ordered Reparations, who was first and causelessly provoked. This Lord was also he, who in the first of *King James* was sent (with *Sir William Dethick*, principal King of Arms) to *Frederick Duke of Wirtenbergh*, elected into the Order of the Garter, to present and invest him with the Robes and Ornaments thereof; which were accordingly with great solemnity performed in the Cathedral of *Studgard*.--- And this was the Lord,  
that

*K. James.* that when the Earl of *Bristol* charged the Duke of *Buckingham*, started up, and demanded; *Is this all you have to say against the Duke?* The Earl replied, *Yes my Lord, and I am sorry it is so much.* Then quoth the Lord *Spencer*, *If this be all, Ridiculus mus;* and so sat down again.

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The End of the Observations upon  
the Lives of the Statesmen and  
Favourites of *England*, in the  
Reign of King *James*.

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THE  
STATES-MEN and FAVOURITES  
OF  
ENGLAND,  
IN  
The Reign of King *Charles. I.*

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*Observations on the Life of the Duke  
of Buckingham.*

Nature bestowed on him an exact comeliness,  
his Mother a noble education (not so much  
to study, as converse :) His Travels to *France*,  
carriage and experience. "About which times,  
"he falls into intrinsical society with Sir *Feb.*  
" *Graham*, then one of the Gentlemen of his Ma-  
" jesties Privy-Chamber ; who, I know not upon  
" what Luminaries, he espied in his face, dissuaded  
" him from Marriage, and gave him rather encou-  
" ragement to woe *Fortune* at Court, than court it  
" in the City: Which advice sank well into his fan-  
" cy,




K. Charles "cy, for within some while, the King had taken  
 "by certain glances (whereof the first was at *Ap-*  
 "*thorpe* in a Progress) such liking of his Person,  
 "that he was resolved to make him a Master-  
 "piece, and to mould him as it were Platonically  
 "to his own Idea. Neither was his Majesty con-  
 "tent onely to be the Architect of his Fortune,  
 "without putting his gracious hand likewise to  
 "some part of the work it self; insomuch that it  
 "pleased him to descend, and to avale his goodness,  
 "even to the giving of his foresaid friend Sir *John*  
 "*Graham* secret directions, how, by what degrees  
 "he should bring him into favour. His own parts  
 and observation gained him prudence and discre-  
 tion; His Family and Ancestors in *Leicester-shire*,  
 gentility and repute; so that there wanted nothing  
 but Interest to set him up a Courtier: Sir *Thomas*  
*Compton*, who had married his Mother, supplied  
 him with the one, and the Earls of *Bedford*, *Pembrook*,  
 and *Hertford*, who would eclipse *Somerset*, helped  
 him to the other: For those three Lords meeting  
 one night at *Baynards-Castle*, and commanding *So-*  
*merset's* picture should be abused in their way: next  
 day Sir *Thomas Lake* leads him into Court, buying  
 him the Cup-bearers place: A while after the  
 Countess of *Bedford* ushereth him to the Presence-  
 Chamber, entering him a Bed-chamber-man, --and  
 the Earl of *Pembrook* supports him, until he was a  
 Favourite. The Courtiers wished him well, be-  
 cause he was an *English-man*: the Nobility favour-  
 ed him, because a Gentleman; the Ladies have a  
 kindness for him, because the exactest Courtier  
 in *Christendom*; the King observes him much, for  
 his compleat body, more for his pregnant parts; and  
 the

the States-men now consulting *Somerset's* removal, *K. Charles* and finding King *James* his good nature loth to leave the bosom of one *Minion*, until he had reposed himself in another, made it their plot to advance him. His carriage was free and debonair; his passions even and smooth, and one saith, carried in his pocket; his nature noble and open; his temper industrious and inquisitive; his intellectuals clear and capable; his mind tractable and docible; his spirit resolute and undaunted. --- The first month he comes to Court, he takes place above all his fellows; and being removed with some affront by a creature of *Somerset's*, gives him a box on the ear; an action that gave him and his friends a seasonable occasion of a Contest with *Somerset*, and him a clear conquest over him: *Somerset* as Chamberlain would have cut off his hand, and he as Favourite was like to have cut off his head. This new Favourite riseth; all are weary of *Somerset* the first *Minion*, all welcom the second. The King is first his Tutor, and then his Patron, instructing him before he employed him. Three sorts of studies he engaged him in; the first was for delights in private Retyrements; the second for ornament in Discourse; the third, for ability in Business. He had Princely apprehensions of the principles and Maximes of Government, a distinct notion of all his Affairs, an excellent way to make use of other mens Abilities; and these incomparable Rules from my Lord *Bacon*, which were transcribed in his Life.

Sir, In the first place, I shall be bold to put you in mind of the present condition you are in; You are not onely a Courtier, but a Bed-chamber-man,

Complete  
instructions  
for a States-  
man, given  
by L. B. to  
and D. B.

*K. Charles* and so are in the eye and ear of your Master ; but you are also a Favourite ; The Favourite of the time , and so are in his bosom also ; The world hath so voted you , and doth so esteem of you , (for Kings and great Princes , even the wisest of them , have had their Friends , their Favourites , their Privadoes , in all ages ; for they have their affections as well as other men) of these they make several uses : sometimes to communicate and debate their thoughts with them , and to ripen their judgments thereby ; sometimes to ease their cares by imparting them ; and sometimes to interpose them between themselves and the envy or malice of their People (for Kings cannot erre , that must be discharged upon the shoulders of their Ministers ; and they who are nearest unto them must be content to bear the greatest load.) Truly Sir , I do not believe or suspect that you are choien to this eminency , out of the last of these considerations ; for you serve such a Master , who by his wisdom and goodness , is as free from the malice or envy of his Subjects , as , I think I may say truly , ever any King was , who hath sate upon his Throne before him : But I am confident , his Majesty hath cast his eyes upon you , as finding you to be such as you should be , or hoping to make you to be such as he would have you to be ; for this I may say without flattery , your outside promiseth as much as can be expected from a Gentleman . But be it in the one respect , or other , it belongeth to you to take care of your self , and to know well what the name of a Favourite signifies : If you be choien upon the former respects , you have reason to take care of your actions and deportment , out of your gratitude

rude, for the King's sake ; but if out of the later, *K. Charles* you ought to take the greater care, for your own  sake.

You are as a new risen Star, and the eyes of all men are upon you ; let not your own negligence make you fall like a Meteor.

The contemplation then of your present condition must necessarily prepare you for action ; what time can be well spar'd from your attendance on your Master, will be taken up by suitors, whom you cannot avoid, nor decline, without reproach ; for if you do not already, you will soon find the throng of suitors attend you ; for no man, almost, who hath to do with the King, will think himself safe, unless you be his good Angel, and guide him, or, or least, that you be not a *Malus Genius* against him ; so that, in respect of the King your Master, you must be very wary, that you give him true information ; and if the matter concern him in his Government, that you do not flatter him ; if you do, you are as great a Traytor to him in the Court of Heaven, as he that draws his sword against him : and in respect of the Suitors which shall attend you, there is nothing will bring you more honour and more ease, then to do them what right in justice you may, and with as much speed as you may ; for believe it, Sir, next to the obtaining of the suit, a speedy and a gentle denial (when the case will not bear it) is the most acceptable to suitors ; they will gain by their dispatch, whereas else they shall spend their time and money in attending ; and you will gain in the ease you will find in being rid of their importunity. But if they obtain what they reasonably desired, they will be doubly bound to you  
for

*K. Charles* for your favour : *Bis dat qui cito dat* ; it multiplies the courtesie, to do it with good words, and speedily.

That you may be able to do this with the best advantage, my humble advice is this ; when suitors come unto you, set apart a certain hour in a day to give them audience : If the business be light and easie, it may by word only be delivered, and in a word be answered ; but if it be either of weight, or of difficulty, direct the suitor to commit it to writing, (if it be not so already) and then direct him to attend for his answer at a set time to be appointed, which would constantly be observed, unless some matter of great moment do interrupt it : when you have received the Petitions (and it will please the Petitioners well, to have access unto you to deliver them into your own hand) let your Secretary first read them, and draw lines under the material parts thereof (for the matter, for the most part, lies in a narrow room.) The Petitions being thus prepared, do you constantly set apart an hour in a day to peruse those Petitions ; and after you have ranked them into several files, according to the subject matter, make choice of two or three friends, whose judgments and fidelities you believe you may trust in a business of that nature, and recommend it to one or more of them, to inform you of their opinions, and of their reasons for, or against the granting of it ; and if the matter be of great weight indeed, then it would not be amiss to send several Copies of the same Petition to several of your friends, the one not knowing what the other doth, and desire them to return their answers to you by a certain time, to be prefixed

xed in writing ; so shall you receive an impartial *K. Charles* answer, and by comparing the one with the other, you shall both discern the abilities and faithfulness of your friends, and be able to give a judgement thereupon, as an Oracle. But by no means trust not to your own judgement alone, for no man is omniscient ; nor trust onely to your servants, who may mislead you, or mis-inform you ; by which they may perhaps gain a few crowns, but the reproach will lye upon your self, if it be not rightly carried.

For the facilitating of your dispatches, my advice is further, that you divide all the Petitions, and the matters therein contained, under several heads ; which, I conceive, may be fitly ranked into these eight sorts.

1. Matters that concern Religion, and the Church and Church-men.

2. Matters concerning Justice, and the Laws, and the Professors thereof.

3. Councillors, and the Council-Table, and the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdom.

4. Foreign Negotiations and Embassies.

5. Peace and War, both foreign and civil, and in that the Navy and Forts, and what belongs to them.

6. Trade at home and abroad.

7. Colonies, or foreign Plantations.

8. The Courts, and Curiality.

And whatsoever will not fall naturally under one of these heads, believe me, Sir, will not be worthy of your thoughts, in this capacity we now speak of. And of these sorts, I warrant you, you will find enough to keep you in business.

K. Charles



I begin with the first, which concerns Religion.

1. In the first place, be you your self rightly perswaded and settled in the true Protestant Religion, professed by the Church of *England*; which doubtless is as sound and orthodox in the doctrine thereof, as any Christian Church in the world.

2. In this you need not be a Monitor to your gracious Master the King; the chiefest of his Imperial Titles, is, to be *The Defender of the Faith*; and his learning is eminent, not only above other Princes, but above other men; be but his scholar, and you are safe in that.

3. For the Discipline of the Church of *England*, by Bishops; &c. I will not positively say, as some do, that it's *Jure Divino*; but this I say, and think, *ex animo*, that it is the nearest to Apostolical truth; and confidently I shall say, it is fittest for Monarchy of all others: I will use no other authority to you, than that excellent Proclamation set out by the King himself in the first year of his Reign, and annexed before the Book of Common Prayer; which I desire you to read; and if at any time there shall be the least motion made for Innovation, to put the King in mind to read it himself: It is most dangerous in a State to give ear to the least alterations in Government.

4. Take heed, I beseech you, that you be not an instrument to countenance the *Romish Catholics*: I cannot flatter; the world believes that some near in blood to you are too much of that perswasion; you must use them with fit respects, according to the bonds of nature; but you are of kin, and so a friend to their persons, not to their errors.

5. The

5. The Arch-Bishops and Bishops, next under *K. Charles* the King, have the government of the Church and Ecclesiastical affairs; be not you the mean to prefer any to those places, for any by-respects, but only for their learning, gravity and worth: their lives and Doctrine ought to be exemplary.

6. For Deans, and Canons or Prebends of Cathedral Churches: In their first institution they were of great use in the Church; they were not only to be of Council with the Bishop for his revenue, but chiefly for his Government in causes Ecclesiastical; use your best means to prefer such to those places who are fit for that purpose, men eminent for their learning, piety, and discretion, and put the King often in mind thereof; and let them be reduced again to their first institution.

7. You will be often solicited, and perhaps importuned to prefer Scholars to Church-Livings; you may further your friends in that way, *ceteris paribus*; otherwise, remember, I pray, that these are not places meerly of favour, the charge of souls lies upon them; the greatest account whereof will be required at their own hands; but they will share deeply in their faults who are the instruments of their preferment.

8. Besides the *Romish Catholics*, there is a generation of *Sectaries*, the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and others, of their kinds; they have been several times very busie in this Kingdom, under the colour of zeal for reformation of Religion: The King your Mr. knows their disposition very well; a small touch will put him in mind of them; he had experience of them in *Scotland*, I hope he will be ware of them in *England*; a little countenance or connivance sets them on fire.



*K. Charles* 9. Order and decent ceremonies in the Church, are not only comely but commendable; but there must be great care, not to introduce Innovations, they will quickly prove scandalous: men are naturally over-prone to suspicion; the true Protestant Religion is seated in the golden mean, the enemies unto her, are the extreams on either hand.

10. The persons of Church-men are to be had in due respect, for their words sake, and protected from scorn; but if a Clergy-man be loose and scandalous, he must not be patroniz'd nor wink't at; the example of a few such, corrupt many.

11. Great care must be taken, that the patrimony of the Church be not sacrilegiously diverted to lay-uses: His Majesty in his time hath religiously stopped a leak that did much harm, and would else have done more. Be sure, as much as in you lyes, stop the like upon all occasions.

12. Colledges and Schools of Learning are to be cherished and encouraged, there to breed up a new stock to furnish the Church and Common-wealth, when the old store are transplanted. This Kingdom hath in later ages been famous for good literature; and if preferment shall attend the deservers, there will not want supplies.

Next to Religion, let your care be to promote Justice. By justice and mercy is the Kings throne established.

1. Let the rule of Justice be the Laws of the Land, an impartial arbiter between the King and his people, and between one Subject and another: I shall not speak superlatively of them, lest I be suspected of partiality, in regard of my own promotion; but this I may truly say, they are second to none in the Christian world.

2. And,

2. And, as far as it may lye in you, let no Arbitrary power be intruded: the people of this Kingdom love the Laws thereof, and nothing will oblige them more, than a confidence of the free enjoying of them. What the Nobles, upon an occasion, once said in Parliament, *Nolumus leges Anglia mutari*, is imprinted in the hearts of all the people.

3. But because the life of the Laws lies in the due execution and administration of them, let your eye be in the first place, upon the choice of good Judges: These properties had they need to be furnished with; To be learned in their profession, patient in hearing, prudent in governing, powerful in their elocution to perswade and satisfy both the parties and hearers, just in their judgment; and, to sum up all, they must have these three Attributes; They must be *men of courage, fearing God, and hating covetousness*; An ignorant man cannot, a Coward dares not be a good Judge.

4. By no means be you perswaded to interpose your self, either by word or letter, in any cause depending, or like to be depending in any Court of Justice, nor suffer any other great man to do it where you can hinder it; and by all means dissuade the King himself from it, upon the importunity of any for themselves or their friends: If it should prevail, it perverts Justice; but if the Judge be so just, and of so good courage (as he ought to be) as not to be inclined thereby, yet it always leaves a taint of suspicion behind it. Judges must be as chaste as *Cæsar's Wife*, neither to be, nor to be suspected to be, unjust; and Sir, the honour of the Judges in their judicature, is the Kings honour whom they represent.

*K. Charles* 5. There is great use of the service of the Judges in their Circuits, which are twice in the year held throughout the Kingdom; the tryal of a few causes between party and party, or delivering of the Gaols in several Counties, are of great use for the expedition of justice; yet they are of much more use for the government of the Counties through which they pass, if that were well thought upon.

6. For if they had instructions to that purpose, they might be the best intelligencers to the King, of the true state of his whole Kingdom, of the disposition of the people, of their inclinations, of their intentions and motions, which are necessary to be truly understood.

7. To this end, I could wish, that against every Circuit all the Judges should, sometimes by the K. himself, and sometimes by the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper, in the King's name, receive a charge of those things which the present times did much require; and at their return should deliver a faithful account thereof, and how they found and left the Counties through which they passed, and in which they kept their Assizes.

8. And that they might the better perform this work, which might be of great importance, it will not be amiss that sometimes this charge be publick, as it useth to be in the Star-Chamber at the end of the Terms next before the Circuit begins, where the King's care of justice, and the good of his people, may be published; and that sometimes also it may be private, to communicate to the Judges some things not so fit to be publicly delivered.

9. I could wish also that the Judges were directed to make a little longer stay in a place than usually they do; a day more in a County would be a very good addition, (although their wages for their Circuits were increased in proportion) it would stand better with the gravity of their employment; whereas now they are sometimes enforced to rise over-early, and to sit over-late, for the dispatch of their business, to the extraordinary trouble of themselves and of the people, their times indeed not being *hora juridica*; And, which is the main, they would have the more leisure to inform themselves (*quasi alind agentes*) of the true estate of the Country.

10. The attendance of the Sheriffs of the Counties, accompanied with the principal Gentlemen, in a comely, not a costly equipage, upon the Judges of Assize at their coming to the place of their sitting, and at their going out, is not onely a civility, but of use also: It raiseth a reverence to the persons and places of the Judges, who coming from the King himself on so great an errand, should not be neglected.

11. If any sue to be made a Judge, for my own part, I should suspect him; but if either directly or indirectly he should bargain for a place of judicature, let him be rejected with shame: *venere jure potest, emerat ille prius.*

12. When the place of a chief Judge of a Court becomes vacant, a puisne Judge of that Court, or of another Court, who hath approved himself fit and deserving, would be sometimes preferred; it would be a good encouragement for him, and for others, by his example.

*K. Charles*

13. Next to the Judge, there would be care used in the choice of such as are called to the degree of Serjeants at Law (for such they must be first, before they be made Judges) none should be made Serjeants, but such as probably might be held fit to be Judges afterwards, when the experience at the Barr hath fitted them for the Bench: Therefore by all means cry down that unworthy course of late times used, that they should pay moneys for it: It may satisfie some Courtiers, but it is no honour to the person so preferred, nor to the King, who thus prefers him.

14. For the Kings Counsell at the Law, especially his Attorney and Solicitor General, I need say nothing; their continual use for the Kings service, not only for his Revenue, but for all the parts of his Government, will put the King, and all those who love his service, in mind to make choice of men every way fit and able for that employment: they had need to be learned in their profession, and not ignorant in other things; and to be dexterous in those affairs whereof the dispatch is committed to them.

15. The Kings Attorney of the Court of Wards is in the true quality of the Judges; therefore what hath been observed already of Judges, which are intended principally of the three great Courts of Law at *Westminster*, may be applied to the choice of the Attorney of this Court.

16. The like for the Attorney of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, who partakes of both qualities, partly of a Judge of that Court, and partly of an Attorney General; for so much as concerns the proper Revenue of the Dutchy.

17. I

17. I must not forget the Judges of the four *Circuits* in the twelve Shires of *Wales*, who although they are not of the first magnitude, nor need be of the degree of the *Coyf* (onely the chief Justice of *Chester*, who is one of the number, is so) yet are they considerable in the choice of them, by the same rules as the other Judges are; and they sometimes are, and fitly may be, transplanted into the higher Courts.

18. There are many Courts (as you see) some superiour, some provincial, and some of a lower orb; It were to be wished, and is fit to be so ordered, that every of them keep themselves within their proper spheres. The harmony of justice is then the sweetest, when there is no jarring about the jurisdiction of the Courts; which me-thinks wisdom cannot much differ upon, their true bounds being for the most part so clearly known.

19. Having said thus much of the Judges, somewhat will be fit to put you in mind concerning the principal Ministers of Justice: and in the first, of the High Sheriffs of the Counties, which have been very ancient in this Kingdom, I am sure before the Conquest; The choice of them I commend to your care, and that at fit times you put the King in mind thereof; That as near as may be they be such as are fit for those places, for they are of great trust and power: The *Pisfe Comitatus*, the power of the whole County, being legally committed unto them.

20. Therefore it is agreeable with the intention of the Law, that the choice of them should be by the commendation of the great Officers of the Kingdom, and by the advice of the Judges, who  
are

K. *Charls*

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are



*K. Charles* are presumed to be well read in the condition of the Gentry of the whole Kingdom: And although the King may do it of himself, yet the old way is the good way.

21. But I utterly condemn the practice of the latter times, which hath lately crept into the Court (at the back-stairs) That some who are prick'd for Sheriffs, and were fit, should get out of the Bill; and others who were neither thought upon, nor worthy to be, should be nominated, and both for money.

22. I must not omit to put you in mind of the Lords Lieutenants, and Deputy-Lieutenants of the Counties: their proper use is for ordering the Military affairs, in order to an invasion from abroad, or a rebellion or sedition at home; good choice should be made of them, and prudent instructions given to them, and as little of the Arbitrary power as may be left unto them; and that the Muster-Masters, and their Officers under them, incroach not upon the Subject; that will detract much from the King's service.

23. The Justices of Peace are of great use; Antiently there were Conservators of the Peace, these are the same, saving that several Acts of Parliament have altered their denomination, and enlarged their jurisdiction in many particulars; The fitter they are for the peace of the Kingdom, the more heed ought to be taken in the choice of them.

24. But negatively, this I shall be bold to say, that none should be put into either of those Commissions with an eye of favour to their persons, to give them countenance of reputation in the places where

where they live, but for the King's service sake; *K. Charles*  
nor any put out for the disfavour of any great man:  
It hath been too often used, and hath been no good  
service to the King.

25. A word more, if you please to give me leave,  
for the true rules of the moderation of Justice on  
the King's part. The execution of justice is com-  
mitted to his Judges, which seemeth to be the se-  
verer part: but the milder part, which is mercy, is  
wholly left in the King's immediate hand: And  
Justice and Mercy are the true supporters of his  
Royal Throne.

26. If the King shall be wholly intent upon Ju-  
stice, it may appear with an over-rigid aspect;  
but if he shall be over-remiss and easie, it draweth  
upon him contempt. Examples of Justice must be  
made sometimes for terrour to some; Examples of  
Mercy, sometimes, for comfort to others: the  
one procures fear, and the other love. A King must  
be both feared and loved, else he is lost.

27. The ordinary Courts of Justice I have spo-  
ken of, and of their Judges and judicature; I shall  
put you in mind of some things touching the High  
Court of Parliament in *England*, which is superla-  
tive; and therefore it will behove me to speak the  
more warily thereof.

28. For the institution of it, it is very ancient in  
this Kingdom: It consisteth of the two Houses, of  
Peers and Commons, as the Members; and of the  
King's Majesty, as the head of that great body:  
By the King's authority alone, and by his Writs,  
they are assembled, and by him alone they are pro-  
rogued and dissolved; but each House may adjourn  
it self.

29. They

K. Charles

29. They being thus Assembled, are more properly a Council to the King, the Council of the Kingdom, to advise his Majesty in those things of weight and difficulty, which concern both the King and People, then a Court.

30. No new Laws can be made, nor old Laws abrogated or altered, but by common consent in Parliament, where Bills are prepared and presented to the two Houses, and then delivered: but nothing is concluded but by the King's Royal assent; They are but Embroys, 'tis he giveth life unto them.

31. Yet the House of Peers hath a power of Judicature in some cases; properly, to examine, and then to affirm, or if there be cause, to reverse the judgments which have been given in the Court of King's Bench, (which is the Court of highest jurisdiction in the Kingdom, for ordinary Judicature) but in these cases it must be done by Writ of Error in *Parlamento*: And thus the rule of their proceedings is not *absoluta potestas*, as in making new Laws (in that conjuncture as before) but *limitata potestas*, according to the known Laws of the Land.

32. But the House of Commons have only power to censure the Members of their own House, in point of election or misdemeanors, in or towards that House; and have not, nor ever had power, so much as to administer an Oath to prepare a judgment.

33. The true use of Parliaments in this Kingdom is very excellent; and they would be often called, as the affairs of the Kingdom shall require; and continued so long as is necessary, and no longer,  
for

for then they be but burthens to the people, by reason of the priviledges justly due to the Members of the two Houses and their Attendants; which their just rights and priviledges are religiously to be observed and maintained; but if they should be unjustly enlarged beyond their true bounds, they might lessen the just power of the Crown, it borders so near upon popularity.

34. All this while I have spoken concerning the Common Laws of *England*, generally, and properly so called, because it is most general and common to almost all cases and causes, both civil and criminal: But there is also another Law, which is called the Civil or Ecclesiastical Law, which is confined to some few heads; and that is not to be neglected: and although I am a professor of the Common-Law, yet am I so much a lover of Truth and of Learning, and of my native Countrey, that I do heartily perswade that the Professors of that Law, called Civilians (because the Civil Law is their guide) should not be discountenanced nor discouraged; else whensoever we shall have ought to do with any foreign King or State, we shall be at a miserable loss, for want of Learned men in that profession.

III. I come now to the consideration of those things which concern Councillors of State, The Council-Table, and the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdom, which are those who for the most part furnish out that honourable Board.

I. Of Councillors, there are two sorts: The first, *Consiliarii nati*, (as I may term them) such are the Prince of *Wales*, and others of the King's Sons (when he hath more) of these I speak not,  
for

*K. Charles* for they are naturally born to be Councillors to the KING, to learn the art of Governing sometimes.

2. But the ordinary sort of Councillors are such as the King, out of a due consideration of their worth and abilities, and withal, of their fidelities to his Person and to his Crown, calleth to be of Council with him in his ordinary Government. And the Council-Table is so called, from the place where they ordinarily assemble and sit together; and their Oath is the onely ceremony used, to make them such, which is solemnly given unto them, at their first admission: These honourable persons are from thenceforth of that Board and Body: They cannot come until they be thus called, and the King at his pleasure may spare their attendance; and he may dispense with their presence there, which at their own pleasure they may not do.

\* 3. This being the quality of their service, you will easily judge what care the King should use, in his choice of them; It behoveth that they be persons of great trust and fidelity, and also of wisdom and judgment, who shall thus assist in bearing up the King's Throne; and of known experience in publick affairs.

4. Yet it may not be unfit to call some of young years, to train them up in that Trade, and so fit them for those weighty affairs, against the time of greater maturity; and some also for the honour of their persons: But these two sorts not to be tyed to so strict attendance, as the others from whom the present dispatch of business is expected.

5. I could wish that their number might not be so over-great, the persons of the Councillors would

would be the more venerable. And I know that *K. Charles*  
*Queen Elizabeth*, in whose time I had the happiness to be born, and to live many years, was not so much observed, for having a numerous, as a wife Council.

6. The duty of a Privy-Councillor to a King, I conceive, is, not onely to attend the Council-board, at the times appointed, and there to consult of what shall be propounded; But also to study those things which may advance the King's honour and safety, and the good of the Kingdom, and to communicate the same to the King, or to his fellow Councillors, as there shall be occasion. And this, Sir, will concern you more then others, by how much you have a larger share in his affections.

7. And one thing I shall be bold to desire you to recommend to his Majesty : That when any new thing shall be propounded to be taken into consideration, that no Counsellor should suddenly deliver any positive opinion thereof; it is not so easie with all men to retract their opinions, although there shall be cause for it : But only to hear it, and at the most but to break it, at first, that it may be the better understood against the next meeting.

8. When any matter of weight hath been debated, and seemeth to be ready for a resolution; I wish it may not be at that sitting concluded (unless the necessity of the time press it) lest upon second cogitations there should be cause to alter, which is not for the gravity and honour of that Board.

9. I wish also that the King would be pleased sometimes to be present at that Board, it adds a Majesty to it : And yet not to be too frequently there,

*K. Charles* there, that would render it less esteemed when it is become common; Besides, it may sometimes make the Councillors not to be so free in their debates in his presence, as they would be in his absence.

10. Besides the giving of Counsel, the Councillors are bound by their Duties *ex vi termini*, as well as by their Oaths, to keep counsel; therefore are they called *de Privato Consilio Regis, & a secretioribus consiliis Regis*.

11. One thing I add, in the negative, which is not fit for that Board, the entertaining of private causes, of *meum & suum*; those should be left to the ordinary course and Courts of Justice.

12. As there is great care to be used for the Councillors themselves to be chosen, so there is of the Clerks of the Council also, for the secreting of their Consultations; and methinks, it were fit that his Majesty be speedily moved, to give a strict charge, and to bind it with a solemn Order (if it be not already so done) that no copies of the orders of that Table be delivered out by the Clerks of the Council, but by the order of the Board; nor any not being a Councillor, or a Clerk of the Council, or his Clerk, to have access to the Council-Books: and to that purpose, that the servants attending the Clerks of the Council be bound to secrecy, as well as their Masters.

13. For the great Offices and Officers of the Kingdom, I shall say little: for the most of them are such, as cannot well be severed from the Councillorship; and therefore the same rule is to be observed for both, in the choice of them: In the general, onely, I advise this, let them be set in those

those places for which they are probably the most *K. Charles*  
fit.

14. But in the quality of the persons, I conceive it will be most convenient to have some of every sort, (as in the time of *Queen Elizabeth* it was) one Bishop at the least, in respect of questions touching Religion, or Church-Government; one or more skilled in the Laws; some for Martial affairs, and some for Foreign affairs: By this mixture one will help another, in all things that shall there happen to be moved: But if that would fail, it will be a safe way, to consult with some other able persons well versed in that point which is the subject of their Consultation, which yet may be done so warily, as may not discover the main end therein.

IV. In the next place, I shall put you in mind of the Foreign Negotiations and Embassies, to or with Foreign Princes or States, wherein I shall be little able to serve you.

1. Onely I will tell you what was the course in the happy dayes of *Queen Elizabeth*, whom it will be no dis-reputation to follow: She did vary, according to the nature of the employment, the quality of the persons she employed; which is a good rule to go by.

2. If it were an Embassy of Gratulation or Ceremony (which must not be neglected) choice was made of some noble person, eminent in place, and able in purse, and he would take it as a mark of favour, and discharge it without any great burthen to the *Queen's* Coffers, for his own honours sake.



*K. Charles* 3. But if it were an Embassie of weight, concerning affairs of State, choice was made of some sad person of known judgment, wisdom and experience, and not of a young man, nor wayed in State-matters; nor of a meer formal man, whatsoever his title or outside were.

4. Yet in company of such, some young towardly Noblemen or Gentlemen were usually sent also, as Assistants or Attendants, according to the quality of the persons, who might be thereby prepaed and fitted for the like employment, by this means, at another turn.

5. In their company were alwayes sent some grave and sad men, skilful in the Civil Laws, and some in the Languages, and some who had been formerly conversant in the Courts of those Princes, and knew their wayes; these were Assistants in private, but not trusted to manage the Affairs in publick; that would detract from the honour of the principal Ambassador.

6. If the Negotiation were about Merchants affairs, then were the persons employed for the most part Doctors of the Civil Law, assisted with some other discreet men; and in such the charge was ordinarily defrayed by the Company or Society of Merchants, whom the Negotiation concerned.

7. If Legier Ambassadors or Agents were sent to remain in or near the Courts of those Princes or States (as it was ever held fit, to observe the motions, and to hold correspondency with them, upon all occasions) such were made choice of, as were presumed to be vigilant, industrious, and discreet men, and had the language of the place whither they were sent; and with these were sent such as  
were

were hopeful to be worthy of the like employment *K. Charles*  
at another time.

8. Their care was, to give true and timely Intelligence of all Occurrences, either to the Queen her self, or the Secretaries of State, unto whom they had their immediate relation.

9. Their charge was always born by the Queen, duly paid out of the Exchequer, in such proportion, as, according to their qualities and places might give them an honourable subsistence there: But for the reward of their service, they were to expect it upon their return, by some such preferment as might be worthy of them, and yet be little burthen to the Queens Coffers or Revenues.

10. At their going forth, they had their general Instructions in writing, which might be communicated to the Ministers of that State whither they were sent; and they had also private Instructions, upon particular occasions; and at their return, they did always render an account of some things to the Queen her self, of some things to the body of the Council, and of some others to the Secretaries of State, who made use of them, or communicated them, as there was cause.

11. In those days there was a constant course held, that by the advice of the Secretaries, or some principal Councillors, there were alwayes sent forth into several parts beyond the Seas some young men, of whom good hopes were conceived of their towardlines, to be trained up, and made fit for such publick Employments, and to learn the Languages. This was at the charge of the Queen, which was not much, for they travelled but as private Gentlemen; and as by their industry their

*K. Charles* deserts did appear, so far were they further employed or rewarded. This course I shall recommend unto you, to breed up a Nursery of such publick Plants.

V. For Peace and War, and those things which appertain to either; I in my own disposition and profession am wholly for peace, if please God to bless the Kingdom therewith, as for many years past he hath done: and,


1. I presume I shall not need to perswade you to the advancing of it; nor shall you need to perswade the King your Matter therein, for that he hath hitherto been another *Solomon* in this our *Israel*; and the Motto which he hath chosen (*Beati Pacifici*) shewshis own judgement: But he must use the means to preserve it, else such a jewel may be lost.

2. God is the God of Peace (it is one of his Attributes) therefore by him alone we must pray, and hope to continue it: there is the foundation.

3. And the King must not neglect the just ways for it; Justice is the best Protector of it at home, and providence for War is the best prevention of it from abroad.

4. Wars are either Foreign or Civil; for the Foreign War by the King upon some neighbour Nation, I hope we are secure; the King, in his just and pious disposition, is not inclinable thereunto; his Empire is long enough, bounded with the Ocean, as if the very situation thereof had taught the King and People to set up their rests, and say, *Ne plus ultra*.

5. And

5. And for a war of invasion from abroad ; one- *K. Charles*  
ly we must not be over-secure , that's the way to   
invite it.

6. But if we be always prepared to receive an  
Enemy, if the ambition or malice of any should in-  
cite him, we may be very confident we shall long  
live in peace and quietness, without any attempt  
upon us.

7. To make the preparations hereunto the more  
assured : In the first place, I will recommend unto  
you the care of our out-work, the Navy Royal  
and Shipping of our Kingdom, which are the walls  
thereof; and every great Ship is as an impregnable  
fort; and our many safe and commodious Ports and  
Havens in every of these Kingdoms, are as the re-  
doubts to secure them.

8. For the body of the Ships, no Nation of the  
world doth equal *England*, for the Oaken Timber  
wherewith to build them ; and we need not bor-  
row of any other, iron for Spikes, or Nails to fa-  
sten them together : but there must be a great deal  
of providence used, that our Ship-Timber be not  
unnecessarily wasted.

9. But for Tackling, as Sails and Cordage, we  
are beholden to our neighbours for them , and do  
buy them for our money ; that must be foreseen  
and layd up in store against a time of need, and  
not sought for when we are to use them: But we are  
much too blame, that we make them not at home,  
onely Pitch and Tar we have not of our own.

10. For the true Art of building of Ships, for  
burthen and service both, no Nation in the world  
exceeds us: Ship-wrights and all other Artizans be-  
longing to that Trade must be cherished and en-  
couraged.

11. Powder

K. *Charles*

11. Powder and Ammunition of all sorts we can have at home, and in exchange for other home-commodities we may be plentifully supplied from our Neighbours, which must not be neglected.

12. With Mariners and Seamen this Kingdom is plentifully furnished, the constant Trade of Merchandizing will furnish us at a need; and navigable Rivers will repair the store, both to the Navy Royal, and to the Merchants, if they be set on work, and well payed for their labour.

13. Sea-Captains and Commanders, and other Officers must be encouraged, and rise by degrees, as their fidelity and industry deserve it.

14. Our strict League of amity and alliance with our near Neighbours the *Hollanders* is a mutual strength to both; the shipping of both, in conjuncture, being so powerful, by Gods blessing, as no Foreigners will venture upon; This League and Friendship must inviolably be observed.

15. From *Scotland* we have had in former times some Alarms and Inrodes into the Northern parts of this Kingdom; but that happy union of both Kingdoms under one Sovereign, our gracious King, I hope, hath taken away all occasions of breach between the two Nations; let not the cause arise from *England*, and I hope the *Sons* will not adventure it; or if they do, I hope they will find, that although to our King they were his first-born Subjects, yet to *England* belongs the birth-right: But this should not be any cause to offer any injury to them, nor to suffer any from them.

16. There remains then no danger, by the blessing of God, but a Civil War, from which God of

his

*the Life of the Duke of Buckingham.*

his mercy defend us, as that which is most desperate of all others. The King's wisdom and justice must prevent it, if it may be; or if it should happen, *quod absit*, he must quench that wild-fire with all the diligence that possible can be. K. Charles

17. Competition to the Crown, there is none, nor can be; therefore it must be a fire within the bowels, or nothing, the cures whereof are these; *Remedium praveniens*, which is the best physick either to a natural body, or to a State, by just and equal Government to take away the occasion; and *Remedium puniens*, if the other prevail not: The service and vigilance of the Deputy-Lieutenants in every County, and of the high-Sheriff, will contribute much herein to our security.

18. But if that should not prevail, by a wise and timous inquisition, the peccant humours and humorists must be discovered, and purged, or cut off; mercy in such a case, in a King, is truly cruelty.

19. Yet if the Heads of the Tribes can be taken off, and the mis-led multitude will see their error, and return to their obedience, such an extent of mercy is both honourable and profitable.

20. A King, against a storm, must fore-see, to have a convenient stock of treasure; and neither be without money, which is the sinews of War, nor to depend upon the courtesie of others, which may fail at a pinch.

21. He must also have a Magazine of all sorts, which must be had from Foreign parts, or provided at home; and to commit them to several places, under the custody of trusty and faithful

K. Charles Ministers and Officers, if it be possible.

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22. He must make choice of expert and able Commanders to conduct and manage the War, either against a foreign invasion, or a home-rebellion; which must not be young and giddy, which dare, not onely to fight, but to swear, and drink, and curse; neither fit to govern others, nor able to govern themselves.

23. Let not such be discouraged, if they deserve well, by mis-information, or for the satisfying the humours or ambition of others, perhaps out of envy, perhaps out of treachery, or other sinister ends: A steady hand in governing of Military Affairs, is more requisite then in times of peace, because an error committed in war, may perhaps prove irremediable.

24. If God shall bless these endeavours, and the King return to his own house in peace, when a Civil War shall be at an end, those who have been found faithful in the Land must be regarded, yea, and rewarded also; the traiterous, or treacherous, who have misled others, severely punish'd; and the neutrals, and false-hearted friends and followers, who have started aside like a broken bow, be noted, *Carbone nigro*; and so I shall leave them, and this part of the work.

VI. I come now to the sixth part, which is Trade, and that is either at home, or abroad. And I begin with that which is at home; which enableth the Subjects of the Kingdom to live, and layeth a foundation to a foreign Trade by traffique with others, which enableth them to live plentifully and happily.

1. For the Home-trade, I first commend unto your

your consideration the encouragement of Tillage, which will enable the Kingdom for Corn for the Natives, and to spare for exportation : And I my self have known, more than once, when in times of dearth, in *Queen Elizabeth's* days, it drained much coin of the Kingdom, to furnish us with Corn from foreign parts.

2. Good Husbands will find the means by good Husbandry, to improve their lands by Lime, Chalk Marl, or Sea-sand, where it can be had: But it will not be amiss, that they be put in mind thereof, and encouraged in their industries.

3. Planting of Orchards in a soil and air fit for them, is very profitable, as well as pleasureable ; Sider and Perry are notable Beverage in Sea-voyages.

4. Gardens are also very profitable, if planted with Artichokes, roots, and such other things as are fit for food ; whence they are called Kitchen-gardens, and that very properly.

5. The planting of Hop-yards, sowing of Woad, and Rape-feed, are found very profitable for the Planters, in places apt for them, and consequently profitable for the Kingdom, which for divers years was furnished with them from beyond the Seas.

6. The planting and preserving of Woods, especially of Timber, is not only profitable, but commendable, therewith to furnish posterity, both for building and shipping.

7. The Kingdom would be much improved, by draining of drowned lands, and gaining that in from the over-flowing of salt waters and the sea, and from fresh waters also.

8. And



*K. Charles*

8. And many of those grounds would be exceeding fit for Dairies; which, being well hous'd are exceeding commodious.

9. Much good land might be gained from Forests and Chases, more remote from the King's access, and from other commonable places; so as always there be a due care taken, that the poor Commoners have no injury by such improvement.

10. The making of navigable Rivers would be very profitable; they would be as so many indraughts of wealth, by conveying of commodities with ease from place to place.

11. The planting of Hemp and Flax would be an unknown advantage to the Kingdom, many places therein being as apt for it, as any Foreign parts.

12. But add hereunto, that it be converted into Linen-cloath, or Cordage, the commodity thereof will be multiplied.

13. So it is of the Wools and Leather of the Kingdom, if they be converted into Manufactures.

14. Our *English* Dames are much given to the wearing of costly Laces; and, if they be brought from *Italy*, or *France*, or *Flanders*, they are in great esteem; whereas, if the like Laces were made by the *English*, so much thred as would make a yard of Lace, being put into that Manufacture, would be five times, or perhaps ten, or twenty times the value.

15. The breeding of Cattle is of much profit, especially the breed of Horses, in many places, not only for travel, but for the great saddle; the *Eng-  
lish*

*lish* Horse, for strength, and courage, and swiftness *K. Charles* together, not being inferiour to the horses of any other Kingdom.

16. The Minerals of the Kingdom, of Lead, Iron, Copper, and Tynn especially, are of great value, and set many able-bodied subjects on work; it were great pity they should not be industriously followed.

17. But of all Minerals, there is none like to that of Fishing upon the coasts of these Kingdoms, and the seas belonging to them: our Neighbors within half a days sail of us, with a good wind, can shew us the use and value thereof; and, doubtless there is sea-room enough for both Nations, without offending one another; and it would exceedingly support the Navy.

18. This Realm is much enriched, of late years, by the Trade of Merchandize which the *English* drive in Foreign parts; and, if it be wisely managed, it must of necessity very much increase the wealth thereof; care being taken, that the exportation exceed in value the importation, for then the balance of Trade must of necessity be returned in Corn, or Bullion.

19. This would easily be effected, if the Merchants were perswaded, or compelled to make their returns in solid commodities, and not too much thereof in vanity, tending to excess.

20. But especially care must be taken, that Monopolies, which are the Cankers of all trading, be not admitted, under specious colours of publick good.

21. To put all these into a regulation, if a constant Commission to men of honesty & understanding

*K. Charles* ding were granted, and well pursued, to give order for the managing of these things both at home and abroad, to the best advantage ; and that this Commission were subordinate to the Council-board, it is conceived it would produce notable effects.

VII. The next thing is that of Colonies and Foreign Plantations, which are very necessary, as outlets to a populous Nation , and may be profitable also, if they be managed in a discreet way.

1. First, in the choice of the place; which requirereth many circumstances, as the situation near the Sea , for the commodiousness of an intercourse with *England*; the temper of the Air and climate, as may best agree with the bodies of the *English*, rather inclining to cold, than heat ; that it be stored with Woods, Mines, and Fruits, which are naturally in the place ; that the soil be such as will probably be fruitful for Corn, and other conveniencies, and for breeding of Cattel; that it hath Rivers, both for passage between place and place, and for fishing also, if it may be; that the Natives be not so many , but that there may be elbow-room enough for them, and for the Adventives also : All which are likely to be found in the *West-Indies*.

2. It would be also such as is not already planted by the Subjects of any Christian Prince, or State, nor over-neerly neighbouring to their Plantation. And it would be more convenient, to be chosen by some of those Gentlemen or Merchants which move first in the work, than to be designed unto them from the King; for it must proceed from the option of the people, else it sounds like an Exile: so the Colonies must be raised by the leave of the King, and not by his command.

3. After

3. After the place is made choice of, the first step *K. Charles* must be, to make choice of a fit Governour, who although he have not the name, yet he must have the power of a *Vice-Roy*; and if the person who principally moved in the work be not fit for that trust, yet he must not be excluded from command; but then his defect in the Governing part must be supplied by such Assistants as shall be joyned with him, or as he shall very well approve of.

4. As at their setting out they must have their Commission, or Letters Patents from the King, that so they may acknowledge their dependency upon the Crown of *England*, and under his protection; so they must receive some general instructions how to dispose of themselves when they come there, which must be in nature of Laws unto them.

5. But the general Law, by which they must be guided and governed, must be the Common Law of *England*; and to that end it will be fit, that some man, reasonably studied in the Law, and otherwise qualified for such a purpose, be perswaded (if not thereunto inclined of himself, which were the best) to go thither as a Chancellor amongst them, at first; and when the Plantation were more settled, then to have Courts of Justice, there, as in *England*.

6. At the first planting, or as soon after as they can, they must make themselves defensible both against the Natives, and against Strangers; and to that purpose, they must have the assistance of some able Military man, and convenient Arms and Ammunition for their defence.

7. For the Discipline of the Church in those parts, it will be necessary, that it agree with that  
which

*K. Charls* which is settled in *England*; else it will make a Schism, and a rent in Caritts Coat, which must be seamless: and, to that purpose, it will be fit, that by the King's supream power in Causes Ecclesiastical, within all his Dominions, they be subordinate under some Bishop and Bishoprick of this Realm.

8. For the better defence against a common Enemy, I think it would be best, that Foreign Plantations should be placed in one Continent, and neer together; whereas, if they be too remote the one from the other, they will be disunited, and so the weaker.

9. They must provide themselves of houses, such as for the present, they can, and, at more leisure, such as may be better; and they first must plant for Corn and Cattel, &c. for food, and necessary sustenance; and after, they may enlarge themselves for those things which may be for profit and pleasure, and to traffique withal also.

10. Woods for shipping in the first place, may doubtless be there had, and Minerals there found, perhaps, of the richest; howsoever, the Mines out of the fruits of the earth, and seas, and waters adjoining, may be found in abundance.

11. In a short time they may build Vessels and Ships also for Traffique with the parts near adjoining, and with *England* also, from whence they may be furnished with such things as they may want, and in exchange, or barter, send from thence other things, with which quickly, either by Nature, or Art, they may abound.

12. But these things would, by all means be prevented; That no known Bankrupt, for shelter; nor known

known Murderer, or other wicked person, to avoid the Law; nor known Heretick, or Schismatick, be suffered to go into those Countreys; or, if they do creep in there, not to be harboured, or continued: else, the place would receive them naught, and return them into *England*, upon all occasions, worse.

13. That no Merchant, under colour of driving a Trade thither, or from thence, be suffered to work upon their necessities.

14. And that to regulate all these inconveniences, which will insensibly grow upon them, that the King be pleased to erect a subordinate Council in *England*, whose care and charge shall be, to advise, and put in execution, all things which shall be found fit for the good of those new Plantations; who, upon all occasions, shall give an account of their proceedings to the King, or to the Council-board, and from them receive such directions as may best agree with the Government of that place.

15. That the King's reasonable profit be not neglected, partly, upon reservation of moderate rents and services; and partly, upon Customs; and partly, upon importation and exportation of Merchandize; which, for a convenient time after the Plantation begin, would be very easie, to encourage the work; but after it is well settled, may be raised to a considerable proportion, worthy the acceptation.

VIII. I come to the last of those things which I propounded, which is, the Court, and Curiality.

The other did properly concern the King, in his  
Royal

*K. Charis* Royal capacity, as *Pater patriæ*; this more properly, as *Paterfamilias*: And herein,

1. I shall, in a word, and but in a word onely, put you in mind, That the King in his own person, both in respect of his Household, or Court, and in respect of his whole Kingdom; (for a little Kingdom is but as a great Household, and a great Household, as a little Kingdom) must be exemplary, *Regis ad exemplum, &c.* But for this, God be praised, our charge is easie; for your Gracious Master, for his Learning and Piety, Justice and Bounty, may be, and is, not onely a president to his own Subjects, but to foreign Princes also; yet he is still but a man, and seasonable *Memento's* may be useful; and being discreetly used, cannot but take well with him.

2. But your greatest care must be, that the great men of his Court (for you must give me leave to be plain with you, for so is your injunction laid upon me) your self in the first place, who is first in the eye of all men, give no just cause of scandal, either by light, or vain, or by oppressive carriage.

3. The great Officers of the King's Household had need be both discreet and provident persons, both for his Honour, and for his Thrift: they must look both ways, else they are but half-sighted: Yet in the choice of them, there is more latitude left to affection, than in the choice of Councillors, and of the great Officers of State, before touched, which must always be made choice of meerly our of judgement, for in them the Publick hath a great interest.

4. For

4. For the other Ministerial Officers in Court *K. Charles* (as, for distinction sake, they may be termed) there must be also an eye unto them, and upon them; they have usually risen in the Household by degrees, and it is a noble way, to encourage faithful service: But the King must not bind himself to a necessity herein, for then it will be held *ex debito*; neither must he alter it, without an apparent cause for it: but to displace any who are in, upon displeasure, which for the most part happeneth upon the information of some great man, is, by all means to be avoided, unless there be a manifest cause for it.

5. In these things you may sometimes interpose, to do just and good offices: but for the general, I should rather advise, meddle little, but leave the ordering of those Household-affairs to the White-staffs, which are those honourable persons, to whom it properly belongeth, to be answerable to the King for it; and to those other Officers of the Green-cloth, who are subordinate to them, as a kind of Council, and a Court of Justice also.

6. Yet for the Green-cloth Law, (take it in the largest sense) I have no opinion of it, farther than it is regulated by the just Rules of the Common-Laws of *England*.

7. Towards the support of his Majesties own Table, and of the Princes, and of his necessary Officers, his Majesty hath a good help by Purveyance, which justly is due unto him; and, if justly used, is no great burthen to the Subject; but by the Purveyors, and other under-Officers, is many times abused. In many parts of the Kingdom, I think it is already reduced to a certainty in money; and if it



*K. Charles* be indifferently and discreetly managed, it would be no hard matter to settle it so throughout the whole Kingdom; yet to be renewed from time to time, for that will be the best, and safest, both for the King and people.

8. The King must be put in mind, to preserve the Revenues of his Crown, both certain, and casual, without diminution, and to lay up treasure in store against a time of extremity; empty Coffers give an ill sound, and make the people many times forget their Duty, thinking that the King must be beholden to them for his supplies.

9. I shall by no means think it fit, that he reward any of his servants with the benefit of forfeitures, either by Fines in the Court of Star-Chamber, or High-Commission Courts, or other Courts of Justice; or that they should be farmed out, or bestowed upon any, so much as by promise before judgement given; it would neither be profitable, nor honourable.

10. Besides matters of serious consideration, in the Courts of Princes, there must be times for pastimes and disports: When there is a Queen, and Ladies of Honour attending her, there must sometimes be Masques, and Revels, and Enterludes; and when there is no Queen, or Princess, as now, yet at Festivals, & for entertainment of Strangers, or upon such occasions, they may be fit also: Yet care would be taken, that in such cases, they be set off more with wit and activity, than with costly and wasteful expences.

11. But for the King and Prince, and the Lords and Chivalry of the Court, I rather commend, in their turns and seasons, the riding of the great Horse,

Horse, the Tilts, Barriers, Tennis, and Hunting, *K. Charles* which are more for the health and strength of those who exercise them, than in an effeminate way to please themselves and others.

And now the Prince groweth up fast to be a man; and is of a sweet and excellent disposition; it would be an irreparable stain and dishonour upon you, having that access unto him, if you should mis-lead him, or suffer him to be mis-led by any flattering Parasites: The whole Kingdom hath a deep interest in his virtuous education; and if you, keeping that distance which is most fit, do humbly interpose your self, in such a case, he will one day give you thanks for it.

12. Yet Dice and Cards may sometimes be used for recreation, when field-sports cannot be had; but not to use it as a mean to spend the time, much less to mis-spend the thrift of the Gamesters.

*SIR*, I shall trouble you no longer; I have run over these things as I first propounded them; please you to make use of them, or any of them, as you shall see occasion; or to lay them by, as you think best, and to add to them, as you daily may, out of your experience.

I must be bold again, to put you in minde of your present condition; you are in the quality of a Sentinel; if you sleep, and neglect your charge, you are an undone man, and you may fall faster than you have risen.

I have but one thing more to mind you of, which nearly concerns your self; you serve a great and gracious Master, and there is a most hopeful young Prince, whom you must not desert; it behoves you to carry your self wisely and evenly be-

*K. Charles* between them both: adore not so the rising Son, that you forget the Father, who raised you to this height; nor be you so obsequious to the Father, that you give just cause to the Son, to suspect that you neglect him: But carry your self with that judgement, as, if it be possible, may please and content them both, which, truly, I believe, will be no hard matter for you to do; so may you live long beloved of both, which is the hearty prayer of

*Your most obliged and devoted servant.*

**T**Hese were his Rules, and this his practice: My Lord of *Nottingham* he bought nobly from the Admiralty; his Assistant, Vice-Admiral *Mauvesel*, he entertained civilly, and procured that place for life, which he had only during pleasure. The Warden of the Cinque-ports resigned his place seasonably; the Master of the Horse gave up his preferment and his life opportunely.—He advanced his Relations prudently, gratifying them, and fortifying himself: He made an excellent choice of Servants and Confederates; entertained the ablest and most faithful Assistants: Doctor *Williams* and Dr. *Land* were of his Council for the Church, Sir *Francis Bacon* for the State. From the first he received frequent Schedules of Persons and Doctrines; from the other constant Transcripts of Rules and Intelligence: Never any man more constant to his approved friend, never any more fatal to his known Enemies: He was the instrument of all the Subjects services to his Sovereign, and of his Sovereign's favours to his Subjects: no place was bestowed

bestowed without his knowledge; no action passed *K. Charles* without his approbation; not an eminent man but depended on him, and was subordinate to him: His dispatches were many, and pregnant testimonies that he was a great Master of his Time, and a greater of his Method and Affairs. Great he was indeed, and humble too, not raised by his present fortune above the sense of his former: *envied* he was, not *hated*; applauded in the same Parliament for his services, & declaimed against for his preferments; ever studious of the peoples Interest, which is the care of few Favourites; never happy in their love, which is the fate of *all*. He approved himself both to the declining Monarch, and the rising, as having won himself not so much to their affections, which were alterable, as to their judgements, which were lasting; and made his preferment rather a matter of Interest, which is real, than of favour, which is personal: Looking on *Somerset* laid at his feet, *Bristol* and *Williams* brought on their knees, *Carlisle* and *Pembroke* beneath him, and *Holland* behind him; and every man that would not owe his preferment to his favour, must owe his ruine to his frown. He was intrusted with the greatest service and secret in *Spain*, when he dived to the bottom of that Countreys policy, and the Intrigues of *Europes* Counsels; and could come off in the Match with *Spain* to the King and Kingdoms mind dexterously, when Sir *Walter Aston* and my Lord of *Bristol* were at a loss about it, to both their displeasures, *weakly*, amidst the open entertainment, and secret working of that place.—In his attendance on the King in *Scotland* as Counsellor of that Kingdom, he carried himself with singular sweetness

*E. Charles* and temper, as it behoved him, being now in favour, and succeeding one of their own. They therefore censure his sudden advancements and great preferments, consider not, that

“Certainly the hearts of great Princes, if they be considered as it were in Abstract, without the necessities of States, & circumstances of time, being besides their natural Extent, moreover once opened and dilated with affection, can take no full and proportionable pleasure in the exercise of any narrow bounty. And albeit at first they give only upon choice and love of the Person, yet within a while themselves likewise begin to love their givings, and to foment their deeds, not less than Parents do their children,

Besides that, “by so long, and so private, and so various consociation with a Prince of such excellent nature, he had now gotten as it were two lives in his own Fortune and Greatness: whereas otherwise the Estate of a Favourite is at the best but a Tenant at will, and rarely transmitted.

“And the more notable, because it had been without any visible Eclipse or Wane in himself amidst divers variations in others. How general his care appears in that amidst his more important Negotiations, he condescended to this noble act of charity to a Scholar and to Learning; which I must, for my part, celebrate above all his Expenses. There was a collection of certain rare Manuscripts exquisitely written in *Arabick*, and sought in the most remote parts, by the diligence of *Expennius*, the most excellent Linguist. These had been left to the Widow of the said *Expennius*, and were

"upon sail to the Jesuites of *Antwerp*, liquorish  
"Chapmen of such Ware. Whereof the Duke get-  
"ting knowledge by his worthy and learned Secre-  
"tary, Doctor *Mason*, interverted the bargain,  
"and gave the poor Widow for them five hundred  
"pounds, a sum above their weight in silver, and a  
"mixed act both of bounty and charity; the more  
"laudable, being much out of his natural Element.  
These were they, which after his death were as  
nobly presented as they had been bought to *Cam-*  
*bridge* by his Dutchesse, as soon as she understood by  
the foresaid Doctor her Lords intention to furnish  
the said University with other choice Collections  
from all parts at his own charge.

"The Duke's Answers to his Appeachments, in  
"number thirteen, I find very diligently and ci-  
"villy couched: and though his heart was big, yet  
"they all savour of an humble spirit one way, and an  
"equitable consideration another, which could not  
"but possess every vulgar conceit, and somewhat  
"allay the whole matter; that in the bolging and  
"sifting of near fourteen years of such power and  
"favour, all that came out could not be expected  
"to be pure, and white, and fine Meal, but must  
"needs have withal among it a certain mixture of  
"Padar and Bran in this lower age of humane  
"fragility. Howsoever this tempest did only shake,  
"and not rent his Sails.

His defence against danger was noble, but his  
contempt of it nobler; for when Sir *George Goring*  
advised him only to turn out of the ordinary road,  
"He resolved not to wave his way upon this reason,  
"perhaps more generous than provident; That if,  
"as he said, he should but once by such a diversion

*K. Charles* "make his enemy believe he were afraid of danger, he should never live without. And when his young Nephew the Lord Viscount *Fielding* offered him another time to put on his Coat and slow Ribbon, while they passed through a Town where they apprehended some design against the Duke; " *He would not* (as he said) *accept of such an offer in that case from a Nephew, whose life he rendered as much as himself:* But after some short direction to his company, he rode on without perturbation of mind, though a drunken fellow did hold of his Bridle under pretence of begging, to begin a tumult.

\* *Sir Hen. Wotton's life of the Duke of Bucking.* "Neither (for ought I can \*hear) was there any further enquiry into that practice, the Duke peradventure thinking it wisdom not to reserve discontentments too deep.

"But in the midst of these little dangers, his Grace was not unmindful of his civil course, to cast an eye upon the ways to win unto him such as have been of principal credit in the lower house of Parliament; applying lenitives, or subduing from that part where he knew the Humours were sharpest; amidst which thoughts, he was surprized by a fatal stroke, written in the black book of Necessity. Whereof he was forewarned as well by his own as others apprehensions, as appears by his last Addresses to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Holland*, and his sacred Majesty.

"And certain it is, that some good while before, *Sir Clement Throckmorton*, a Gentleman then living, of grave judgement, had in a private conference advised him to wear a privy Coat; whose counsel

"counsel the Duke received very kindly, but gave K. Charles  
"him this answer; *That against any popular fury, a*  
"shirt of mail would be but a silly defence; and as for  
"any single mans assault, he took himself to be in no  
"danger---So dark is Destiny. Since he is dead, he  
is charged;

1. For advancing his Relations; which yet was  
humanity in him, and not a fault.

2. For enriching himself; though as it is said of  
that *French Peer*, he was rich only in Obligations,  
his Estate being at the mercy of Suitors.

"To his familiar Servants, so open-handed he  
"was, though many of them so ungrateful as to deny  
"any relation unto him, either about his person in  
"ordinary attendance; or about his affairs of  
"State, as his Secretaries; or of Office, as his  
"Steward; or of Law, as that worthy Knight  
"whom he long used to sollicite his Causes: He left  
"all both in good Fortune; and which is more, in  
"good Fame: Things very seldom consociated in  
"the instruments of great Personages.

3. He had many Offices, but committed himself  
a most willing Pupil to the directions of such as  
were generally thought fit to manage affairs of that  
nature, condescending to the meanest Arts, to adapt  
himself to his employments.

4. He was not bockish, it's true; his Affairs forbade  
him study, yet had he a natural readiness to  
discourse of all subjects; which wanted nothing towards  
applause, but the candor and benevolence of his  
hearers, whose dis-ingenuity oft-times turned his  
most honest discourses to accusations; witness  
that ebullition of his joy to his Majesty in behalf of  
his People, which Sir *John Eliot* made Treason against  
them.

5. He



*K. Charles*

5. He was great indeed, but gentle and affable; insomuch, that "though his memory were a place  
"so taken up with high thoughts, and unlikely to  
"have any room for matters of so small importance, he was ever known to entertain his younger acquaintance with much familiarity,—and all men with that civility, wherein was observed his "peculiarity, happy bravery of deriving favours, and  
"conferring them with so many noble Circumstances, as the manner was as obliging as the matter,  
"and mens understandings oft-times as much puzzled as their gratitude.

6. He would intercede, it's confessed, for poor Malefactors, more out of his innate compassion, than any design to obstruct the course of Justice; believing doubtless (saith my Author) *that hanging was the worst use a man could be put to.*

"In fine, a Gentleman he was of that choice and  
"curious make for exteriour shape, as if Nature  
"had not in his whole frame drawn one line amiss,  
"nor was his Fabrick raised by soft and limber  
"studs, but sturdy and virile. His intellectuals  
"gained him rather the opinion of a wise man,  
"than of a wit. His skill in Letters very mean; for  
"finding Nature more indulgent to him in the ornaments of the body, than of the mind, the  
"tendency of his youthful Genius was rather to  
"improve those excellencies wherein his choice felicity consisted, than to addice himself to morose  
"and sullen Bookishness; therefore his chief exercises were, dancing, fencing, vaulting, and the  
"like, as indications of strenuous Agility; yet  
"could he have foreseen where all the Climacteries  
"and motions of his Advance should have terminated

nated, that from no more than a meer Gentle-  
man, it should be his luck to vault into the dig-  
nity of a Duke, and trust of a Privy-Counsellor,  
we may presume his early studies would not have  
cast so much neglect upon a thing so important  
to him as a Statesman, though not very fashion-  
able as a Courtier. The temperature of his  
mind was, as to moral habits, rather disposed  
to good than bad; his deportment was most af-  
fable and debonair, a rare example in one raised  
so high and so speedily: To his Relations liberal,  
firm to his friend, formidable to his enemy. He  
was a Courtier, and a young man, a profession and  
age prone to such desires, as when they tend to  
the shedding of mans blood, to the ruine of  
no Family, Humanity sometimes connives at,  
though she never approves. So that take him in  
his publick capacity (wherein only he comes un-  
der our observation, which meddles not with  
mens private converse or moralities any further  
than they are subservient to their State-employ-  
ments) we may say of him, as one doth of his Mas-  
ter; *That in him the things we can wish, are fewer  
than those we praise.*

But be it for ever remembred, That the villain,  
whose despair of advancement made him careless  
of his own life, and Master of this Lords, talked in his  
examination of a Sermon at St. Faiths, not his  
own Parish-Church, where he heard; *That every  
man in a good cause might be Judge and Executioner  
of sin*; which he applied to himself. Whence raw  
discourfers in Divinity should learn how prudently  
they should preach; and itching hearers, how wa-  
rily they should hear.

*Observa-*

K. *Charls*

*Observations on the Life of VWilliam  
Noy, Attorney General.*

**W**illiam Noy, born in *Cornwal*, was bred in *Lincolns-Inne*, a most sedulous Student, constantly conversant with ancient Writings, verifying his Anagram :

WILLIAM NOY,

*Imoyl in Law.*

He was for many years the stoutest Champion for the Subjects Liberty, until King *Charls* entertained him to be his Attorney. The dis-ingenuity of the Parliament, & his impendent necessity, would have put another Sovereign on extraordinary wayes ; but to King *Charls* it was enough, they were illegal. No extremity, though never so fatal, could provoke him to irregularities ; yet whatever wayes the Laws allowed, or Prerogative claimed, to secure a desperate People, that would undo themselves, he was willing to hearken to ; therefore for a cunning man, the cunningst at such a project of any within his three Dominions, he sends for his Attorney-General Noy, and tells him what he had in contemplation, bids him contrive the Mode, but a statutable one, for defraying the expence : Away goeth the subtile Engineer, and at length, - from old Records bolts out an ancient  
common

common Precedent of raising a Tax for setting out a Navy in case of danger. K. Charles

The King glad of the discovery, as *Treasure-trove*, presently issued out Writs, first to the Port-Towns within the Realm, declaring that the safety of the Kingdom was in danger (and so it was indeed) and therefore that they should provide against a day prefixed twenty seven Ships of so many Tun, with Guns, Gun-powder, Tackle, and all other things necessary.

But this business is no sooner ripened, than the *Author* of it dyeth, *Aug. 6. 1634.* He was a man passing humorous, but very honest; clownish, but knowing; a most indefatigable plotter, and searcher of ancient Records; whereby he became an eminent instrument both of good and evil (and of which most, is a great question) to the King's Prerogative: For during the times that Parliaments were frequent, he appeared a stout Patriot for the Common-wealth; and in the last was an active opponent in the differences concerning Tonnage and Poundage: But when the dissolution of that was in some mens apprehensions, the end of all; No sooner did the King shew him the Lure of advancement, but quitting all his former Inclinations, he wheeled about to the Prerogative, and made amends with his future service for all his former dis-obligements,---This is something smart; more to his advantage is *that* character Arch-Bishop *Land* gives him; *That he was the best friend the Church ever had a of Layman, since it needed any such* (and indeed he was very vigilant over its Adversaries, witness his early foresight of the danger, and industrious prosecution of the illegality of the design

*K. Charles* sign of buying Improvements set up by persons not well affected to the present constitution) and that of the Whig, that he loved to hear Dr. Preston preach, because he spake so *solidly, as if he knew Gods will.*—To which I add a passage from the mouth of one present thereat.

The Goldsmiths of *London* had (and in due time may have) a custom once a year to weigh gold in the *Star Chamber*, in the presence of the Privy-Council and the King's Attorney. This solemn weighing by a word of Art they call the Pix, and make use of so exact scales therein, that the Master of the Company affirmed, that they would turn with the two hundredth part of a grain. *I should be loth* (said the Attorney Noy, standing by) *that all my Actions should be weighed in those Scales*; with whom all men concur that *know themselves*: And this was the first evidence of his parts, and the occasion of his reputation. Three Graspers at a Fair had left their money with their Hostess while they went to Market:—one of them calls for the money and runs away;—the other two come upon the woman, and sue her for delivering that which she had received from the three, before the three came and demanded it.—The Cause went against the Woman, and Judgment was ready to be pronounced; when Mr. Noy being a stranger, wisheth her to give him a Fee, because he could not plead else; and then moves in Arrest of Judgment, that he was retained by the Defendant, and that the case was this: The Defendant had received the money of the three together, and confesseth, was not to deliver it until the same three demanded it; and therefore the money is ready, Let the three  
men

men come, and it shall be paid: a motion which *K. Charles* altered the whole proceeding. Of which, when I hear some say it was obvious, I remember that when *Columbus* had discovered *America*, every one said it was easie: And he one day told a company at Table where he was, that he could do a stranger thing than that discovery; he would make an Egg stand an end on a plain Table: the speculatives were at a loss how it should be done;—he knocks the Egg upon the end, and it stands: Oh! was that all, they cryed; *Yes* (saith he) *this is all!* and you see how hard a thing it is to conceive a thing in the *Idea*, which it's nothing to apprehend in the *performance*. I need say no more of this Gentleman, but that Sergeant *Maynard* will say to this hour, he rose mainly at first by being looked upon as Mr. *Noy's* Favourite.

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir John Savil.*

**T**He methods of this Gentleman's advancement exactly parallel those of his Countrey-man *Sir Thomas Wentworth*: Both had the same foundation of wealth and honour to build on; both had solid and strong parts to act by; both began with Popularity in the Countrey, proceeded with activity in Parliaments;—accomplished themselves with correspondence all over the Nation: both eminent upon the Bench; both hospitable at home; both bountiful to Lecturers; both well

*K. Charles* well skilled in, and stedfast to the great points of *Prerogative* and *Liberty*.—For the last whereof; they were so bold (as sure either by carrying the Cause to oblige the people to themselves, or by suffering for it to enrage them against the Government) that *Sir R. Weston* made it his business to take off the one, and my Lord of *Canterbury* the other; which they did with such success, that as my Lord *Wentworth* became a great Favourite, so the Lord *Savile* was an eminent Counsellor; only finding that his young Neighbour had got the start of him, he kept to one of his popular Principles always, viz. a restless impetuosity towards Papists, against whom he made himself famous; 1. For a Disputation procured by him in *Drury-Lane* (whither he brought Bishop *Usher* under the notion of a Countrey-Parson; when the Jesuites cryed, *There was more Learning in that Parson, than in all the men in England*.) 2. For a project offered by him in *Parliament*.—For when they taking advantage of King *Charles* his wants, profered to maintain five thousand men to serve his Majesty in *Ireland*, and a proportion of Ships to secure him in *England*, on condition of the free exercise of their Religion; *Sir John* interposed, *That if the King were pleased but to call on the Recusants to pay Thirds (legally due to the Crown) it would prove a way more effectual, and less offensive, to raise a mass of money: It being but just that they who were so rich and free to purchase new Priviledges, should first pay their old Penalties.* When I read of a Lord *Savile* going privately to *Scotland*, 1639. subscribing to a Petition, with other moderate-Lords, as they called them, containing the very sense of the facti-

on (inſomuch that it is obſerved, the City-Petition K. *Charles* and theirs were couched in the ſame words) yet going to *Oxford*, and after all, being ſo turbulent there, that his Maſteſty was fain to ſend him beyond Sea, where his Maſteſty writes with his own hand, *He doubts he will rather exchange his villany, than end it*; I am almoſt of that wiſe mans mind, that there were no leſs than 17 particular Deſigns ſet on foot by the promotion of the late Troubles; whereof though moſt, yet not all were carried on in *Westminster*:—or to enforce ſomething more ſolid; that a King ſhould ſay as the *Italian* doth, *If my Subject deceives me once, God forgive him; If a ſecond time, God forgive me*; and the rather, becauſe it's fatal for Maſteſty to err twice.

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### *Observations on the Life of Bishop Williams.*

**A** Strong conſtitution made his parts, a ſtrict education improved them; unweariſed was his induſtry, unexpreſſible his capacity: He never ſaw the book of worth he read not, he never forgot what he read; he never loſt the uſe of what he remembred: Every thing he heard or ſaw was his own; and what was his own, he knew how to uſe to the utmoſt: His extraction being Gentile, his Soul large and noble, his preſence and carriage comely and ſtarely; his learning copious, his judgement ſtayed, his apprehenſion clear and ſearching, his expreſſion lively and effeſtual,

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his



K. *Charles*

his elocution flowing and majestic; his Proctorship, when he gave the Lord Chancellor *Egerton* so much satisfaction in treating the *Spanish* Ambassador at an Act in *Cambridge*, that thenceforward he resolved on his preferment, 1612. discovered him a person above his place; and his Lectures to his Pupils, above his preferment. Bishop *Vaughan* first admitteth him to his Family, and then to his bosom; there his strong Sermons, his exact government (under my Lord) his plentiful observation, his numerous acquaintance, made him my Lord Chancellor *Egerton's* friend, rather than his servant; his familiar, rather than his Chaplain. Never was there a more communicative Master to instruct, than my Lord *Elsemere*; never a more capable Scholar to learn, than Dr. *Williams*, who had instilled to him all necessary State-maxims while his old Master lived, and had bequeathed to him four excellent Books when his Master was dead: These four books he presented to K. *James* the very same time that he offered himself to the Duke of *Buckingham*. The excellent Prince observed him as much for the first gift, as the noble Duke did for the second: the King and Duke made him their own, who they saw had made that excellent Book his. Willing was King *James* to advance *Clergy-men*, and glad to meet with men capable of *Advancement*. His two Sermons at Court made him Dean of *Westminster*; his exact state of the Earl of *Somerset's* Case made him capable of, and the KING'S inclination to trust his Conscience in a Divines hand, settled him in the Lord Keepers place actually, only for three years to please the people (who were offended with his years, now but 34. and his calling

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2. Privileges of  
Parliament,

3. The proceedings in  
Chancery.

4. The power of the  
Star-chamber.

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 his Majesty. The Lawyers despised him at first, but the Judges admired him at last: and one of them said, "That never any man apprehended a Case so clearly, took in all the Law, Reason, and other Circumstances more punctually, recollected the various Debates more faithfully, summed it up more compendiously, and concluded more judiciously and discreetly. For many of them might have read more than he, but none digested what they had read more solidly, none disposed of their reading more methodically, none therefore commanded it more readily. He demurred several Orders, as that of my Lord Chancellor's pardon, the Earl Marshal's Patent, &c. to let his Majesty see his judgement; yet passed them, to let him see his obedience: He would question the Dukes Order sometimes discreetly, to let him know he understood himself; yet he would yield handsomly, to let him see he understood *him*: and indeed he had the admirable faculty of making every one of his actions carry prudence in the performance. Necessary it was, for one of his years and place to keep his distance, and avoid contempt; yet fatal was it to him to do so, and incur envy. — Well understood he the interest of all his places, &c. resolutely he maintained them. *What?* saith he, *shall the Liberties of Westminster be infringed, when the chief Favourite is Steward, and the Lord Keeper Dean, and I the contemptible man that must be trampled on?* When he was in trouble, what passion, what insinuation, what condescension bath he at command? when petitioned to, how quickly he looked through men and business? how ex-

K. *Charls*

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
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*K. Charles*  *actly* would he judge, and how resolutely conclude, without an immediate intimation from his Majesty or the Duke ! Many eyes were upon him, and as many eyes were kept by him upon others ; being very watchful on all occasions to accommodate all Emergencies, and meet with all humors—always keeping men in dependance on the Duke, according to this intimation of his.—*Cabal* 187. *Let him hold it, but by your Lordships favour, not his own power.* A good way, had he been constant to it, the neglect whereof undid him ; for designing the promotion of Doctor *Price* to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Armagh*, he moved it to the Duke, who told him it was disposed of to Doctor *Usher*. Whereupon he went his own way to advance that man, and overthrew himself : For then his Lord let him feel what he had threatned my Lord *Bacon* when he advanced him ; *That if he did not owe his preferment always to his favour, he should owe his fall to his frown.* The peremptoriness of his judgement rendered him odious ; his compliance with *Bristol*, suspected ; and his Sermon at King *James* his Funeral [his trial rather than his preferment] obnoxious. His spirit was great to act, and too great to suffer. It was prudence to execute his decrees against all opposition while in power ; it was not so, to bear up his miscarriages against all Authority, while in disgrace. A sanguine complexion, with its resolutions, do well in pursuit of success : Phlegm and its patience do better in a retreat from miscarriages. This he wanted, when [it may be, thinking fear was the passion of King *Charles* his Government as well as King *James*] he seconded his cause with loud and open discontents, and those

dile

discontents with a chargeable defence of his servants that were to justify them, and all with that unsafe popularity, invidious pomp, and close irregularity, that laid him open to too many active persons that watched him: Whether his standing out against Authority, to the perplexing of the Government in the Star-Chamber in those troublesome times; his entertainment and favour for the *Discontented and Non-Conformists*; his motions for Reformation and alteration in twelve things; his hasty and unlucky Protestation in behalf of the Bishops, and following actions in *England and Wales*, where it's all mens wonder to hear of his *meruit sub Parlamento*, had those private grounds and reasons, that if the Bishop could have spoke with the King but half an hour, he said, would have satisfied him, the King of Kings only knoweth, to whom he hath given, I hope, a better account than any Historian of his time hath given for him.

But I understand better his private inclinations, than his publick actions; the motions of his nature, than those of his power; the conduct of the one being not more reserved and suspicious, than the effects of the other *manifest*, and *noble*: for not to mention his Libraries erected at *St. John's* and *Westminster*, his Chappel in *Lincoln-Colledge*, the repairs of his Collegiate Church: his pensions to Scholars more numerous than all the Bishops and Noble-mens besides; his Rent-charges on all the Benefices in his Gift as Lord Keeper, or Bishop of *Lincoln*, to maintain hopeful youth, according to the Statute in that case provided. Take this remarkable instance of his munificence; that when *Du Moulin* came over, he calleth his Chaplain,

*K. Charles* now the R. R. Father in God, *John* Lord Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and telleth him, he doubted the good man was low, wishing him to repair to him with some money, and his respects, with assurance that he would wait upon him himself at his first lieasure.—The excellent Doctor rejoyneth, that he could *carry him no less than twenty pounds*; the noble Bishop replyeth, *he named not the sum*, to sound his Chaplains mind;—adding, that twenty pounds was neither fit for him to give, nor for the reverend Forreigner to receive. *Carry him*, said he *an hundred pounds*.

He is libelled by common fame for unchaste, though those that understood the privacies and casualties of his Infancy, report him but one degree removed from a *Misogonist*, though to palliate his infirmities; he was most compleat in Courtly addresses: the conversableness of this Bishop with Women consisted chiefly (if not only) in his treatments of great Ladies and Persons of honour, wherein he did personate the compleatness of courtesie to that Sex; otherwise a woman was seldom seen in his house, which therefore had always more of Magnificence than Nearness, sometimes defective in the Punctilio's and Niceties of Daintiness, lying lower than masculine Cognizance, and as level for a womans eye to espy, as easie for her hands to smend.

He suffereth for conniving at Puritans, out of hatred to Bishop *Land*; and for favouring Papists, out of love to them:—Yet whatever he offered King *James* (when the Match went on in *Spain*) as a Councellour, or whatever he did himself as a States-man; such kindness he had for our Liur-

gy, that he translated it at his own cost into Spanish, and used it in the visitation of Melvin when sick, to his own peril, in the Tower; and such resolution for Episcopacy, that his late Majesty of blessed memory said once to him; *My Lord, I commend you, that you are no whit daunted with all disasters, but are zealous in defending your Order.*—Please it your Majesty, replied the Arch-Bishop, *I am a true Welsh-man, and they are observed never to run away till their General first forsakes them—No fear of my flinching, while your Majesty doth countenance our Cause.*

His extraction was gentile and ancient, as appeared from his Ancestors Estate; which was more than he could purchase without borrowing, when at once Lord Keeper, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dean of Westminster. His mind great and resolute, inso-much that he controuled all other advices to his last, to his loss in Wales:—and daunted Sir John Cook, as you may see in his character to his honour in England.

His *wariness* hath these arguments: 1. That he would not send the Seal to the King but under lock and key. 2. That being to depute one to attend in his place at the Coronation, he would not name his Adversary, Bishop Laud, to gratifie him; nor yet any other, to displease the King; but took a middle way, and presented his Majesty a List of the Prebendaries, to avoid any exception, referring the Election to his Majesty himself. 3. That he proposed a partial Reformation of our Church to the Parliament, to prevent an utter extirpation by it. 4. That he exposed others to the censure of the Parliament 1625. to save himself. 5. That



*K. Charles* he answered to several Examinations without any the least advantage taken by his Antagonist. This character of his I think very exact: That his head was a well-fitted treasury, and his tongue the fair key to unlock it: That he had as great a memory as could be reconciled with so good a judgement: That so quick his parts, that others study went not beyond his nature; and their designed and forelaid performances, went not beyond his sudden and ready accommodations: Only he was very open, and too free in discourse, disdaining to lie at a close guard, as confident of the length and strength of his weapon.

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir Isaac Wake.*

**T**His honourable person whom I look upon at *Oxford*, in the same capacity and fortune that *Sir Robert Naunton* and *Sir Francis Nebersole* were in at *Cambridge*. He was born in *Northampton-shire*, (his Father *Arthur Wake* being Parson of *Billing*, Master of the Hospital of *St. Johns* in *Northampton*, and Canon of *Christ-Church*) bred Fellow of *Merton-Colledge* in *Oxford*, Protector and Orator of that University, whence he was admitted Secretary to *Sir Dudley Carleton* Secretary of State, and afterward advanced into the King's service, and by his Master and the Duke of *Buckingham*, employed Embassadour to *Venice*, where he neglected his own interest to attend his Majesties

Majesties employment; the reason that he dyed K. *Charles* rich onely in the just conscience of his worth, and the repute of his merit. Coming from *Venice*, he was appointed Lieger of *France*, and designed Secretary of State, had not Death prevented him at *Paris*; being accomplished with all qualifications requisite for publick Employment, Learning, Languages, Experience, Abilities, and what not?

King *CHARLES* hearing of his death, commanded his Corps to be decently brought from *Paris* into *England*, allowing the expences of his Funeral, and enjoyning his neereſt Relations to attend the performance thereof. Theſe accordingly met his body at *Bulloign* in *France*, and ſaw it ſolemnly conveyed into *England*, where it was interred in the Chappel of the Caſtle of *Dover*. His *REX PLATONICUS*, or his Latine account of King *James* his ſix dayes ſtay at *Oxford*, ſpeaks his Learning; and his Inſtructions for Travel, his experience.—He obſerving his Predeceſſors failings, retrenching his expences, ſatisfying himſelf with a repute of nobleneſs, while in his way to preferment; and others with the expectation of his bounty. When preferred, he ſeemed liberal, that he might not be deſpiſed abroad; but he was neer, that he might not be odious at home. His prodigality it may be might have ſatisfied the curioſity of a few Strangers, while he incurred the diſpleaſure of all his friends. Beſides, a cloſe & wary man may be bountiful at his pleaſure, but the munificent cannot be ſo eaſily ſparing; for if his occasions or fortunes check his profuſeneſs, all his gallantry is in his firſt action of good huſbandry. Caution in expences, if it be a vice, is one of thoſe, ſaith the *Italian*, that never

*K. Charles* never disinherited a man. Nay, of the two, saith *Machiavel*, it's more discretion to hold the style of miserable, which begets an infamy without hatred, than to desire that of Liberal; which being maintained by necessitous courses, procures an infamy with hatred. As never did Statesman a brave action that seemed illiberal, so never did he any such that was not so:—Yet four things our Knight spared no cost in: 1. Intelligence; He could afford (he said) a golden key for the Pope's Cabinet. 2. Books;—his Study was his Estate. 3. In watching the Spaniards, saying, *The Indies will pay for this*. And 4. Entertaining knowing men often; applauding the Emperour's maxim, *That had rather go fifty miles to hear a wise man, than five to see a fair City*. And this he was eminent for; that he saw nothing remarkable in Foreign parts, that he applyed not to his own Countrey: Sir *Henry Wotton* being not more curious in picking up small Rarities to pleasure particular persons, than Sir *Isaac Wake* was industrious to observe any useful invention that might improve the publick good.

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
### *Observations on the Life of the Lord Cottington.*

Sir *Francis Cottington* being bred, when a youth, under Sir——*Stafford*, lived so long in *Spain*, till he made the garb and gravity of that Nation become his, and become him too. He raised himself by his natural strength, without any artificial

artificial advantage; having his parts above his learning, his Experience above his Parts, his Industry above his Experience, and (some will say) his Success above all: So that at last he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Baron of *Hanworth* in *Middlesex*, Constable of the Tower, 1640. and (upon the resignation of Doctor *Juxon*) Lord Treasurer of *England*, gaining also a very great Estate.

Very reserved he was in his temper, and very slow in his proceedings; sticking to some private Principles in both, and aiming at certain rules in all things:—a temper that endeared him as much to his Master, Prince *Charles* his person, as his integrity did to his service;—Nor to his service only, but to that of the whole Nation; in the Merchandize whereof he was well versed; to the trade whereof he was very serviceable many ways: but eminently, in that he negotiated, that the *Spanish* Treasure which was used to be sent to *Flanders* by the way of *Genoa*, might be sent in *English* Bottoms, which exceedingly enriched *England* for the time; and had it continued, had made her the greatest Bank and Mart for Gold and Silver of any Common-wealth in *Europe*.

Indeed the advantage of his Education, the different Nations and Factions that he had to deal with, the direct opposition of Enemies, the treachery of Friends, the contracts of Statesmen, the variety and force of Experience from the distinct knowledge of the natures of the people of several Countreys, of their chief Ministers of State, with their Intrigues of government, made him so expert, that the Earl of *Bristol* and Sir *Walter Aston*

*K. Charles*  *ston* could do nothing without him; and he only could finish that Treaty, which they had for many years spun out.

Men take several ways to the ends they propose themselves. Some, that of *confidence*; others, that of *respect* and *caution*, &c. when indeed the main business is, to *suit our selves* with our own times; which this Lord did, and no man better, until looking into the depths of the late Faction, he declared at the Council-Table, 1639. that *they aimed at the ruine of Church and State*. And viewing the state of the Kingdom, he advised; *That Leagues might be made abroad*; and, *that in this inevitable necessity, all ways to raise money should be used that were lawful*. Wherefore he was one of those few excluded the Indemnity by the Faction, and had the honour to dye banished for the best Cause and Master, in those foreign Countries; where he suffered as nobly for the Crown of *England* in his later dayes, as he had acted honourably for it in his former. When he never came off better than in satisfying the *Spaniards* about toleration, reducing the whole of that affair to these two Maxims;

1. That Consciences were not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the evidence of Truth, with the aid of Reason, and in the use of all good means of Instruction and perswasion.

2. That the causes of Consciences, wherein they exceed their bounds, and grow to matter of faction, lose their nature: and that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish those foul practices, though overlaid with the fairer pretences of Conscience and Religion.

One of his Maxims for Treaty I think remarkable, *viz.* *That Kingdoms are more subject to fear than hope*: And that it's safer working upon them by a power that may awe the one, than by advantages that may excite the other.—Since it's another rule, that States have no affections but interest; and that all kindness and civility in those cases are but *oversight and weakness*.

Another of his rules for Life I judge useful, *viz.* That since no man is absolute in all points, and since men are more naturally enclined out of *envy* to observe mens *infirmities*, than out of *ingenuity* to acknowledge their *merit*; —He discovereth his abilities *most*, that *least* discovereth *himself*. To which I may add another, *viz.* That it is not only our known duty, but our visible advantage, to ascribe our most eminent performances to providence, since it not only takes off the edge of *envy*, but improves the reason of admiration. None being less maliced, or more applauded than he, who is thought rather happy than able; blessed, than active; and fortunate, than cunning.

Though yet all the caution of his life could not avoid the envy of his advancement from so mean a beginning to so great honour, —notwithstanding that it is no disparagement to any to give place to fresh Nobility, who ascend the same steps with those before them. *New* being only a term, saith one, only respecting us, not the world; for what is, was before us, and will be when we are no more: And indeed this Personage considering the vanity and inconstancy of common applause or affronts, improved the one, and checked the other, by a constant neglect of both,

*Observa-*

K. Charles



### *Observations on the Life of Sir Dudley Careleton.*

Sir *Dudly Careleton* was born in *Oxford-shire*, bred in *Christs-Church* in *Oxford* under Dr. *King*, and afterwards in relation of Secretary to Sir *Ralph Winwood* in the Low-Countreys, where he was very active, when King *James* resigned the cautionary Towns to the States. Here he added so great experience to his former Learning, that afterwards our King employed him for twenty years together Ambassador in *Venice*, *Savoy*, and the *United Provinces*; *Anne Gerard* his Lady (Co-heir to *George Gerard* Esquire) accompanying him in all his Travels, as is expressed in her Epitaph in *Westminster-Abby*. He was by K. Charles the first, to balance the Duke of *Buckingham's* enemies in the House of Peers, with the Lord *Mandevil* now Earl of *Manchester*, and the Lord *Grandison*, created Baron of *Imbercourt* in *Surrey*, and afterwards Viscount *Dorchester*, marrying for his second Wife the Daughter of Sir *Henry Glenham*, the Relict of *Paul*, Viscount *Banning*, who survived him. He succeeded the Lord *Conway*, (when preferred President to the Council, in the Secretaryship of State, being sworn at *White-Hall*, December 14. 1628. and dying without Issue, Anno Dom. 163—Much ado he had to remove a State-jealousie that was upon him; That he insisted on the restitution of some Towns in *Cleves* and *Juliers*,

*Juliers*, to gratifie the *Spaniards* at that time in *K. Charles* Treaty with us: more to remove a Church-jealousie, that in negotiating an accommodation in Religion, he designed the undermining of the Remonstrants then in so much power there: In which matter he was at a loss, whether his Majesty should interpose by Letter or Message: The former he said was most effectual, but the later less subject to misconstruction, considering *Barnevel's* interest in the State—But he had a Chaplain, one Mr. *Hales*, that kept this Controversie even on the one hand, while he balanced the State-interest on the other; equally careful that the United Provinces should not be over-run by the Armies of *Spain*, and that they should not be swallowed up by the protection of *France*.

Watchful was his eye there over the *West-India Company*; Diligent his carriage upon any accommodations from *Spain*; which he apprehended always as a design to distract that people then in regard of their unsettledness, but too apt upon any dispute to fall into faction: Great his industry in reconciling Sir *Horace Vere* and Sir *Edward Cecil* for the honour of the *English Nation*, and the advancement of the common service: Sincere his services to the Prince Elector, and his Lady.

Exact his rules of Traffique and Commerce, and dexterous his arts of keeping the States from new alliances, notwithstanding our likely Marriage-treaty with *Spain*, especially since the Prince of *Orange* bluntly (after his manner) asked, *Qui at il vostre Marriage?*—And indeed he behaved himself in all Employments so well becoming a man that understood so many Languages, that was so well



*K. Charles* well versed in Ancient and Modern History, that had composed so many choice pieces of Politicks, that was so well seen in the most practical Mathematicks; and added to these a graceful and charming look, a gentle and a sweet elocution; that notwithstanding his, and his Brother Bishop *Carleton's* rigidness in some points, kept him to his dying-day in great favour and most eminent service; and failing in nothing but his *French* Embassy, because there he had to do with Women. Leaving behinde him this observation; *That new Common-wealths are hardly drawn to a certain resolution; as who knowing not how to determine, and remaining only in suspense, take ordinarily that course rather which they are forced to, than what they might choose for themselves.*—And this eminent service when he assisted the Earl of *Holland* in *France*, viz. That he pacified the high difference there, upon which the revolt of the *Hugonots* depended, and put a real resolution in King *Lewis* to advance against the *Valtoline* and *Spain* by the advantage of the League with *England*: proceeding upon this Maxim with that King; *They that have respect to few things, are easily misled.*

I had almost forgot, how this Lord finding that want of Treasure at home, was the ground of our unsuccessful and despicableness abroad; and that *Principe senza quattrini e come un muro senza crole da tulli scompiato*; That a Prince without money is like a wall without a *Cross*, for every one to draw upon; did mention the Excise in the Parliament-House, and in no ill meaning neither, and was violently cryed to the Bar: and though a person of that eminence, as being then a Privy-Councillor, and

and principal Secretary of State, he hardly escaped *K. Charles* being committed to the Tower:—So odious was that *Dutch-Devil* (as they called it) in the excellent King *Charles*, which was raised by the belov'd Parliament, with many more that were conjured up in three or four years, but not likely to be laid in three or fourscore.

Living in those times when weak men imagined to themselves some unknown bliss from untried governments, and considering that alterations countervail not their own dangers, and as they bring little good to any, so they bring least of all to those that first promoted them; This Lord refused to be the mouth of the Zealous multitude (whose rage could neither be well opposed, nor joyned with) whom a pardon or compliance might bring off, leaving their Demagogues to compound for their folly with their ruin; choosing rather to be patient, than active, and appear weak, than be troublesome; and once resolved upon an exact survey of circumstances for power against the faults of it on the one hand, and the affronts of it on the other, he gained the esteem of all parties by his fidelity to his own. I am much taken with his plain saying, which I find of late printed; *There will be mistakes in Divinity while men preach, and errors in Government while such govern*: And more with his method of proceeding in his affairs, whereof he laid first an Idea in his own mind, and then improved it by debate; the result whereof was usually so compleat, as shew'd the vast difference between the shallow conceptions of one man, and the deep judgment of many.

K. Charles



*Observations on the Lives of Sir  
Richard, and Sir Jerome Weston,  
Earls of Portland.*

**S**ir *Richard Weston* in his youth impaired his estate, to improve himself with publick accomplishment, but came off both a saver and a gainer at the last, when made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards (upon the remove of the Earl of *Marlborough*) July 15. in the fourth of King *Charles*, Lord Treasurer of *England*.

His activity in Parliament made him considerable at Court, none fitter to serve a Prince than he who commands the humor of the people. Indeed where ever he was, he discovered himself able and faithful. 1. In his Foreign Employments, his judgement was searching, and reach admirable, he being the first that smelt out the intentions against the Palatinate; which were then in brewing, and mashed with much art. In his Domestick charge, his Artifice was singular, both in a faithful improvement of the Incomes, and a discreet moderation of the expences in his Masters Revenues.—In his Aspect, there was a mixture of authority and modesty; in his apprehensions, quickness and solidity; in his port and train, a suitable dignity and correspondence, with little noise and outward form: An enemy to Complements, yet very courteous: no flatterer, yet of great power: irreconcilable to frothy formality, yet maintaining a due regard

to his person and place. A great Scholar he was, *K. Charles* and yet a great States-man; of various erudition, and as large observation.—He secured himself much by Alliances with the best Nobility, more by the love, and (what is more) the esteem of a constant King; it being one of the wonders of that time, that my Lord of *Canterbury* and he, who were at so much distance from one another, should be so inward with their Sovereign, but that that excellent Prince measured not his affections to his Dependants so much by a particular interest, as by a publick serviceableness.—The necessity of the Exchequer put him upon some ways of supply that displeased the rabble; though his three particular cares, *viz.* The paying of the Navy, the satisfying of the City, and the Queen of *Bohemia's* supply (three things he was very much intent upon while Treasurer) obliged the wiser sort of men. I know nothing he was defective in, being careful (to use his own words) to perform all duties, with *obedience to his Majesty, respect to the Duke, and justice to the particular parties concerned*;—But that he had so much of his Master's love, and so little of his patience, being grated (as all Statesmen are that have to do with various interests and humours) between a strong inclination of satisfying every man, and the impossibility of pleasing all: Considering the importunities of persons and affairs, a little impatience must needs fall “upon your Lordship” (writes Sir *Henry Wotton* to him) unless you “had been cut out of a Rock of Diamonds, especially having been before so conversant with liberal Studies, and with the freedom of your own mind,

*K. Charles* In his time was the great Question agitated: *Whether a Prince should aim at the fear, or the love of his People?*—Although no Prince did more to oblige his People, than the Excellent King Charles the I. Yet was there no Prince ever more advised to awe them: For this Lord, and many more, who looked upon over-much indulgence as the greatest cruelty, considering that men love at their own pleasure, and to serve their own turn, and that their fear depends upon the Princes pleasure, were of opinion; That every wise Prince ought to ground upon that which is of himself, and not upon that which is of another: government being set up in the world, rather to trust its own power, than stand upon others courttesie.

Besides, two things the vulgar are taken with: 1. Appearance. 2. The event of things; which, if successful, gains both their *love* and *reverence*. Neither was the Father more exact in his Maxims than the Son in his, of whose many infallible principles this was one; *That it was the safest way for the King's Majesty to proceed upon a Declaration, that the Faction at Westminster was no Parliament, upon his own and his most loyal Lords and Commons removal to Oxford.* And this another; *That provided the Gentry and Clergy were well principled, and His Majesty that now is had a constant correspondence with the most eminent of them, it was our Interest to promote his Majesties grandeur abroad, and sit still at home, until the Faction might be so secure as to divide,*—and his Majesties Interest became so conspicuous by the Principles that were kept up at home, and the State that was born abroad, as to command all. And really his little saying hath  
much

much in it; — He that will see what shall be, let him consider what hath been: For there are the same desires, humours, and interest in every age, that were before it: So that as *Machiavel* observeth, It is very easie for him, that with diligence examineth “past Occurrences, to serve himself of “those remedies which were in use among the Ancien:s; Or if they fail, to devise what is most like “them.

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*Observations on the Life of William Earl of Pembroke.*

HE was an ancient Gentleman of good repute, and therefore well esteemed; a proper person, well set, and of graceful deportment, and therefore well beloved of King *James* and Queen *Anne*: His inclination was as generous as his extraction, and manners ancient as his Family. One of his Ancestors is renowned, for that he would condescend to deliver his Embassies in no Language but *Welsh*; and he is commended for that he would comply with no customs in his converse but the old *English*,—though his Contemporaries make that his defect rather than his ornament; proceeding from his want of Travel, rather than his observance of Antiquity: He having had only (saith the Historian) the breeding of *England*, which gave him a conceited dislike of Foreign men, their manners “and mode; or of such “*English* as professed much advantage thereby: so

K. Charles<sup>2</sup> that the *Scots* and he were ever separate ; and  
 “ therefore he was the only old Courtier that  
 “ kept close to the Commonalty, and they to him,  
 though never suspected by either of his Sovereigns ;  
 not because he was not over-furnished with Abili-  
 ties (as that pen insinuates) to be *more* than Loyal,  
 but because he had too much integrity to be less.  
 Being munificent and childless, the University of  
*Oxford* hoped to be his Executor, and *Pembroke-*  
*Colledge* his Heir. *Pembroke-Colledge*, I say, called  
 so not only in respect to, but also in expectation  
 from him, then Chancellor of the University : and  
 probably had not our noble Lord died suddenly  
 soon after (according as a Fortune-teller had in-  
 formed him, whom he laughed at that very night  
 he departed, being his Birth-night ) this Col-  
 ledge might have received more than a bare name  
 from him.

“ He was (saith one of his own time) the very  
 “ picture, and *Vive Effigies* of Nobility ; his per-  
 “ son rather Majestick than Elegant ; his presence,  
 “ whether quiet, or in motion, full of stately gra-  
 “ vity ; his mind generous, and purely heroick ;  
 “ often stout, but never disloyal : so vehement  
 “ an opponent of the *Spaniard*, as when that  
 “ Match fell under consideration, he would some-  
 “ times rouse to the trepidation of King *James*,  
 “ yet kept in favour still ; for that King knew plain  
 “ dealing, as a Jewel in all men, so was in a Privy-  
 “ Councillor an ornamental duty. An instance of  
 “ his familiar converse with King *James*, was, that  
 “ the King observing that he naturally hated a  
 Frog, threw one into his neck ; and he in requi-  
 tal, caused a Pig (of an equal disgust with the same  
 Prince)

Prince) to be put under his Close-stool: where, *K. Charles* though it produced no extraordinary ill effect for the present, yet after the prank had been descanted upon, and worst of Interpretations made by some (the title of *Jews* being at that time bestowed on the *Scots*) the King was much affected with it; and the more, because it was done at *Wilton* the Earls own house.—Though Kings when free and sociable, “break out to sprightly and facetious extravagancies with Courtiers, yet must they not presume, lest their words are interpreted, not by their meaning, but others jealousy: free spirits cannot be too circumspect. And the same true-heartedness commended him to King *Charles*, with whom he kept a most admirable correspondence, and yet stood the firm Confident of the Commonalty; and that not by a sneaking cunning, but by an erect and generous prudence, such as rendered him as unsuspected of ambition on the one side, as of faction on the other; being generally beloved and regarded.

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*Observations on the Life of the Lord Conway.*

**E**dward Lord *Conway* succeeded to his Father's Martial skill and valour, who was under the Earl of *Leicester*, Governour of *Ostend*, and twisted therewith peaceable Policy in State-affairs, so that the Gown and the Sword met in him in most eminent proportion, and there-



*K. Charles* upon King *James* advanced him one of the principal Secretaries of State. For these his good services, he was by him created Lord *Conway* of *Ragleigh* in this County, and afterwards by King *Charles* Viscount *Killuliagh* in the County of *Antrim*; And lastly, in the third of King *Charles*, Viscount *Conway* of *Conway* in *Carnarvenshire*, *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales* mutually embracing themselves in his Honours; and not long after, President of the Council. Upon the breach with *Spain*, King *James* and the Duke of *Buckingham* both judged it very convenient to have a Martial Secretary; neither was there any man fitter for their turn than this Gentleman, who was as able to direct them in the Affairs of War abroad, as he was ready to be directed by them in those of Peace at home: Being one of those three remarkable Servants that King *James* used to jest upon, viz. a Lord Treasurer [meaning the Earl of *Suffolk*] that could not cast Account, a Chaplain [meaning Doctor *Preslon*] that could not read \* Prayers, and a Secretary [meaning this Lord] that could not write his name. Sir *Richard Weston* beat the Bush in the Affair of the Palatinate, but Sir *Edward* caught the Hare; his rough humour being more suitable to that business: Or indeed it having been always more successful to be bold, than wary; to be free for all occasions, than to be obstinate to some rule. — Fortune (saith *Machiavel*) is a Mistress, that is sooner won by those that ruffle and force her, than by others that proceed coldly. Indeed he was charged with treachery and cowardize in the action against the *Scots*, 1640. but he came off with his honest animosity, saying, *If he might*

\* Being not  
used to the  
Common-  
Prayer.

but fight their whole Army, he would settle Scotland *K. Charles*  
in six months, or lose his head—being in that, of  
my Lord of Canterbury's opinion, who assured his  
Majesty they would not hold out four: a motion  
that if as easily entertained by that gracious King as  
it was effectually pursued by the bloody Urrpers,  
a sad experience hath taught us and them, would  
have prevented much mischief there, more here;  
especially since it was that wise Prince his judicious  
observation, That they and their Confederates  
were a people *lost by favour, and won by punish-*  
*ment.*

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*Observations on the Lives of the  
Digges.*

**M**After *Leonard Digges* was one of excellent  
Learning and deep judgement. His  
mind most inclined him to the Mathematicks,  
and he was the best Architect in that age for  
all manner of Buildings, for conveniency, plea-  
sure, state, strength, being excellent at Fortifi-  
cations. Lest his Learning should dye with him,  
for the publick profit, he printed his *Tetlonicon*,  
*Prognostick General*, *Stratagetick*, about the order-  
ing of an Army, and other Works. He flourished  
*Anno Dom. 1556.* and dyed I believe about the  
Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, when as in most grow-  
ing times Arts were drowned in action.

Nothing else have I to observe of his name, save  
that hereditary Learning may seem to run in the  
veins of his Family; witness Sir *Dudley Diggs* of  
*Chilham*

*K. Charles Chilham-Castle*, made Master of the Rolls, in the year 1636. whose abilities will not be forgotten, whilst our age hath any remembrance. This Knight had a younger son, of a most excellent wit, and a great judgment, Fellow of *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, who in the beginning of our Civil Wars wrote so subtle & solid a Treatise of the difference between King and Parliament, that such Royalists who have since handled that Controversie, have written *plura non plus*; yea *aliter* rather than *alia* of that Subject. The Son writes down those Rebel- lions that the Father countenanced: The Father, I say, who by a bold impeachment against his Maje- sties chief Minister of State, to his face, taught a discontented People to draw a bolder against his Majesty himself:—Wherefore it was, that (after his undutiful Prologue against his Majesties Pae- rogative in favouring his Servants; the Preface to more disloyal methods against his right, in govern- ing his people) he and Sir *John Elliot* were whis- pered out of the Lords House, when they were hot- test against the Duke, to speak with a Gentleman, and thence sent immediately by two Purse- vants that attended, to the *Tower*; where, and in the Country, this Gentleman lay under just displeasure, until it was thought fit to take off so dangerous a piece of boldness and eloquence upon the growing distempers of the age by favour and preferment, to a Neutrality at least, if not to the just measures of his duty. But our observation here is this; That faction is one of those sins, whereof the Authors re- pent most commonly themselves, and their poste- rities are always ashamed.

*Obser-*

*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Ridly, Dr. LL.*

**T**His Knight and Doctor was born at *Ely* in *Cambridge-shire*, bred first a Scholar at *Eaton* in *Buckingham-shire*, then Fellow of *Kings-Colledge* in *Cambridge*. He was a general Scholar in all kind of Learning, especially in that which we call *Melior Literatura*. He afterwards was Chancellor of *Winchester*, and Vicar-general to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. His memory will never dye, whilst his Book called *The view of the Ecclesiastical Laws* is living; a book of so much merit, that the Common Lawyers (notwithstanding the difference betwixt the professions) will ingenuously allow a due commendation to his learned performance in that subject: Although it startled them to hear King *James* was so affected with it, insomuch that Sir *Edward Coke* undertook from thence to prophecy the decay of the *Common-Law*: though in that prophecy of his, others foresaw nothing but his fall. Never book came out more seasonably for the Church than this; never Comment came out more suitably, than Mr. *Gregories* Notes upon it: He writ well, and advised better: being good to give, better to manage Counsel; which he never offered till called, and never urged longer than it pleased; answering no question of consequence unless upon emergent occasion, without deliberation; observing the design of people, that ask  
most

*K. Charles* most commonly to try his sufficiency, as well as improve their own: However, being sure that time is likelier to increase than abate the weight of a result, discovering as well what may be returned suitably to the general temper, as what may be answered fitly to the particular instance.

\* In Tib-  
rio.

What alterations he designed for the Churches benefit, were not *sodain*, but *leisurely*. To force men out of one extreame into another, is an attempt as dangerous, as it is invidious; as awakening most opposition, and obnoxious to most hazard. Wise \* *Tacitus* observeth, that men have reformed inveterate habits more by yielding to them, than engaging against them; though a man must so yield as not to *encourage*, while he doth so *countermine*, as not to *exasperate*: Although he *was always able*, yet was he *never willing* to mend the Copy his Superiors had set him, unless owned as from former instruction, lest they grew jealous, he valued his own experience before theirs, who measure mens sufficiency from their caution, and not from their parts; from what they can forbear, rather than from what they can do.

To conclude, he was one of those able men that cannot be *eminent*, unless they be *great*: men of great merit, behave themselves so negligently in small affairs, as that you shall never understand their abilities, unless you advance their persons. Mens capacities & sufficiencies have certain bounds prescribed them; within the limits of which they are able to acquit themselves with credit and applause: But if you advance them above, or depress them below their spheres, they shew nothing but debilities and miscarriages. Onely this he was always  
com-

commended for ; That having the management of *K. Charles* Affairs intrusted to him, he underwent all the mis-carriages himself, ascribing all the honour and sufficiency to his Patron ; carrying his hand in all actions so, that his Master had the applause of whatever was either conceded or denied in publick, without any other interruption from Mr. *Ridly*, than what became the bare instrument of his commands, however he ordered the matter in private.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Martin.*

HE would merrily say, That if his Father had left him fourscore pounds a year, where he left him but forty, he would never have been a Scholar, but have lived on his Lands: whereas his Inheritance being a large encouragement, but a small *maintenance*, he made up in study what he wanted in Estate ; first at *Winchester*, and then at *New-Colledge*, where his inclination led him to Divinity, but Bishop *Andrews* his advice perswaded him to the *Civil Law*, wherein he attained that great proficiency he was eminent for, thus:—

“ He had weekly transmitted to him from some Proctors at *Lambeth*, the brief heads of the most important Causes which were to be tryed in the High-Commission. Then with some of his familiar friends in that faculty, he privately pleaded those Causes ; acting in their  
“ *Chamber*,

*R. Charles* "Chamber what was done in the Court: But Mr. *Martin* making it his work, exceeded the rest in  
 "amplifying and aggravating any fault, to move  
 "anger and indignation against the guilt thereof;  
 "or else in extenuating or excusing it, to procure  
 "pity, obtain pardon, or at least prevail for a  
 "lighter punishment:—Whence no Cause came a-  
 mits to him in the *High-Commission*: For, saith  
 my Author, he was not to make new Armour,  
 but only to put it on, and buckle it; not to in-  
 vent, but apply arguments to his Clients.—As  
 in decision of Controversies in his Courts, he had  
 a moderate and middle way: so in managing of af-  
 fairs in Parliament, he had a healing Method:  
 Whence in most Debates with the Lords, where  
 Mr. *Noy's* Law and Reason could not convince, Sir  
*Henry Martin's* \* Expedients could accommodate.  
 For which services, and his other merits, he was  
 made Judge of the *Prerogative-Court* for probate  
 of Wills, and of the *Admiralty* for Foreign  
 Trade. Whence King *JAMES* would say mer-  
 rily, *He was a mighty Monarch by Sea and Land,*  
*the Lords, over the Dead and the Living.*

\*As about  
 the Petition  
 of Right,  
 in refe-  
 rence to  
 which, he  
 & Ser-  
 geant  
 Glanville  
 satisfied  
 the Lords.

### *Observations on the Life of Sir John Bramstone.*

Sir *John Bramstone*, Knight, was born at *Maldon* in *Essex*, bred up in the *Middle-Temple* in the study of the *Common-Law*, where-  
 in he attained to such eminency, that he was by  
 King

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King *Charles* made Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench. *K. Charles*

One of deep Learning, solid Judgement, integrity of Life, gravity of behaviour, above the envy of his own age, and the scandal of posterity. One instance of his I must not forget, writes the Historian effectually, relating to the foundation wherein I was bred: Sergeant *Bruerton* by Will bequeathed to *Sidney-Colledge* well-nigh three thousand pounds, but (for haste, or some other accident) it was so imperfectly done, that (as Dr. *Sam. Ward* informed me) the gift was invalid in the rigour of the Law. Now Judge *Bramstone*, who married the Sergeants Widow, gave himself much trouble (gave himself indeed, doing all things *gratis*) for the speedy payment of the money to a farthing, and the legal settling thereof on the Colledge, according to the true intencion of the dead. He deserved to live in better times. The delivering his judgement on the King's side in the case of Ship-money, cost him much trouble, and brought him much honour, as who understood the consequence of that *Maxime, Salus populi suprema lex*; and that Ship-money was thought legal by the best Lawyers, voted down arbitrarily by the worst Parliament: they hearing no Counsel for it, though the King heard all men willingly against it. Yea, that Parliament thought themselves not secure from it, unless the King renounced his right to it by a new Act of his own. Men have a touch-stone to try Gold, and Gold is the touch-stone to try Men. Sir *William Noy's* gratuity shewed, that this Judges *Inclination* was as much above corruption as his *Fortune*; and that he would not, as well as *needed* not, be base.

Equally



K. Charles

Equally intent was he upon the Interest of the State and the Maximes of Law, as which mutually supported each other.—He would never have a Witness interrupted, or helped, but have the patience to hear a naked, though a tedious truth: the best Gold lyeth in the most Ore, and the clearest truth in the most simple discourse. When he put on his Robes, he put off Respects; his private affections being swallowed up in the publick service. This was the Judge whom *Popularity* could never flatter to any thing *unsafe*, nor favour oblige to any thing *unjust*. Therefore he died in peace, 1645. when all others were engaged in a War, and shall have the reward of his integrity of the Judge of Judges at the great Assize of the world.

*Admin.  
Card. de  
Rich. p.  
283.*

Having lived as well as read *Justinian's* maxime to the Prætor of *Læonia*; *All things which appertain to the well-government of a State, are ordered by the constitutions of Kings, that give life and vigour to the Law: Whereupon, who so would walk wisely, shall never fail, if he propose them both for the rule of his actions;—For a King is the living Law of his Countrey.*

Nothing troubled him so much as (shall I call it?) the shame, or the fear of the consequence of the unhappy contest between his Excellent Majesty and his meaner Subjects in the foresaid case of Ship-money; no enemy being contemptible enough to be despised, since the most despicable command greater strength, wisdom, and interest than their own, to the designs of Malice or Mischief.—A great man managed a quarrel with *Archee* the King's Fool; but by endeavouring to explode him the Court, rendred him at last so considerable, by calling

calling the enemies of that person (who were not a few) to his rescue, as the fellow was not onely able to continue the dispute for divers years, but received such encouragement from standers by (the instrument of whose malice he was) as he oft broke out in such reproaches, as neither the dignity of that excellent person's calling, nor the greatness of his parts, could in reason or manners admit:—But that the wise man "discerned, that "all the fool did was but a symptom of the strong "and inveterate distemper raised long since in the "hearts of his Countreymen against the great mans "Person and Function.

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir Augustine Nicols.*

**S**Ir *August. Nicols*, son to *Tho. Nicols*, Sergeant at Law, was born at *Ecton* in *Northamptonshire*. Now though according to the rigour of our Fundamental Premises, he be not within our cognisance under this Title, yet his merit will justifie us in presenting his Character. He was bred in the study of the Common Law, wherein he attained to such knowledge, that *Qu. Eliz.* made him, and *K. James* continued him his own Serjeant, whence he was freely preferred one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas. I say freely, King *James* commonly calling him the Judge that would give no money. Not to speak of his moral qualifications; and subordinate abilities; he was renowned for his special judiciary Endowments; of very calm affe-

K. Charles

Equally intent was he upon the Interest of the State and the Maxims of Law, as which mutually supported each other.—He would never have a Witness interrupted, or helped, but have the patience to hear a naked, though a tedious truth: the best Gold lyeth in the most Ore, and the clearest truth in the most simple discourse. When he put on his Robes, he put off Respects; his private affections being swallowed up in the publick service. This was the Judge whom *Popularity* could never flatter to any thing *unsafe*, nor favour oblige to any thing *unjust*. Therefore he died in peace, 1645. when all others were engaged in a War, and shall have the reward of his integrity of the Judge of Judges at the great Assize of the world.

Admin.  
Card. de  
Rich. p.  
283.

Having lived as well as read *Justinian's* maxime to the Prætor of *Laconia*; *All things which appertain to the well-government of a State, are ordered by the constitutions of Kings, that give life and vigour to the Law: Whereupon, who so would walk wisely, shall never fail, if he propose them both for the rule of his actions;—For a King is the living Law of his Countrey.*

Nothing troubled him so much as (shall I call it?) the shame, or the fear of the consequence of the unhappy contest between his Excellent Majesty and his meaner Subjects in the foresaid case of Ship-money; no enemy being contemptible enough to be despised, since the most despicable command greater strength, wisdom, and interest than their own, to the designs of Malice or Mischief.—A great man managed a quarrel with *Archee* the King's Fool; but by endeavouring to explode him the Court, rendred him at last so considerable, by calling

calling the enemies of that person (who were not a few) to his rescue, as the fellow was not onely able to continue the dispute for divers years, but received such encouragement from standers by (the instrument of whose malice he was) as he oft broke out in such reproaches, as neither the dignity of that excellent person's calling, nor the greatness of his parts, could in reason or manners admit:—But that the wise man discerned, that all the fool did was but a symptom of the strong and inveterate distemper raised long since in the hearts of his Countreymen against the great mans Person and Function.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Augustine Nicols.*

Sir *August. Nicols*, son to *Tho. Nicols*, Sergeant at Law, was born at *Eaton* in *Northamptonshire*. Now though according to the rigour of our Fundamental Premises, he be not within our cognisance under this Title, yet his merit will justifie us in presenting his Character. He was bred in the study of the Common Law, wherein he attained to such knowledge, that *Qu. Eliz.* made him, and *K. James* continued him his own Serjeant, whence he was freely preferred one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas. I say freely, King *James* commonly calling him the Judge that would give no money. Not to speak of his moral qualifications; and subordinate abilities; he was renowned for his special judiciary Endowments; of very calm affe-

*K. Charl:* erious and moderate passions; of a grave and affable deportment; of a great patience to hear both Parties all they could say; a happy memory; a singular sagacity to search into the material circumstances; Exemplary integrity, even to the rejection of Gratuities after Judgement given, and a charge to his Followers, that they came to their Places clear-handed, and that they should not meddle with any Motions to him, that he might be secured from all appearance of corruption. His forbearing to travel on the Lords day, wrought a Reformation on some of his own Order. Very pitiful and tender he was in case of life, yet very exact in case of blood.

He loved plain and profitable Preaching, being wont to say, *I know not what you call Preaching, but I like them that come neereſt to my Conſcience.* The ſpeech of *Caſar* is commonly known; *Oportet Imperatorem ſtatem mori*; which Biſhop *Jewel* altered and applyed to himſelf, *Decet Episcopum concionantem mori*: of this man it may be ſaid, *Judex mortuus eſt jura datus*; dying in his Calling, as he went the Northern Circuit, and hath a fair Monument in *Kendal-Church* in *Westmerland*. This I obſerve of this good man; that he was ſo good a man, that in the ruſſling times he could be but a bad Magiſtrate, *Cum vel exennenda ſit natura, vel minuenda dignitas*: when he muſt either go out of his eaſe nature, or forego his juſt authority.

Obſerva-

*Observations on the Life of Sir Nich.  
Hyde.*

**S**ir *Nicholas Hyde* was born at *Warder* in *Wiltshire*, where his Father in right of his Wife had a long Lease of that Castle from the Family of the *Arundels*. His Father, I say, (descended from an ancient Family in *Cheshire*) a fortunate Gentleman in all his children, (and more in his Grand-children) some of his under-boughs outgrowing the top-branch, and younger children (amongst whom Sir *Nicholas*) in wealth and honour exceeding the rest of his Family.

He was bred in the Middle-Temple, and was made Sergeant at Law the first of *February*, 1626. and on the eighth day following was sworn Lord Chief-Justice of the Kings-Bench, succeeding in that Office, next save one unto his Country-man Sir *James Ley* (than alive, and preferred Lord Treasurer, born within two miles one of another) and next of all under Sir *Francis Crew* lately displaced. Now, though he entred on his Place with some disadvantage (Sir *Randal* being generally popular) and though in those dayes, it was hard for the same Person to please Court and Countrey, yet he discharged his Office with laudable integrity, until 1631. Prudence obligeth Princes to refer the management of affairs to persons who have the reputation of extraordinary honesty, especially to the transacting of such things

*K. Charles* which notwithstanding their innate justice, may provoke any evil spirits.—The most part of mankind guessing only by their own senses and apprehensions, judge of the affairs by the persons who conduct them. Opinion guideth the world, and the reputation of him that negotiateth, sets a value and price upon his words and actions; and the opinion which is conceived of him is so absolute an Umpire, that there is no appeal from his judgement—Opinion is the strongest thing in the world, Truth the next.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Walter Aston.*

HE was a Gentleman of so much diligence in the *Spanish* Negotiations, that there were no Orders, Cabals, Consultations in that intricate time, &c. he was not acquainted with: Of so much resolution, that there was not a dangerous Message in that great business he would not deliver: Of that excellent converse, that there was not that Minister of State in that jealous Court he was not familiar with. Very observant he was, by *Don Juan Taxardo* means, of the *Spanish* proceedings, and as well skilled with the Duke of *Buckingham's* direction in the *English*; though yet he confessed himself almost lost in those Intrigues, had not the Duke stood between him and the Kings displeasure that suspected him, and the Prince his jealousy that feared him, [He had need have a steady

steady head, that looks into such depths:] But as *K. Charles* he had an excellent faculty of excusing others miscarriages, so he had a peculiar way of salving his own; being advantaged with a great foresight, a deep reservedness, and a ready spirit.

Few understood better the Importance of the *English Trade with Spain*: None pursued more diligently its priviledges and freedom: tracing most of the secret Counsels and resolutions so closely, that he was able with his industry and money to give an account of most proceedings. — In the management whereof he resigned himself to the Duke's disposal, professing to own no judgement or affection but what was guided by his direction. — His own words are these; *Until I know by your Graces favour by what compass to guide my course, I can only follow his Majesties revealed will*: — And the Duke's answer this; *You desire me to give you my opinion; My ancient acquaintance, long custom of loving you, with constancy of friendship, invites me to do you this office of good will.*

My Lord of *Bristol* shuffled the Cards well, but *Sir Walter Aston* played them best. — The first set a design, but the second pursued it, — being happy in an humble and respectful carriage; which opened the breast, and unlocked the hearts of all men to him. *He that looked downward saw the Stars in the water: but he who looked only upward, could not see the waters in the Stars.*

Indeed there was in his countenance such a throne of sweetness, and his words had so powerful a charm, set off with so agreeable and raking gravity, that the respect due to him was not lost in the love he had deserved; nor the love he attained



*K. Charles* to, abated by the respect he commanded; being one that had & gave infinite satisfaction in the Negotiations he engaged in: Wherein among other things, he would urge how unpolicick, and unsuccessful it is for the *Spaniard* to meditate a conquest of *Europe*, where all his Neighbours oppose him, rather than *Asia*, where they would all joyn with him out of Interest and Conscience, both to secure him from *France*, and carry him towards *Turkey*, at whose doors his friend the Emperour was ready to attaque them upon any Mutiny or Rebellion then frequent among them, whose strength (saith *Machiavel*) lyeth more in Tradition than in any real Truth:—Considering the contrary complexions of the people in point of Interest and Religion, that can admit of no considerable coalition upon the approach of a Foreign impression.

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Julius Cæsar.*

**S**Ir *Julius Cæsar*'s Father being Physician to *Queen Elizabeth*, and descended of the ancient Family of the *Dalmatii* in *Italy*, then living at *Tottenham* neer *London*; This his Son was bred in *Oxford*; and after other intermediate preferments, was advanced Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and sworn a Privy-Councillor on *Sunday* the sixth of *July*, 1607. and afterwards was preferred Master of the Rolls. A Person of prodigious bounty to all of worth or want, so that he might seem

to be Almoner-general of the Nation. The Story is *K. Charles* well known, of a Gentleman who once borrowing his Coach (which was as well known to poor people as any Hospital in *England*) was so rendezvouz'd about with Beggars in *London*, that it cost him all the money in his purse to satisfie their importunity, so that he might have hired twenty Coaches on the same terms. Sir *Francis Bacon* Lord *Vernham* was judicious in his Election, when perceiving his Dissolution to approach, he made his last Bed in effect in the house of Sir *Julius*.

He continued more than twenty years Mr. of the Rolls; and though heaved at by some Expectants, sat still in his Place, well poysed therein, with his gravity and integrity. *Vir tantarum Eleemosynarum non movebitur*; a man of so great Alms and Prayers (made by him and for him) shall not be removed. Nor was it without a prosperous Omen, that his chief House in *Hartfordshire* was called *Benington*, that is, *Villa benigna*, the bountiful Village, as one Author will have it; or as another, *Villa beneficii*, the Town of good turns, from the River so named running by it. His Arms were these, viz. Gules, three Roses Argent on a Chief of the first, so many Roses of the second, emblem-ing the fragrantcy of the Memory he hath left behind him.

His Monument in great St. *Hellens*, *London*, being out of the road of ordinary Fancies, was thus designed by himself in form of a Deed in ruffled Parchment, in allusion to his Office as Master of the Rolls.

K. Charles



**O**mnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc præsens  
Scriptum pervenerit; Sciatis me Julium  
Dalmare alias Casarem Militem, utriusque legum  
Doctorem; Elizabethæ Reginae Supremae Curiae  
Admiralitatis iudicem, & unum e Magistris li-  
bellorum; Jacobo Regi à Privatis Conciliis, Cancel-  
larium Scaccarii, Scriniarum Magistrum, hac pra-  
senti Charta mea Confirmasse me Annuente Divino  
Namine naturae debitum libenter solviturum quam  
primum Deo placuerit. In cuius rei memoriam,  
Manum meam, & Sigillum apposui. Datum 27  
Februarii, 1635.



Here his Seal or Coat of Arms is affixed, and  
beneath them is written

*Imperatoris Caes.*

Ha

He dyed the twenty eighth day of *April, Anno K. Charles Domini, 1636.* in the seventy ninth year of his Age. They say of Witches, that they are unable to hurt till they have received an Alms, It's certain, none ever undermined this Gentleman's insufficiency, but such as were advanced by his civility; a civility that *secured him*, as well as it *impowered them*, making his Grants to all persons double kindnessees by *Expedition*, and cloathing his very Denials in such robes of Courtship, as that it was not obviously discernable whether the Request or Denyal were most decent; having this peculiar to himself, That he was very cautious of Promises, lest falling to an Incapacity of performance, he might forfeit his Reputation, and multiply his certain Enemies, by his design of creating uncertain Friends.

Besides, he observed a sure principle of rising, *viz.* That great persons esteem better of such they have done great Courtesies to, than those they have received great Civilities from; looking upon this as their disparagement, the other as their glory.

*Observat*

K. Charles



*Observations on the Lives of Sir Henry, Sir Lucius, Sir Henry Cary, Lords Viscounts Faulkland.*

A Race of accomplished men, the ornaments and supports of their Countrey, which they served with no lesse faithfulness and prudence in their Negotiations abroad, than honour and justice in their Places at home: Of such a Stock of reputation, as might kindle a generous emulation in Strangers, and a noble ambition in those of their own Family. *Henry Cary* Viscount *Faulkland* in *Scotland*, son to *Sir Edward Cary*, was born at *Aldnam* in *Hertsfordshire*; being a most accomplished Gentleman, and a compleat Courtier. By *King James* he was appointed Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and well discharged his Trust therein: But an unruly Colt will fume and chafe (though neither switch nor spur) meerly because back'd. The *Rebellious Irish* will complain, only because kept in subjection, though with never so much lenity; the occasion why some hard speeches were passed on his Government. Some beginning to counterfeit his hand, he used to incorporate the year of his age in a knot flourished beneath his name, concealing the day of his birth to himself. Thus by comparing the date of the month, with his own Birth-day (unknown to such Forgers) he not only discovered many false Writings which were past, but also deterred dishonest Cheaters from

from attempting the like for the future. He made good use of Bishop *Usher's* Interest while he was there, as appears by the excellent Speech that the Bishop made for the King's supply. K. Charles

Being recalled into *England*, he lived honourably in the County aforesaid, until by a sad casualty he broke his Leg on a Stand in *Theobald's Park*, and soon after dyed thereof. He married the sole Daughter and Heir of Sir *Lawrence Tanfield*, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by whom he had a fair Estate in *Oxfordshire*. His death happened *Anno Dom. 1620.* being Father to the most accomplish-Statesman.

2. *Lucius Lord Falkland*, the wildness of whose youth was an argument of the quickness of his riper years: He that hath a spirit to be unruly before the use of his reason, hath mettle to be active afterwards. Quick-silver if fixed, is incomparable; besides that the adventures, contrivances, secrets, confidence, trust, compliance with opportunity, and the other sallies of young Gallants, prepare them more serious undertakings—as they did this noble Lord; great in his Gown, greater in his Buffes; able with his Sword, abler with his Pen: a knowing Statesman, a learned Scholar, and a stout man: One instance of that excess in learning and other great perfections, which portended ruine to this Nation in their opinion, who write, that all Extreams, whether of Vertue or Vice, are ominous, especially that unquiet thing call'd *Learning*, whose *terminum* signifieth its own period, and that of the Empire it flourisheth in; a too universally disreared Learning, being not faithful to the settlements either of Policy or Religion; it being no less ready to

*K. Charles* to discover *blemishes* in the one, than Incongruities in the other: Sophisters (saith my smart Author) like the Countrey of the *Switz*, being as able upon the least advantage proposed, to engage on the wrong side as on the right. As to go no further, this excellent Personage being among the Demagogues that had been for twelve years silenced, and were now to play the prize in Parliament, and shew their little twit-twat, but tedious faculties of speaking, makes the bitterest Invektive against the Governours and government of the Church, that ever was penned in *English*; which though designed by him, it's thought, only to allay the fury of the Faction, by some compliance with it, carried things beyond the moderation and decency of that Assembly, which he made too hot for himself, recyring in cooler thoughts, as many more (that like *Brutus* could not lay the storms they had raised) to *Oxford*, where his Pen was more honourably imployed in detecting the fundamental Error of *Rome* their *infallibility*, and countermining the main props of *Westminster* their *Hypocrisie*; this as Secretary, the other as a Student—in both laying open the little pretensions, whereby poor people were insnared in their Civil and Religious Liberty.—Much was the gall always in his Ink, and very sharp his Pen; but even, flowing, and full his Style, such as became him, whose Learning was not an unsettled mass of reading that whirled up and down in his head, but fixed Observations, that tempered with solid prudence and experience, were the steady Maxims of his Soul fitted for all times and occasions; he having fate (as some Noble-mens sons used to do

for

formerly in the House of Lords) behind the Chair of State from his very child-hood, and owning a large heart capable of making that universal inspection into things that much becomes a Gentleman, being a Master in any thing he discoursed of.—Inasmuch that his general knowledge husbanded by his wit, and set off by his Meine and Carriage, attracted many to come as far to see him, as he professed he would go to see Mr. *Daillee*—which rendred him no less necessary than admirable at Court, until his Curiosity engaging him at *Newbery*, he was strangely slain there, dying as he lived till then, between his Friends and Enemies, to the King's great grief, who valued him, because he understood his parts and services in the Treary at *Oxford*, where he was eminent for two things; the timing of Propositions, and concealing of Inclinations; though no man so passionate for his design, as never enduring that hope that holds resolution so long in Tuspence, but ever allaying it with that fear that most commonly adviseth the best by supposing the worst—His usual saying was, *I pity unlearned Gentlemen in a rainy day.*

*K. Charles*

3. He was Father first to *Henry Lord Falkland*, whose quick and extraordinary parts and notable spirit performed *much*, and promised *more*, having a great command in the Countrey where he was Lord-Lieutenant, a general respect in the house where he was Member, a great esteem at Court (with his Majesty and his Royal Highness the Duke of *Tork*) where he was both *wit*, and *wisdom*—When there was the first opportunity offered to honest men to act, he laid hold of it, and got in spight of all opposition, to a thing called a *Parliament*: By the



*K. Charles* same token, that when some urged he had not sowed his wilde Oats, he is said to reply; *If I have not, I may sow them in the House, where there are Geese enough to pick them up.* And when Sir F. N. should tell him he was a little too wilde for so grave a service, he is reported to reply; *Alas! I am wilde, and my Father was so before me, and I am no Bastard,—as &c.* In which Contention he out-did the most active Demagogues at their own weapon, speaking. When Major *Huntington* and his followers were for the long Parliament, Sir F. N. L. S. &c. were for the secluded Members, My Lord carried all the County for an absolute free *Parliament*: which he lived to see, and act in so successfully, that he was voted generally higher in trusts and services; had he not been cut off in the prime of his years; as much missed when dead, as beloved when living——A great instance of what a strict Education (for no man was harder bred) a general Converse, and a noble Temper can arrive to; and what an Orator can do in a Democracy, where the Affections of many is to be wrought upon, rather than the judgment of few to be convinced. A golden tongue falling under a subtle head under such a constitution, hath great influence upon the whole Nation.

Observa-

*Observations on the Life of Sir James  
Ley, Earl of Marlborough.*

Sir *James Ley*, son of *Henry Ley* Esquire (one of great Ancestry, who, saith my Author, on his own cost, with his men, valiantly served King *Henry* the Eighth, at the siege of *Boloin*) being his Fathers sixth son, (and so in probability barred of his inheritance) endeavoured to make himself an Heir by his Education, applying his Book in *Brazen-Nose-Colledge*, and afterwards studying the Laws of the Land in *Lincolns-Inne*, wherein such his proficiency, King *James* made him Lord Chief-Justice in *Ireland*. "Here he practised the charge King *James* gave him at his going over, (yea, what his own tender Conscience gave himself) namely, not to build his Estate upon the ruines of a miserable Nation, but aiming by the impartial execution of Justice, not to enrich himself, but civilize the People. But the wise King would no longer loose him out of his own Land, and therefore recalled him home about the time when his Fathers Inheritance, by the death of his five elder brethren descended upon him. It was not long before Offices and Honours flowed in fast upon him, being made by

|                                       |  |   |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| King <i>James</i>                     |  | King <i>Charles</i>   |
| 1. Attorney of the Court of<br>Wards. |  | 1. Earl of <i>Marl-</i><br><i>borough</i> in <i>Wilt-</i><br><i>shire</i> |

- K. Charles* 2. Chief-Justice of the Upper Bench, the 18 of his Reign *Jan. 29.* *shire, immediately after the King's Coronation.*
3. Lord Treasurer of England in the 22 of his Reign, *Dec. 22.* 2. Lord President of the Council, in which place he died<sup>3</sup>, *Anno Dom. 1639.*
4. Baron *Ley* of *Ley* in *Devonshire*, the last of the same month.

He was a person of great Gravity, Ability, and Integrity: And as the *Caspian* Sea is observed neither to ebbe nor flow, so his mind did not rise or fall, but continued the same constancy in all conditions; a good temper enough for a Judge, but not for a Statesman, and for any Statesman, but a Lord Treasurer; and for any Lord Treasurer but in King *CHARLES* his active time, who was put to it to find out such stirring men as might recover him from the hazard and defection he was fallen into in Purse and Power.

### *Observations on the Life of Sir John Cook.*

*S*ir *John Cook*, younger Brother to Sir *Francis Cook*, born at *Trusley* (in the Hundred of *Apple-tree*) in *Derbyshire*, of ancient and worshipful Parentage, and allied to the best Family in that Countrey; was bred Fellow of *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where his wit being designed his Estate, he

he was chosen Rhetorick-Lecturer in the University, where he grew eminent for his ingenious and critical reading in that School, where Rhetorick seemed to be not so much an Art, as his Nature; being not only the subject, but the very frame of his Discourse. Then travelled he beyond the Seas for some years (when his judgment was fitted for foreign Observations by domestick experience) in the company of a Person of quality, returning thence rich in Languages, Remarks, and Experience, waving all the dangers incident to him for his Religion, by a wary Profession, that he came to learn, and not to search; being first related to Sir Fulke Grevil, Lord Brook, who did all mens business but his own; he was thence preferred to be Secretary to the Navy, then Master of the Requests, and at last Secretary of State for twenty years together. Being a very zealous Protestant, he did all good offices for the advancement of true Religion: His Contemporaries character him a grave and a prudent man in gate, apparel, and speech; one that had his Intellectuals very perfect in the dispatch of business till he was eighty years old; when foreseeing those Intrigues that might be too hard for his years, he with his Majesties good leave retired as *Moses* did, to die when his eyes were not dim, &c. having kept himself strictly to the Law of the Land: Insomuch, that being sent to command Bishop Williams from *Westminster*; and being asked by the stout Bishop, by what authority he commanded a man out of his house and his free-hold, he was so tender of the point, that he never rested till he had his pardon for it. Much ado he had to keep the King's favour for his

compliance with the Faction; witness his third submission; and as much ado to retain the Factions good opinion for his service to the King, witness his several Apologies in Parliament to this purpose; "That it was a hard thing, that they who should  
 "have thanks for the good offices they did the  
 "People with the KING, had now nothing but  
 "censures for the same offices they did the King  
 "with his people—Never was any man more  
 put to it to reconcile the two readings of that Text  
*καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν* } *δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν*—which he could never have  
*καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν* done, but that his old rule safe-guarded him,  
*viz.* "That no man should let what is unjustifi-  
 "able or dangerous appear under *his hand*, to give  
 "Envy a *steady aim* at his place or person; *nor*  
 mingle Interests with great men made desperate by  
 debts or Court-injuries, whose falls hath been  
 ruinous to their wisest followers; *nor* pry any fur-  
 ther into *secrecy*, than rather to *secure*, than *show*  
*himself*; nor impart that to a friend, that may im-  
 power him to be an enemy. Besides that his years  
 excused in him that caution some obstinate men  
 want that are broken with vicissitudes, because they  
 consider not that the forwardest in turmoils are  
 least regarded when things return to a calm.

He served the time out of Christian discretion,  
 in finding out the seasons of things commendably.  
 He complied out of some infirmity in particular  
 accommodations pardonably; but neither of igno-  
 rance or design, in pursuance of his own, or any o-  
 ther mans plot unfaithfully. Indeed he must have  
 wrenched and sprained his grave soul with the  
 short turnings in those dayes, if it had been true,  
 that

that he should shuffle a *Scotts* Paper (instead of the *K. Charles* genuine Articles of Pacification at *York*) which the *Earls of Holland, Pembroke, &c.* disavowed to the Northern Commissioners faces (my Lord of *Pembroke* saying, *That indeed as he took Horse, and his Friends being busie about him, such a Paper was put into his hand, but he opened it not untill he came to his Majesty*) and his Majesty burned in the face of both Kingdoms; whereby they say he was dismissed, which I am not willing to believe, only I find him hereafter bring Propositions from the Parliament (as they called it) to the King, as actively as formerly he had carried Messages from the King to the Parliament:—Indeed he had an happy mixture of Discretion and Charity, whereby he could allow to things & persons more than men of straighter apprehensions, or narrower affections were able to do. Indeed, though as I told you otherwise wary, he broke an Affair to a Partizan that kept him under all his days: & he that entertains a dangerous design, puts his head into an halter, and the halter into his hand to whom he first imparts it.—*Sir Francis Windesbank* and he fell into extreams; which balanced, might have supported the Government, if they had directed their particular inclinations and indulgences, by the measures of the general interest and temper.

*Observations on the Life of the Earl of Danby.*

**A**Ll that I find of this plain Noble-man, is written on his Tomb-stone at *Dantsey* in *Wiltshire*. Here lyeth the Body of *Henry Danvers*, second son to Sir *John Danvers* Knight, and Dame *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Co-Heir to *Nevill Lord Latimer*. He was born at *Dantsey* in the County of *Wilt*, Anno Dom. 1573. being bred up partly in the Low-Country Wars, under *Maurice* Earl of *Nassau*, afterwards Prince of *Orange*, and in many other Military actions of those times, both by Sea, and by Land. He was made a Captain in the Military Wars of *France*, and there Knighted for his good service under *Henry* the fourth the then *French* King. He was employed as Lieutenant of the Horse, and Sergeant-Major of his whole Army in *Ireland*, under *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles* Baron of *Mountjoy*, in the Reign of *Queen Eliz.* By King *James* the first, he was made Baron of *Dantsey*, and Peer of this Realm; as also Lord President of *Munster*, and Governour of *Guernsey*. By King *Charles* the first, he was created Earl of *Danby*, made one of his Privy-Council, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter. In his later time, by reason of imperfect health, considerably declining more and more his Employments, full of honours, wounds, and

and days, he died *Anno Domini* 1643.

L A V S D E O.

For many years before, *Sir George* had not been more magnificently mounted (I mean the solemnity of his Feast more sumptuously observed) than when this Earl, with the Earl of *Morton*, were installed Knights of the Garter. One might have there beheld the abridgment of *England* and *Scotland* in their Attendance. The *Scottish* Earl (like *Xenues* his picture) adorned with all Art and costliness, whilst our *English* Earl (like the plain sheet of *Apelles*) by the gravity of his Habit, got the advantage of the gallantry of his Corrivall with judicious beholders. He died without Issue in the beginning of our Civil Wars, and by his Will made 1639, settled his large Estate on his hopeful Nephew *Henry D'Anvers*, snatch'd away (before fully of age, to the great grief of all good men.

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*Observations on the Life of Sir George Crook.*

**S**ir *George Crook*, son of *Sir John Crook*, and *Elizabeth Unton* his Wife, was born at *Chilton* in *Buckinghamshire*, in the second year of the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*; bred first in *Oxford*, then a double Reader in the Inner Temple, Sergeant at Law, and the King's Sergeant; Justice first of the Common Bench, 22. *Jac.* and then of the Upper Bench, 4 *Caroli*. His ability



*K. Charles* in his Profession is sufficiently attested by his own printed Reports ; Eight eminent Judges of the Law out of their knowledge of his great Wisdom, Learning, and Integrity, approving and allowing them to be published for the common benefit. His only defect was, that he was against the ancient Naval-aid called Ship-money, both publickly in *Westminster-Hall*, and privately in his judgement demanded by the King, even at that time when our Neighbours not only inroached upon our Trade, but disputed our right in the Narrow-seas, though concluded to subscribe (according to the course of the Court) by plurality of Voices. The Country-mans wit (levelled to his brain) will not for many years be forgotten ; That Ship-money may be gotten by *Hook*, and not by *Crook* ; though since they have paid Taxes (*Loyns to the little finger, and Scorpions to the rod of Ship-money*) but whether by *Hook* or *Crook*, let others enquire: *Hampden's* share for which he went to Law, being but eighteen shillings, though it cost the Nation since eighteen millions.

Considering his declining and decaying age, and desiring to examine his life, and prepare an account to the supream Judge, he petitioned King *Charles* for a Writ of *Ease* ; which though in some sort denied, (what wise Master would willingly part with a good Servant ?) was in effect granted unto him. For the good King (exactng from his Subjects no services beyond their years and abilities ; and taking it better at his hands, that he confessed his infirmities, than if he had concealed them) discharged him for the pains, though he allowed him the fees and honour of Chief-Justice while he lived.

lived.—Wherefore in gratitude as well as conscience, however he was misled in the foresaid matter of Ship money, he abhorred the Faction heartily; for he would say of *Hampden*, *He is a dangerous person, take heed of him.*—and loved the Church as heartily; for we are told by a person of great worth and credit, That having read over the Book of Canons 1640 when it first came out, and was so much spoken against, he lifted up his hands, and gave hearty thanks to Almighty God, that he had lived to see such good effects of a Convocation. In a word, he was no less in his Life, than he is in his Epitaph now dead, which runs thus;

*Georgius Crook Eques Auratus, unus iusticiario-  
rum de Banco Regis, Judicio Linceato, & animo  
presenti insignis, veritatis heres, quem nec mina  
nec bonos allexit: Regis au horitatem & populi li-  
bertatem aquâ lance Libavit; Religione cordatus,  
vitâ innocuus, manu expansâ, Corde humili pauperes  
irrogavit: mundum vicit & deseruit, Anno Ærat.  
Lxxxii, Annoque R. C. I. xvii, Anno Domini  
MDCXLI.*

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Rob. Armstroder.*

**H**E was a great Soldier, a skilful Antiquary,  
and a good Fellow: In the first capacity I  
finde him bringing off five hundred *English*  
for three miles together without the loss of a

*K. Charles* man, from six thousand *Spaniards*, along a plain Champion, where the Enemy might have surrounded them at pleasure.—Well he could handle bright armour in the Field, better he understood that more rusty in the Tower; therefore in his second capacity we have him *picking up* old Coyn, valuing more a Dollar which he might *find*, than a pound he might *spend*: Yet though his mind was taken with the Curiosities of former Times, his inclination was very compliant with the mode of his own; for he was excellent company, in which capacity none more prevalent than he in *Germany*, where they talk much; none more acceptable in *Denmark*, where they drink hard; none more taking in *Sweden*, where they droll smartly. His humble proposition and submission in behalf of the Elector, was accepted by the Emperour, 1630. He went to *Denmark*; and the first night he arrived he pleased the King so well in drinking healths, that his Majesty ordered that his business should be dispatched that very night, and he shipped when asleep, as he was to his own amazement when awaked, and the amazement of all *England* when returned; he being here before some thought he had been there.—*Humour is the Mistress of the world.*

Neither was he more intent upon the pleasing of Foreign Princes, than careful in the honour of his own, especially in his faith, word, and impregnable honesty; for he knew a faithless Prince is beloved of none; but suspected by his friends, not trusted of his enemies,—and forsaken of all men in his greatest necessities.

Yet he was not so taken with antique Medals as broad,

broad, but he promoted a new invention at home: *K. Charles* for to him & *Sir H. Wotton* we owe it, that *F. Klein* the *German*, a very eminent Artist in working Tapestry, came over to serve *K. Charles* the first, a *Virtuoso*, judicious in all Liberal mechanical Arts, and for 100 pounds *per ann.* pension, so improved that Manufacture, at this time very compleat at *Mortlack*, in a house built by *Sir Francis Crane* upon King *James* his motion, who gave two thousand pounds towards it in that place.—General *Tilly* would say before *Gustavus Adolphus* came into *Germany*, that he was happy for three things: That he heard Mass daily; that he had never touched a woman; and that he had never lost a battel.—What ever *Sir Robert* could say to the first, he was very prosperous for the last; that he never failed of success either in fighting or treating; in the Field, or in the Chamber.

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### *Observations on the Life of Philip Earl of Arundel.*

**H**AD his Faith been as Orthodox as his Father's Faithfulness was eminent, *K. James* his gratitude, and his Uncle *Northampton's* policy had raised him as high as his Father hath been, and his son is. But since his opinion made him a Separatist from the Church, and his temper a recluse from the Court, we have him in a place of Honour only as *Earl Marshal*, while we finde his Brother in a place of Profit, as Lord Treasurer

**K. Charles** Treasurer—though both in a place of *Trust* as Privy-Counsellors, — where this Earl approved himself a confutation of his *a* Uncles maxim; *That a through-paced Papist could not be a true-hearted Subject*; being as good an *English-man* in his heart, as he was a *Catholick* in his conscience; only the greatness of his spirit would not suffer any affronts in *b* Parliament; whence he endured some discouragement from the Court, insomuch that the House of Lords finding him a Prisoner, when they sat 1626. would not act until after several of their Petitions he was released; when, his temper yielding with years, he was very complying, only he presumed to marry his Son to an Heiress the King had disposed of elsewhere; which yet he laid upon the women that made the Match. Indeed the politicke Observator saith; *That women of all creatures are the most dextrous in contriving their designs, their natural sprightfulness of imagination, attended with their leisure, furnishing them with a thousand Expedients, and proposing all kinds of Overtures with such probability of happy success, that they easily desire, and as eagerly pursue their design.*

When he was sometimes barred the service of his own time, he studied those before him, being a fond Patron of Antiquaries and *Antiquity*, of whose old pieces he was the greatest Hoarder in Europe, setting aside *Ferdinando de Medicis*, grand Duke of *Tuscany*, from whom by the mediation of Sir *Henry Wotton*, he borrowed many an Antique Sculpture, which furnished his Archives so well, (as we may guess by Mr. *Selden's Marmora Arundeliana*) that as my Lord *Burleigh's* Library was the most complete one for a Politician, my Lord *Bacon's* for a

a See the  
Earl of Nor-  
thampton's  
Speech.

b See Lord  
Spencer.

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Philosopher, Mr. *Selden's* for an Historian, Bishop *K. Chant*  
*Usher's* for a Divine, my Lord of *Northampton's* for  
 a Poet, Mr. *Oughtred's* for a Mathematician, Dr.  
*Hammond's* for a Grammarian, or an universal Cri-  
 tick; so the Earl of *Arundel's* was the best for an  
 Herald and an *Antiquary*, a \* Library not for shew,  
 but use.

Neither was he more in his study, where he be-  
 stowed his melancholy hours, than in Council,  
 where he advised three things in reference to the  
 Foreign troubles: 1. Correspondence abroad.  
 2. Frequent Parliaments. 3. Oftner progresses  
 into the Countries. Neither was he less in the  
 Field than in Council, when General against the  
*Scots* (the more shame!) that Protestants should at  
 a time rebel against their King, when Papists ventu-  
 red their lives for him: After which Expedition he  
 was ordered beyond Sea with the Queen-Mother  
 of *France*, 1639. when they say he looked back  
 on *England* with this wish, *May it never have need*  
*of me.*

It's true, some observe, that the *Scots* who cried  
 upon him as a Papist, yet writ under-hand to him  
 their *Noble Lord*, as they did to *Essex* and *Holland*  
 so effectually, that they had no heart to that War  
 afterward;—and it is as true, that thereupon a  
 schedule was now the second time given of the par-  
 ties that combined against the Government, viz.  
 1. The busie medlers that had got the plausible  
 trick of Haranguing since King *James's* time, nor  
 used in Parliament from *H. 6.* time to his. 2. The  
 covetous Landlords, Inclosers, Justices of the  
 Peace that ruled in the Country, and would do  
 so in Parliament. 3. Needy men in debt, that  
 durst

\* Nobly  
 communi-  
 cated to  
 all ingeni-  
 ous per-  
 sons by the  
 honourable  
 H. Howard  
 of Nor-  
 folk, grea-  
 ter in his  
 own worth  
 than in  
 any titles.

*K. Charles* durst not shew their heads in time of Peace. 4. Puritans, that were so troublesom against *Hatton*, &c. in Queen *Eliz.* dayes; and under pretence of Religion, overthrew all Government. 5. Such Malecontents as either lost the preferment they had, or had not what they were ambitious of, with their Kindred and Dependants. 6. Lawyers, that second any attempt upon the Prefogative, with their Cases, Records, and Antiquities. 7. London Merchants, that had been discovered by *Cranfield* and *Ingram*, as to their cheats put upon the King in his Customs and Plantations. 8. Common-wealthsmen, that had learned from *Holland* in Queen *Eliz.* days to pray for the Queen and the State. And 9. (Because there cannot be a Treason without a P—) such Recusants as were *Hispanioliz'd*, whereof this Earl was none: but though as a Church-Papist he had most of the Catholick Peers votes devolved on him; he never bestowed them undutifully, albeit sometimes slowly and resolutely. A great friend he was to all new Inventions, save those that tended to do that by few hands, which had been usually done by many; because, said he, *While private men busie their heads to take off the Poors employment, the publick Magistrate must trouble his to find them maintenance.* Either he, or the Earl of *Northampton* used to say (when asked what made a compleat man?) *To know how to cast Accounts:* an accomplishment though ordinary, yet might save many an Estate in England.

*Observations on the Life of Esme Duke  
of Richmond.*

Great in his Ancestors honour, greater in his own vertue, and greatest of all, in that like the Star he wore, the higher he was, the less he desired to seem, affecting rather the worth, than the pomp of nobleness;—therefore his courtesie was his nature, not his craft; and his affableness not a base & servile popularity, or an ambitious insinuation; but the native gentleness of his disposition, and his true value of himself: He was not a stranger to any thing worth knowing, but best acquainted with himself, and in himself, rather with his weaknesses for Caution, than his abilities for Assertion. Hence he is not so forward in the traverses of War, as in *Treaties of Peace*, where his honour ennobled his cause, and his moderation advanced it: He and my Lord of *Southampton* managing the several Overtures of Peace at *London*, *Oxford*, and *Oxford* with such honourable freedom and prudence, that they were not more deservedly regarded by their Friends, than importunately courted by their Enemies; who seeing they were *such*, could not be patient till they were *theirs*, though in vain, their honours being impregnable as well against the Factions kindness as against their power. At Conferences his conjectures were as solid as others judgements; his strict observation of what was passed, furnishing him for an happy guess of what



*K. Charles* what was to come: Yet his opinion was neither variably unconstant, nor obstinately immoveable but framed to present occasions, wherein his method was to begin a second advice from the failure of his first—though he hated doubtful suspense when he might be resolute. This one great defect was his good nature, that he could never distrust till it was dangerous to suspect; and he gave his *Enemy* so much advantage, that he durst but own him for his *friend*.—One thing he repented of, that he advised his Majesty to trust Duke *Hamilton* his Adversary with the affairs of *Scotland*, in compliance with the general opinion, rather than the Marquess *Huntly* his friend in compliance with his own real interest; an advice wherein his publick-spiritedness superseded his particular concerns, and his good nature his prudence:—So true is it, that the honest mans single uprightness works in him that confidence, which oft-times wrongs him, and gives advantage to the subtle, while he rather pities their faithlessness, than repents of his credulity: so great advantage have they that look *only* what they may do, over them that consider what they *should* do, and they that observe only what is *expedient*, over them that judge only what is *lawful*.—Therefore when those that thought themselves wise, left their sinking Sovereign, he stuck to his Person while he lived, to his body when dead, and to his cause as long as he lived himself:—attending the first resolutely, burying the second honourably, and managing the third discreetly; undertaking without rashness, and performing without fear; never seeking dangers, never avoiding them. Although when his Friends were conquered by the Rebels

Rebels, he was conquered by himself, retiring to that privacy, where he was *guessed* at, not *known*; *K. Charles* where he *saw* the world *unseen*; where he made yielding a conquest; where cheerful & unconcerned in expectation, he provided for the worst, and hoped the best, in the constant exercise of that Religion, *weh* he & his maintained more effectually with their *Examples*, than with their *Swords*; doing as much good in encouraging the Orthodox by his presence, as in relieving them by his bounty.—In a word, I may say of him, as *Macarius* doth of *Justine*; There was no Vice but he thought below him; and no Vertue which he esteemed not either his duty or ornament. Neither was his prudence narrower than his vertue, nor his vertue streighter than his fortune. His main service was his inspection into the Intrigues and Reserves of the *Parliamentiers* at *Uxbridge*, and his cajoling of the *Independants* and *Scots* at *London*, where the issue of his Observations was; That the King should as far as his conscience could allow, comply with the unreasonable desires of an illimited ambition, to make it sensible of the evils that would flow from its own Counsels: being confident, as events have assured us, that the people would see the inconvenience of their own wishes; and that they would return that power which they sought for, but could not manage, to its proper place, before it became their ruine:—for *unbounded Liberty* overthroweth its self. But alas! it was too late to grant them any thing, who by having so much, were only encouraged more eagerly to desire what they knew the King in honour could not give;—For when a Prince is once rendred odious or contemptible, his *Indulgences*

*K. Charles* gences do him no less hurt than injuries.

As his services were great, so were his Recreations useful \*; Hunting, that manly Exercise being both his pleasure & his accomplishment: his accomplishment, I say, since it is in the list of *Machiavel's* rules to his Prince, as not only the wholesomest and cheapest diversion, both in relation to himself, and his People, but the best Tutor to Horse-manship, Stratagems, and Situations, by which he may afterwards place an Army; whatever Sir *Philip Sidney's* apprehension was, who used to say; *Next hunting, he liked hawking worst.*

\* See his late Majesty's commission to him at his departure from Hampton-Court.

### *Observations on the Life of the Lord Chief-Justice Banks.*

**S**ir *John Banks* his Parents perceiving him judicious and industrious, bestowed good breeding on him in *Graves-Inne*, in hope he should attain to preferment; wherein they were not deceived. For after he was called to the Bar for some years, he solicited Suits for others, thereby attaining great practical experience. He afterwards might laugh at them, who then did smile at him, leaving many behind him in Learning, whom he found before him in time, until at last he was Knighted by King *Charles*, made first his Attorney, then Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, dying in the midst and heat of our Civil Dissentions. He ordered by his Will, that his Body should be buried under some plain Monument at the discretion

tion of his Executors; and after an Epiraph mentioning the several Places he had held, this Motto to be added;

*Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed Nomini  
tuo da Gloriam.*

By his said Will he gave to the value of thirty pound *per ann.* with other Emoluments, to be bestowed in pious Uses, and chiefly to set up a Manufacture of course Cottons in the Town of *Keswick*.

He was one whom the Collar of S.S.S. worn by Judges and other Magistrates became very well, if it had its name from *Sanctus, Simon, Simplicius*; no man being more seriously pious, none more singly honest.—When Sir *Henry Savile* came to Sir *Edward Cook* then at bowls, in Arch-Bishop *Abbot's* behalf, and told him he had a Case to propose to him: Sir *Edward* answered; *If it be a Case in Common-Law, I am unworthy to be a Judge, if I cannot presently satisfy you: but if it be a point of Statute-Law, I am unworthy to be a Judge, if I should undertake to satisfy you without consulting my Books.*—Sir *John Banks*, though ready without his Books on the Bench,—yet always resolved Cases out of them in his Chamber; answerable to his saying to Dr. *Sibs*, A good textuary is a good Lawyer, as well as a good Divine.

His invention was prompt and ready; his apprehension sure and solid; his memory capacious and retentive; his knowledge in the Law, and the inward reasons of it, profound; his experience in affairs of State universal, and well laid; patient he

*K. Charles* was in hearing; sparing, but pertinent in speaking; very glad always to have things represented truly and clearly; and when it was otherwise, able to discern through all pretences the real merit of a Cause.

He was a man of singular modesty, of the ancient freedom, plain-heartedness, and integrity of mind: Very grave and severe in his deportment, yet very affable, in such sort, that, as *Tacitus* saith of *Agrippa*; *Illi quod est rarissimum nec facilitas auctoritatem, nec severitas amorem diminuit*: And in a word, so even and circumspect he was in the several turnings and occasions of his life, that though he went himself, and brought over as many as he had any interest in, to the King, I find him under no extraordinary displeasure from the Rebels; and I observe but one unhappiness in his whole life, and that is, that all men speak well of him.

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### *Observations on the Life of Sir Tho. Edmonds.*

**T**HE Trophies of *Miltiades* would not let *Themistocles* sleep, nor the Courts-advancements of his Relations this Gentleman to sit still; having both *Livis's* qualifications, for an eminent man, a great spirit, and a gallant conduct for actions; a sharp wit, and a fluent tongue for advice.—Whence we meet with him Comptroller of the

the Kings Household at home, and his Agent for K. *Charles*  
 \* *Peace* abroad, equally fit for business of courage  
 and resolution, and for affairs of Council and com- \* *In France*  
 plement.—I think it was this Gentleman, who 1629.  
 foreseeing a Contest likely to ensue between the  
*English* and the *Spanish* Embassadors, to the first  
 whereof he belonged, went to *Rome* privately and  
 fetched a Certificate out of the book of Ceremonies  
 (which according to the Canon giveth the rule in  
 such cases) shewing that the King of *England* was  
 to precede him of *Castile*; a good argument, be-  
 cause *ad homines*, wise men having always thought  
 fit to urge not what is most *rational* in its self, but  
 what (all circumstances considered) is most con-  
 vincing. Sir *Thomas Edmonds* used to puzzle the  
*Catholicks* about six Records. 1. The original  
 of *Constantine's* grant of *Rome* to the Pope. 2. *St.*  
*Mark's* grant of the *Adriatique* Gulph to *Venice*.  
 3. The *Salique* Law in *France*. 4. The In-  
 strument whereby King *John* passed away *England*  
 to the Pope. 5. The Letter of King *Lucius*. And  
 6. The Ordinal of the Consecration at the Nags-  
 head.—Neither did he perplex them with these  
 Quæries, more than he angered the Faction with  
 his principles, *Tertio Car. l.* 1. That the King was  
 to be trusted. 2. That the Revenue was to be  
 settled. 3. That the Protestant cause was to be  
 maintained. 4. That Jealousies were to be re-  
 moved, and things past were to be forgotten.

K. Charles



*Observations on the Life of Sir Paul  
Pindar.*

\* At Pet-  
rofs and  
Aleppo.

**H**E was first a Factor, then a Merchant, next a \* Consul; and at last an Embassador in *Turkey*: Whence returning with a good purse and a wary Head-piece, he cast about what he might do to gratifie K. *James* and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* most; and finding them much pleased with acts of Charity and Piety, he repaired the Entry, Front, and Porches of *St. Paul's Cathedral* to all the upper Church, Quire and Chancel, and enriched them with Marble structures and figures of the Apostles, with carvings and guildings far exceeding their former beauty, which cost above two thousand pounds; the act of a good man, said K. *James*, who made him one of the great Farmers of the Customs: in gratitude whereof, Sir *Paul* besides his former expences, took upon him to new build the South Isle, which cost him above 17000*l*.

A Projector (such necessary Evils then countenanced) and he a Clergy-man too, informed K. *James* how he might speedily advance his Revenue by bringing in Spiritual preferments (now forsooth under-rated in the Kings books) to a full value, to the great encrease of first-Fruits and Tithes: the King demands the Lord Treasurer *Cranfield's* judgement thereof: he said, Sir, *You are esteemed a great lover of Learning; you know Clergy-men*  
Educa

*Education is chargeable, their preferment slow, and small: Let it not be said you gain by grinding them; other ways less obnoxious to just censure will be found out to furnish your occasions. The King commended the Treasurer (as doing it only for tryal) adding moreover, I should have accounted thee a very Knave, if encouraging me herein—But he sends for Sir Paul Pindar, and tells him, he must either raise the Customs, or take this course; who answered him nobly: That he would lay thirty thousand pounds at his feet the morrow, rather than he should be put upon such poor projects, as unsuitable to his honour, as to his inclination. Go thy way (saith the King) thou art a good man.*

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Vane Senior.*

**T**Hree things *Henry* the fourth of *France* said would puzzle any man. 1. Whether *Queen Elizabeth* was a Maid? 2. Whether the Prince of *Orange* was valiant? 3. What Religion he himself was of? To which I may add a fourth, viz. what *Sir Henry Vane* was? whom I know not what to call, but what *Mr. Baxter* calleth his son, a *hider*: the Fathers life being as mystical as the Sons faith, men as little understanding the actions of the one, as they did the writing, of the other: But the two powers that govern the world, the best, and the worst, are both invisible. All Northern men are reserved to others, but this was too fine



K. Charles

for his own Countrey-men; neither Sir *John Savile* that brought him to Court, nor Sir *Thomas Wentworth* that advanced him there, understanding either his temper, or his design.—He betrayed any Council he was present at, and marred all the Actions he was employed in. As 1. When he was sent to relate the Emperor's overture to the Queen of *Bohemia*, of thirty thousand pounds *per ann.* and a Marriage between her eldest Son and his Daughter, he did it with those awkward circumstances, that transported the good Lady to such unreasonable expressions, as at that time blasted her cause and expectations. And thence it's thought he brought Sir *Robert Dudley's* Rhapsody of Projects to disparage the King's government, under pretence of supplying his necessities: [it was the way of the late Underminers, to relieve their Masters present need upon future inconveniences; hiding themselves under Proposals, plausible for the present, and fatal in the consequence] which juggles of his were so long too little to be considered, that at last they were too great to be remedied. 2. He is said to have shuffled other Conditions into the Pacification at *Tork*, where he was a Commissioner, than were avowed by the Lords Commissioners, much insisted on by the *Scots*, and burned by the common Hang-man, as false, and contrary to the true Articles. 3. When sent to the House, 1640. to demand 12, or 8, or six Subsidies, he requireth without abatement twelve, with design (as it's judged) to ask so much, as might enrage the Parliament to give nothing;—and so to be dissolved unhappily, or continued *unsuccessfully*. 4. He and his son together betray the Votes passed in the select

select Council, taken by him privately under his <sup>K. Charles</sup> hat, for the reducing of *Scotland* to the ruine of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*—The story is, Sir *Henry Vane* was trusted with the Juncton, where he took Notes of their several opinions; these Notes he puts up in his Closet: A while after, he delivers to his son Sir *H. Vane* Junior, a key to fetch some papers out of a Cabinet, in which he finds another key to an inward shutter; which he opened, and lighted upon this Paper, and communicates it to Mr. *Pym* for the end aforesaid; and upon this very Paper (doest not tremble Reader at this Treason?) alone, the House of Commons voted that brave Earl out of his *Life*, the same day that twentytwo years after the same Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, lost his head. *Absolvi numen.*

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*Observations on the Life of Sir Richard Hutton.*

**S**ir *Richard Hutton* was born at *Perith*, of a worshipful Family (his elder brother was a Knight) and bred in *Jesus-Colledge* in *Cambridge*. He intended his Studies for Divinity, till dissuaded by the importunity of his friends (amongst whom *George* Earl of *Cumberland* was most eminent) he became Barrister of *Graves-Inne*. But in expression of his former Affection to Divinity, he seldom (if ever) took fee of a Clergy-man. Afterwards being Recorder of *York*, he was

**K. Charles** Knighted, and made Judge of the Common-Pleas. In the case of Ship-money, though he was against the King, or rather for the \* Commons, yet his Majesty manifested not the least distaste, continuing to call him the *honest judge*. This person so pious to God, and charitable to the Poor, was dissolved about the beginning of our National misery. Thus God, before he ploweth up a Land with the furrows of a Civil War, first cutteth down his old crop, and gathereth them like ripe sheaves into his Barn. He died at *Sergeants Inn*, and was buried at his earnest desire with the Common-Prayer, without any Funeral-Sermon (save what his own Vertues preached to posterity) at *St. Dunstan's* in the West, on the 27 day of *February*, *Anno Dom.* 1638. Here I learn how circum-spect our counsels must be in reference to things and persons above us; which implying an over-poyzing of our own judgement, and a debating of others, in all cases is obnoxious to jealousy, but in these to danger, under which there are no Qualifications to patience and moderation. The vertues of this happy Judge (if he had cast obstinacy over-board, and let his wisdom tack about in things capable of expedience) whereby he knew well both how to allay the asperities of a bad fortune, and check the excesses of a good one, packing up his fears and hopes in so narrow a compass, as made the last less tedious, and the first more portable; to which he added an unaffected plainness, the argument of his worth and weight, a weakness and emptiness being as safely as usually concluded from too much affectation,—an over-much care of the out-side being an argument of remissness

\* So saith the Historian: but I think as much against them as against the K. not only because the welfare of K. and people are inseparable: but also because there is not a more common saying among the people, than defend me, and spend me.

misness in what is within, it remaining (with one) K. Charles equally rare, to find a starched and formal man wise, as a Woman valiant; the most serious Endeavours of both being to take only the Eyes.

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*Observations on the Life of the Mar-  
quess of Hertford.*

HE was none of those Male-contents who make the sins of their riper years make good the follies of their youth, and maintain *oversights with Treasons*: as he was patient under his Imprisonment for the one, so he was active in his services against the other; not more dutifully submitting to the severity of K. James for his Marriage, then loyally assisting the necessities of King Charles in his Wars. It's natural to return an Injury, it's heroical to overcome it; and be above it, when we are below our selves. It is true, he was drawn in to subscribe the untoward Proposals at York; but it is as true, he did of his own accord declare against the unnatural War in London, where the King advanced him to the ruination of the Prince, and he went himself to the defence of the King: at what time such his popularity, that he raised an Army himself; such his humility, that he yielded the command of it to another, as if he knew nothing but others merit, and his own wants; being one of those choice men that admire every thing in others, and see nothing in themselves.

His

K. Charles His face, his carriage, his habit "favoured of  
 ~~~~~ "Lowliness without affectation, and yet he was

J. H.

"much under what he seemed. His words were  
 "few and soft, never either peremptory or cen-  
 "sorious, because he thought both each man more  
 "wise, and none more obnoxious than himself;  
 "being yet neither *ignorant* nor *careless*, but na-  
 "turally *meek*, lying ever close within himself, arm-  
 "ed with those two Master-pieces, *Resolution* and  
*Duty*, wherewith he meted the blackest Events  
 that did rather *exercise* than *dismay* that spirit that  
 was above them, and that minde that looked be-  
 yond them: He was the easiest enemy, and the  
 truest friend; whom extremities obliged, while  
 (as the Reverend Bishop speaks) he as a well-  
 wrought Vault lay at home the stronger, by how  
 much the more weight he did bear. He offered his  
 life for his Prince's service in the Field, and his per-  
 son for his ransom at the Court; and when many  
 wished they might die for that excellent King,  
*he*, the Earls of *Lindsey* and *Southampton* offered,  
 That since his Majesty was presumed by the Law to  
 do no harm himself, and since he did all by them  
 his Ministers, as they had the honour to act *under*,  
 they might have the happiness to suffer *for* him.

Observa-



*Observations on the Life of Sir John Finch.*

**T**His Family hath had an hereditary eminence in the Study of the Law.—Sir *Henry Finch* [the Author of ΝΟΜΟΤΕΧΝΗ] a learned Sergeant at Law in King *James* his time. Sir *Henage Finch* Recorder of *London* in *K. Charles's* time, and this noble person at the same time the Queen's Attorney, and Speaker of that curious, knowing, and rich Parliament, wherein some have observed, though wide, I suppose, that the House of Commons modestly estimated [consisting of 500] could buy the House of Peers [consisting of 118] thrice over.—*Norimbergh* in *Germany*, and *Florence* in *Italy*, would not of old admit of any learned men in their Council; because great learned men, saith the *Historian* of those places, are perplexed to resolve upon Affairs, making many doubts full of Respects and Imaginations.—Semblably this Parliament was too rich and curious to do any good, though this noble personage, even when the House-doors were shut, and he violently detained in his Chair, refused to countenance their proceedings, always abhorring *Eliot's* doctrine; That men should not be questioned for offences in Parliament: As if that reverend Assembly were called for no other end, than that turbulent spirits might be at liberty to speak Treason once every three years.

When he was questioned for his opinion about  
Ship-4

*K. Charles Ship-money, his judgement was ; That if the whole were in danger, the whole should contribute—When he was urged to read the Remonstrance against Sir R. W. & Car. in Parliament, his opinion was; That at any rate (though at the highest that can be) Authority must be vindicated and redeemed from contempt, since the Life of Government is reputation.*

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### *Observations on the Life of the Lord Say.*

**W**Hether the first impressions of his\* Tutor, (Schoolmasters, though the most neglected, are not the most inconsiderable parts of a Common-wealth :) the narrowness of his fortune (unequal to his honour; younger brothers of noble houses had need in every State to be observed) the repulse, 1613. (other men must look to *whom* they are kind, but Princes to *whom* they are unkind) inclined this personage to popularity: This is certain, no man was better tempered for that humour than himself; being in his nature severe and rigid; in his carriage close and reserved; in his resolutions firm and immoveable; in his apprehension, provident and foreseeing; in his Sentiments nice and curious:—in his Discourse (full of Fears and Jealousies) dissatisfied and bold; in his followers irregular and pretending; in the Law well seen; in the Scripture very ready; in the occurrences of his age very exact; at Lectures most constant; to the liberty of the Subject (then the *Diana* of the

age) most faithful, insomuch that he made a motion 1628. *That they who stood for the Liberties,* forsooth! (then called the Lower-House Lords of the Upper-House) *not fifty might make their Protestation upon record, and that the other party should with subscription of their names enter their reason upon Record, that posterity might not be to seek* (good lack) *who they were that so ignobly betrayed the Liberty of our Nation:* And this being done, they should resolve themselves to a Committee, and proceed to vote:—Yet so well acquainted with the King's temper, that he would take any occasion of his being pleased by the Parliament, to insinuate himself into favour with all his Malecontents, as Bishop Williams, Earl of Lincoln, Earl of Essex, the Earl of Warwick, &c.

As he wrought upon the peoples humour in that point of Liberty, so he did upon the Nobilities temper in another of Ambition: For in a Petition to King James against Foreign titles of Honour, we finde him first in design, though last in subscription, teaching Essex, Warwick, St. John (for they joyned with him) to tilt against their Sovereign's Prerogative with their Pens, as they did after with their Swords.

And when this failed (the wise King awing the young Lords to renounce that asunder, which they had subscribed together; none so bold as the factions in company, none so fearful apart) the Champion of English honour and priviledge, becomes the Patron of Propriety too; for we read Ter. Hill. Anno 14. Car. 1. in Banco Regis, the Lord Say's Case.—

Action for Trover and Conversion of three Oxen taken (a great matter) for three pounds five



*K. Charles* five shillings, by the Sheriff of Lincoln, upon the Plaintiff, towards the finding of a Ship—  
 A good reason, for going to Law first, and then to war with his Sovereign, as he did afterwards, when he had sent his son *Nathaniel*, with *Hampden* and *Lawrence*, 1639. to settle the League with their dear Brethren in *Scotland*, while he formed the grand Design in *England*, with so much success, that when there were some Overtures made for saving the Earl of *Strafford*, and securing the Kingdom by the Party, upon condition of preferment, as that Master *Hampden* should be Tutor to the Prince, the Earl of *Effex* his Governour; Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Earl of *Warwick* Vice-Admiral, he was to be Master of the Court of Wards; which he compassed, when the rest mist of their expectation.—  
 No more of him; but that the King going to *Scotland*, he refusing a Protestation against the *Scots*, had these questions proposed to him:

1. Whether he would go with the King at his own charge.
2. Whether Rebellion was a just cause of War.
3. Whether the taking of Castles, Towns, Magazines, &c. was not Rebellion.

To the first he answered; That though as a Peer and Subject, he could not be forced out of his Countrey but upon extraordinary occasion; yet out of affection to his Majesty, he would attend him, referring the matter of charge to himself.

To the two last he said, he understood not the Law of *Scotland*, but that those proceedings were Treason in *England*.

Observa<sup>o</sup>

*Observations on the Life of the Earl  
of Lindsey.*

**H**E and that whole Family (I know not whether more pious, or more valiant; whether more renowned abroad, as Confessors for their Religion, or, as Champions for their Country) have been in this last Age an ornament and a defence to this Crown, equally revered by the Subjects of it, and honoured by the Sovereigns.

This Noble-man and the Earl of *Essex* did as *Jugurtha* and *Manus*, learn in one School what they practised in two: The one as a faithful Subject, for that government that had obliged his Family; the other as a discontented Rebel, against that that had *disobliged* his: Both Commanders for the *Palatinate* against the Emperor, and for *Rochel* against the *French*.

When the Duke of *Buckingham* returned from the Isle of *Rhee*, his Majesty told him; *The neglect of his relief must lodge on his Friend and Confident, Holland*—To which he acknowledged; That indeed he had very affectionately intrusted him in ordinary Affairs, but never in such an esteem, as to second him in arms, that place being more proper for my Lord of *Lindsey*—whose judgement of that Expedition was; *That it was friendship in earnest, and War in jest*. He it was that pursued twelve *French* Vessels in his own single one to their Haven, heated at once with anger and shame, he it was,  
who

**K. Charles** who when all men were amazed at the Duke's fall, was assigned his successor. Certainly, saith one there present, *He was a person of no likely "presence, but of considerable experience, by his former Experiences; and one that to the last of his life made "good his faith with Gallantry and Courage, notwithstanding his ill success* (the times fate rather than his fault) 1. In scouring the narrow Seas, where he was Admiral, and the Earl of Essex Vice-Admiral. 2. In presiding in several great Courts on many solemn occasions, the Earl of Strafford's unparallel'd Tryal, &c. And 3. In leading the King's Army at *Edge-Hill* with a Pike in his hand. Where what is observed of *Cataline* and his followers, was true of this noble Earl and his Country-men, the Loyal Gentry of *Lincolnshire*, that they covered the same place with their Corps when dead, where they stood in the fight whilst living.

### *Observations on the Life of Judge Richardson.*

**Judge Richardson** was born at *Mulbarton* in *Norfolk*, his Father being Minister thereof; and he a friend to Ministers, though a foe of the Church. He was bred in the study of our Municipal Law, and became the King's Sergeant therein. Afterwards, on the 28 of *November, 1926*. he was sworn Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, that Place having been void ten months before; wherein he was humourfom, but honest; only unhappy,

in that he raised the Sabbatarian Controverſie, by K. Charles his orders againſt Wakes in *Somerſetſhire*. His Braſs Monument on the South ſide of *Weſtminſter-Abby*, thus entertaineth the Reader;

*Deo om.*

*Thomæ Richardſoni Jaceni Equitis Aurati*

*Humānum D. poſitum.*

*Ille.*

*Juris Municip. omnes gradus exantlavit*  
*Conventus tertii ordinis ann. Jacobi Regis 21, & 22.*

*Prolocutor exſtitit;*

*Fori civilis (communium Placitorum vocant)*

*Supremum Magiſtratum quinquennium geſſit;*

*Ad ſummum tandem primarii per Angliam Judicis*  
*Tribunal*

*A Rege Carolo evehctus: expiravit*

*Anno Aetatis 66. Salutis, MDCXXXIV.*

*Tho. Richardſon fil. unicus Eques Aur. Baro Scotiæ*  
*deſignatus*

*Patri incomparabili*  
*poſuit.*

As one reaſon of his advancement, you muſt know, this Judge married for his ſecond Wiſe the Lady *Eliz. Beaumont*, the Siſter (as I take it) of *Mary Counteſs of Buckingham*, and the Relict of — *Albournham Knight*. She was by K. Charles created Baroneſs of *Croumont* in *Scotland*; and (though Iſſueleſs by the Judge) the Honour deſcended to his Grand-child. He died an enemy to Biſhop *Williams*, over-ruling all his Pleas in his Chamber in a quarter of an hour; and yet, which was


R r

ſtrange,

*K. Charles* strange, at that time no friend to Arch-Bishop  
*Land*, for he said, *The Lawn-sleeves had choaked*  
*him.*

### *Observations on the Life of Sir Tho. Coventry.*

**A** Competent Estate he had for his education, and excellent Abilities for advancement: his fortune was not wanting to his parts, nor his parts to his fortune; the one being as ready to support, as the other was to raise him: His staid soul was well prepared for general learning in the Schools & University, for his particular learning at the Inns of Court: his skill in the study of Law called him no sooner to the Bar, than his prudence to Court: Take we his character from his Honour. Why was he created *Lord Coventry of Alisbury*, and Keeper of the great Seal? Why, saith the Patent, for his *eminent fidelity*; for his most *worthy service*; for his exact circumspection; for his deep prudence; for his constant resolution; for his skill and dexterity; for his *integrity and industry*; for his *immoveableness and fidelity*: No man more apprehensive of the interest of *England*, none more faithful to it: His kindness to the Church and Clergy argued his piety; his safe Counsels to his Majesty argued his moderation; his dignity rather enjoyed him, than he it: A man he was that filled up his great capacities, having digested a body of the most honest Law, and a scheme of the most innocent


nocent policy that ever filled the head of an able *K. Charles* Statesman, or the heart of an upright Judge. What  belonged to him, he knew; and what he knew, he practised. He was as constant to his rule, as he knew his rule was to him: Reserved he was, as the King's Councillor, *honest* as his conscience. We measure Pyramides by their shadows, and this great Lord by his followers; every one whereof *\* The most* was *\* eminent* in his way, and all advanced. Each *pious, learned, wise,* Action of his, though never so little, yet great as *and Reverend Father in God, the Lord Arch-* himself, so gravely did he manage it, so solemnly *Bishop of* did he perform it: His orders were seldom rever- *Cantuarie* sed, because mostly including the consent of Par- *his Dome-* ties,—Few Attorney-Generals came off with less *sick.* censure, and few Lord Keepers with less guilt; his Predecessors miscarriages being toils to set off his exactness.—Eminent as in most other Cases, so particularly in that of *Pryn, Bastwick, and Burton*; against whom, when after six weeks time given them to put in an effectual Answer, they urged, that their Adversaries the Bishops should not be their Judges: He replied smartly; That by that Plea had they Libelled all the Magistrates in the Land; none should pass Censure upon them, because all were *made parties.*

He had fifteen years enjoyed his Place; not more proper to say, that Dignity had enjoyed him so long, this latter age affording not one every way of more apt Qualifications for the place. His front and presence bespoke a venerable regard, not inferior to any of his Antecessors. His train and suit of Followers was disposed agreeable, to shun both Envy and Contempt: Vain and ambitious he was not; his port was state, though others ostentation.

*K. Charles* Of what concerned his place, he knew enough, and which is the main, acted conformable to his knowledge; For in the Administration of Justice, he was so erect, so incorrupt, as captious malice stands mute in the blemish of his Fame. A miracle the greater, when we consider he was also a Privy-Councillor: A trust, wherein he served his Master the King most faithfully; and the more faithfully, because of all those Councils which did disserve his Majesty, he was an earnest dissuader, and did much disaffect those sticklers who laboured to make the Prerogative rather tall than great; as knowing that such men loved the King better than *Charles Stuart*. So that although he was a Courtier, and had had for his Master a Passion most intense, yet had he always a passion reserved for the publick welfare; an argument of a free, noble, and right-principled mind: For what both Court and Country have always held as inconsistent, is in truth erroneous: And no man can be truly loyal, who is not also a good Patriot; nor any a good Patriot, which is not truly loyal.

*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.*

*Sir Thomas Wentworth* Earl of *Strafford* owed his birth to the best governed City, *London*, his breeding to the best modelled School, *York*, and a most exact Colledge, *St. Johns* in *Cambridge*; his accomplishments to the best Tutors,

tors, Travel and Experience; and his prudence *K. Charl*  
to the best School, a Parliament, whither he came   
in the most active and knowing times, with a  
strong brain, and a large heart: his activity was  
*eminent* in his Country, and his interest strong in  
Parliament, where he observed *much*, and *pertin-*  
*ently*; spake *little*, but *home*; contrived effectually,  
but *closely*: carried his Designs *successfully*, but *re-*  
*servedly*: He apprehended the publick temper as  
clearly, and managed it to his purposes as order-  
ly as any man: He spoke *least*, but *last of all*, with  
the advantage of a clear view of others reasons, &  
the addition of his own: He and his leading Con-  
fidents moulded that in a private Conference,  
which was to be managed in a publick Assembly:  
He made himself so considerable a Patriot, that he  
was bought over to be a Courtier: So great his  
Abilities, that he awed a Monarchy when dis-ob-  
liged, and supported it when engaged, the balance  
turning thither where this Lord stood.—The  
*North* was reduced by his prudence, and *Ireland*  
by his interest: He did more there in two years,  
than was done in two hundred before.

1. Extinguishing the very reliques of the War.
2. Setting up a standing Army.
3. Modelling the Revenue.
4. Removing the very roots and occasions of  
new troubles.
5. Planting and building.
6. Setling Ecclesiastical and Civil Courts.
7. Recovering the hearts of the people by able  
Pastors and Bishops, by prudent and sober Magi-  
strates; by justice and protection; by obligations  
and rewards.



*K. Charles* 8. Recovering the Churches patrimony and discipline.

9. Employing most able and faithful Ministers and Instruments.

10. Taking an exact view of all former Precedents, Rules, and Proceedings.

11. An exact correspondence with his Majesty, and the Favourites of *England*.

None was more conversant in the Factions, Intrigues, and Designs, than he when a Commonwealths-man; none abler to meet with them than he when a Statesman: he understood their methods, kenned their wiles, observed their designs, looked into their combinations, comprehended their interest: And as King *Charles* understood best of any Monarch under heaven what he could do in point of Conscience, so his *Strafford* apprehended best of any Counsellor under the Sun what he could do in point of power: He and my Lord of *Canterbury* having the most particular account of the state of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* of any persons living. Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished; yet Doctrine and Discourse had much allayed the severity of this Earl's nature, and Custom more: None more austere to see to, none more obliging to speak with: He observed pauses in his discourse to attend the motion, and draw out the humour of other men; at once commanding his own thoughts, and watching others: His passion was rather the vigour, than the disorder of his well-weighed soul; which could dispense its anger with as much prudence, as it managed any act of State. He gave his Majesty safe counsel in the prosperity of his Affairs, and resolute advice in

Ex-

Extremity, as a true servant of his interest rather than of his power.

So eminent was he and my Lord of Canterbury, that Rebellion despaired of success as long as the first lived, and Schism of licentiousness as long as the second stood. Take my Lord of Strafford as accused, and you will find his *Integrity* and *Ability*, that he managed his whole Government either by the *Law*, or the Interest of his Countrey. Take him as dying, and you will see his *purity* and *piety*; his resolution for himself; his self-resignation for the Kingdoms good; his devotion for the Church, whose patrimony he forbade his son upon his blessing—Take him as dead, you will find him glorious and renowned in these three characters.

The first of the best King.

*I looked upon my Lord of Strafford, as a Gentleman whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than ashamed to employ him in the greatest Affairs of State: for those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great Errors, and many Enemies; whereof he could not but contract great store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations; which condensed by a popular Odium, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity: though I cannot in my judgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of Times, and the temper of that People, more than led by his own disposition to any height and vigour of Action, &c.*

*Exon. &c.  
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ditat. 2.*


K. Charles

The second, of the best Historian.

He was a person of a generous spirit, fitted for the noblest Exercises, and the most difficult parts of Empire: His Counsels were bold, yet just; and he had a vigour proper for the execution of them: Of an eloquence next that of his Masters, masculine and excellent. He was no less affectionate to the Church, than to the State; and not contented while living, to defend the government and patrimony of it, he commended it also to his Son when he was about to dye, and charged his abhorrency of sacrilege: His enemies called the Majesty of his miene in his Lieutenancy, pride; and the undaunted execution of his Office on the Contumacious, the insolency of his fortune. He was censured for that fatal error of following the King to London, and to the Parliament, after the Pacification at York: And it was thought, that if he had gone over to his Charge in Ireland, he might have secured both himself and that Kingdom for his Majesties service: But some attribute this Counsel to a necessity of fate, whose first stroke is at the Brain of those whom it designs to ruine, and brought him to feel the effects of popular rage, which himself in former Parliaments had used against Government, and to finde the experience of his own devices upon the Duke of Buckingham. Providence teacheth us to abhor over fine Counsels, by the mischiefs they often bring upon their Authors.

The third, of common fame.

“A Gentleman he was of rare, choice, and singular Endowments, I mean, of such as modelled, fashioned, and accomplished him for State-conceraments; of a searching and penetrating judgment

“ment, nimble apprehension, ready and fluent *K. Charles*  
“in all results of Council. Most happy in the vein   
“of speech, which was always round, perspicuous,  
“and express, much to the advantage of his sense,  
“and so full stocked with reason, that he might  
“be rather said to demonstrate, than to argue.  
“As these abilities raised him to State-administra-  
“tion, so his Addressing, his applying those abi-  
“lities so faithfully in promotion of the Royal In-  
“terest, soon rendered him a Favourite of the first  
“admission: So that never King had a more intelli-  
“gent, and withal a firmer servant than he was  
“to his Master. But these qualities which ren-  
“dred him so aimable to his Majesty, represented  
“him formidable to the *Scots*, so that some who  
“were not well perswaded of the justness of his  
“sentence, thought he suffered not so much for  
“what he had done already, as for what he was  
“like to have done, had he lived, to the disservice  
“of that Nation: And that he was not sacrificed so  
“much to the *Scots revenge*, as to their fear. And  
“certainly his fall was the first, so the most fatal  
“wound the King’s Interest ever received: His  
“three Kingdoms hardly affording another *Straf-*  
“*ford*, that is, one man his peer in parts and fide-  
“lity to his Majesty. He had a singular passion  
“for the Government and Patrimony of the  
“Church, both which he was studious to preserve  
“safe and sound; either opening them to be of sa-  
“cred extraction; or at least prudent constitution,  
“relating to holy performances. And had he  
“wanted these positive graces, yet in so great a  
“Person it may be commendable, that he was emi-  
“nent for privative and negative Excellencies,  
“being

K. *Charl* "being not taxable with any Vice; those petty  
 ~~~~~ "pleasures being beneath the satisfaction of a soul  
 "so large as his. In short, saith the ingenious Gen-  
 "tleman, he was a man who might have passed  
 "under a better notion, had he lived in better  
 "times.

This last period is a question, since this great Statesman, and his good Masters goodness was so over-shadowed with their greatness, and their virtues so lost in their power, as the Sun (the aptest parallel of their lustre and beneficence) is hid in his own light, that they owe their great, but glorious fame to their misfortunes, and their renown to their ruine, that levelled their worth, otherwise as much out of their reach as their place, to vulgar apprehensions. Eclipsed lustre, like a veiled beauty, is most looked on, when most covered.—The setting Sun is more *glorious* than its self in its Meridian, because more low: and the lowest Planet seems biggest to a common eye.

So faithful he was, and the Arch-Bishop, that in the Juncto consisting of them two and Duke *Hamilton*, they voted a Parliament, though they knew themselves the first sufferers by it: and so confident of his integrity, that when he had treason enough discovered at the late transactions in *York* (touching the *Scots* conspiracy) to charge his enemies with, he waved the advantage; and secure in his own innocence, sell an instance of that Maxim; *That there is no danger small, but what is thought so.* This was his great principle; *Usurped Royalty was never laid down by perswasion from Royal clemency; for in armis jus omne regni.*

*Observations on the Lives of Henry Earl of Holland, and Robert Earl of Warwick.*

**H**ENRY Earl of *Holland*, and *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, both brothers, had the same Education at home, and the same admittance to Court—only the elder having an Estate, brought not thither that compliance and observance that the younger did that wanted it.—The one therefore is serious in his carriage, harsh and rough in his spirit, stubborn in his constitution, steady in his course, stern in his comportments, sly and close in his conduct; choosing rather to improve himself in *America* by Trade, than in *England* by Courtship; something inclined to the faction by the principles of his Education, more by those of his Interest. The other owned not a greater smoothness in his face, than in his soul; being very taking in his countenance, more in his converse. The first being not more lovely, than the last was obliging.—While a Courtier, so much was he in favour with King *James*, that one morning as he and Mr. *Ramsay* waited on his Majesty, and two Porters came by with some money, he did but smile on *Ramsay*, and tell his Majesty, who asked why he smiled, that it was to think what good that money would do him, and he had it: his Royal Mr. whose heart was as large as his Kingdom, adding, *I'll warrant you, you are glad of this; Let me tell you, I have*

*K. Charles I have more pleasure in bestowing this money, than you in possessing it: so much a more blessed thing it is to give, than to receive.*

While Ambassador in *France* (where he represented a King in his State and port, as well as in his place) so great was he with the Queen-Mother, that he was admitted to all treatments; that he had the honour of all Entertainments; that he commanded the Kings ears, understood the *Spanish* policies, dived into the *French* humour and inclination. All the while he was in *Paris*, his observations were minute and particular, his Addresses wary and reserved (never opening the Marriage-treaty until he was sure of a good reception) his working upon *Madams* affection close & artificial; his counter-plots to the *Spanish* insinuations nimble and effectual; his correspondence with the Duke of *Bucks.* weekly & constant; his contracts with Count *Soisons*, and *Madam Blanville*, in behalf of her Husband here in *England*, resolute and honourable (urging very nobly and successfully, that the clamours of a turbulent Agent was not to out-weigh the favour of a mighty Monarch.) The discovery he made of the Duke of *Buckingham's* enemies, their Cabals and Oaths from the said *Blanvilles* Letters, was seasonable and compleat; but his Master-piece was his command over all affections and tempers—but his own so soft and smooth, that it endured not the roughness of the following times, wherein he was very unsettled when Commissioner in *Scotland*, while he lived, and very fearful when he died: The fate of all delicate and too fine Constitutions.

It hath been the method of *Grandees* to endear themselves to power for a present interest, and to  
learning

learning for their future fame ; to add the renown K. Charles  
of the *one*, to the greatness of the other. Neither  
was this Lord more careful to succeed his great  
friend the Duke of *Buckingham* in his favour at  
*Court*, as Captain of the Guard, and Groom of  
the Stool, than in his *Place* at the *University* as  
Chancellor, of which he expresseth himself thus  
to his *Cambridge*, That his Master had raised his  
fortune beyond wishing in this world, that he could  
desire no more than a fair name when he was gone  
out of it ; which the University contributed , to  
whom he devoted his Interest.

Though they answered not his expectation in  
their Contributions for *St. Pauls*, and other parti-  
culars, wherein he was defeated and over-born  
by the busy faction, who thought it a vain thing  
to repair any Church, when they intended to pull  
down all.

After all, this great man is a great instance of  
that observation, *viz.* That when able and pru-  
dent men are brought on the Stage to manage their  
own parts, they are then (mostly) not of the clear-  
est sight, and commonly commit such errors as  
are both discernable and avoidable, even by men of  
mean abilities—Although I find him subject  
to no great error before the War, save that when  
*Dr. Preston* was by his party judged of so great parts  
as to make a fit Patron for them, and thereupon  
directed to appear aloof [ the way of Court-ob-  
servers ] in his Addreses to the Duke of *Bucking-*  
*ham* by his Confident the Earl of *Holland*, whose  
Family favoured that side, though the Duke said he  
knew him, and so would use him accordingly :  
Yet this Earl was so far over-reach'd by him, that  
in



*K. Charles* in the Apology the Doctor writ under-hand to his Parizans touching his Court-compliance, he sheweth he over-reached the Court-wits; as indeed he was a great Politician, and used (Lap-wing-like) to flutter most on that place which was farthest from his Eggs: a copy of which Letter, with some satyrical stanzaes was found unsealed in the streets, and carried to the Duke; a noble friend discovering to the Doctor, how witty he was in Rhime, to the breaking of his heart, he confessing then *he was undone*, especially when the Dukes Barber could finger the Letter out of his Lords pocket, as he was directed.—And now I cannot but remember how this Earl at his death said, *He had been a friend to godly Ministers, as had his friends before him, by whom he had been instructed when young.* Whence I collect, that the members of those great Families, into which the godly Ministers, *i.e.* peevish, factious, and discontented persons which usurp that precious name, insinuate themselves, and their principles, seldom come to their Grave in peace; they usually instilling into them such imaginations as make their lives unquiet, and their deaths dishonourable.—Whence the good old Lord Willoughby would say, *Carry the peevish man this* (speaking of one Chambers a Separatist) *but tell him he must not come under my Roof, for I will not meddle with them that are given to change, whose calamity ariseth suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?*


To conclude, it is observed as the reason why he fell off from the Parliament, that the wary Sirs would not trust two Brothers, him and the Earl of *Warwick* with supreme commands; therefore

fore when they voted the one Admiral, they de-  
 nyed the other General of the Horse. Both are  
 characterized by their Contemporaries for natural  
 Endowments excellent; for temper sweet and lo-  
 ving; for behaviour, affable and courteous; for  
 spirit, meek and lowly; of the same inclinations  
 before and after their advancement: *In honore sine*  
*inmune*; lifted up with honour, but not puffed up  
 with pride.

### *Observations on the Life of Arch-Bi- shop Laud.*

THE pregnancy of his childhood promised  
 the wisdom of his riper years, and obli-  
 ged his friends beyond their abilities to his sup-  
 port, and strangers beyond expectation to his en-  
 couragement: Some persons offering him great  
 sums of money for his maintenance in his younger  
 years, upon the bare security of his parts, which  
 paid them well in his more reduced age. None  
 more observant of favour, none more mindful of  
 kindnesses, and none more grateful for civilities:  
 He was so wise as seldom to forget an injury in the  
 consequence of it, and so noble as ever to remem-  
 ber love in the return of it. His honest Parents con-  
 veyed him an excellent temper, and that temper  
 a brave spirit; which had the advantage of his  
 birth, some say at *Reading*, some at *Henley*, at an  
 equal distance from the University, where he was  
 to be a Scholar; and the Court, where he was to  
 be

*K. Charls* be a *Man*: In the first of these, his indefatigable industry, his methodical study, his quick apprehension, his faithful memory, his solid judgement, his active fancy, his grave and quick countenance, his sharp and piercing eye, raised him by discreet and wary steps to all the preferments, and commended him to all the employments of the University, when Proctor whereof he was admitted for his prudence to the Earl of *Devonshire's* service, which hazarded; and when Divinity-Reader, observed by the Lords of *Rocheſter* and *Lincoln* for his judgement, which advanced him. As his design was above the level of modern Scholists, so were his Studies not prepossessed with the partial Systemes of *Geneva*, but freely conversant with the impartial volumes of the Church-Catholick: he had an infallible apprehension of the Doctrine and Discipline, and a deep insight into the interest of Christianity: This capacious soul conversed with the most knowing of all Judgments, to finde the bottom of all Errors; and with the most judicious of his own, to discern the grounds of all truth. He had his eye on the University to reduce it, when Head of *St. John's*; on the lower Functions of the Church in his Pastoral charges, to reform them; and upon the higher, when Dean of *Glouceſter*, Prebend of *Westminster*, and Bishop of *Sr. Davids*, to settle them. He was a man of that search and judgment, that he found out the principles of government that were true to the Church; of that faithfulness and resolution, that amidst all discouragements he was true to them: The Church-government he found by many private-spirited men, accommodated to their ease and interest,

rest, he adjusted to truth and settlement; consult- *K. Charles*  
 ing not humors which are uncertain as interest, but   
 truth which is certain as Eternity. Arch-Bishop  
*Abbot's* *Tield*, and they will be pleased at last, was  
 a great miscarriage, Arch-Bishop *Laud's* *Resolve*,  
*for there is no end of yielding*, was great policy.  
 His great reach in Government suitable to that  
 King's apprehensions, commended him to King  
*James*; his vast ability and integrity, to *K. Charles*  
 and the Duke of *Buckingham*; To the first whereof  
 he was a Privy-Councillor, to the other a Bosom-  
 friend, before both whom he laid the best Repre-  
 sentations and Ideas of the *English* government, as  
 to things and persons in several abstracts, of any  
 man under heaven. I have heard a Statesman say.  
*That none knew the joys, turnings, flexures, and*  
*interests of all Parties in Church or State, that were*  
*either to be encouraged or suppressed, with the seasons*  
*and opportunities to do it, so well as Dr. Laud.*

Discerning was his fore-sight, compleat his in-  
 telligence, exact his correspondence, quick his dis-  
 patches; seasonable and effectual his Sermons and  
 Discourses, inquisitive and observing his Converse.  
 His Instruments were able and knowing men, that  
 were faithful to the Church, as he was in *Man-*  
*war*ing and *Mountagu's* case to them; *Knowing*  
*well (as he wrote to my Lord of Buckingham)*  
*that discouragements would deter men of parts, whom*  
*encouragements might make serviceable.* He knew no  
 man better how to temper a Parliament, having a  
 Catalogue of all the Nobility and Gentry, with  
 their Interest and Inclination in his eye: He under-  
 stood none more exactly what was to be discouraged  
 and proposed to them, having a clear apprehension

*K. Charles* of the several Junctures and Tendencies of affairs.

He entertained no thought but what was publick in his breast; no man, but what was nobly spirited in his familiarity: Ever watchful he was of all opportunities to advance the Churches honour, 1. In her Sons; as Bishop *Juxon*, &c. 2. Her Discipline, as in his several Visitations, Articles, Star-Chamber, and High-Commission matters. 3. In her Endowments, as the buying of Improvements in *Ireland*: 4. In her Privilege, as the Canons of *England*. 5. In her Ornaments, as the repairing & furnishing of *St. Pauls* and most other Churches in his Province. 6. In her Universities, as the statutes of *Oxford*, the privileges of *Cambridge*, and his vast gifts of Oriental Books and Buildings, and his vaster design for both,—and as watchful against all the designs to undermine it. The Feoffees for Improvements he laid aside; the *Sabbatizing* and *Predestinarian* controversies he silenced; the Licensious Press he reduced; Dignities and Preferments he worthily filled up; bribes at Court he retrenched: No interest, no alliance could ever advance an unworthy person while he lived: *Breed up your children well, and I will provide for them*, was his saying to all his Relations. Many a man would be disoblged by his sternness at first view, for whom if deserving, he would afterwards contrive kindneses by after and unexpected favours. No place of experience did he ever miss, none of employment did he ever decline: He would never see Authority baffled, but either wave all proceedings against offenders, or go through with them; His prosecutions, as in *Leighton's Case*, were close: his observation of all circumstances, as in *Lincoln's*, wary;

wary; his declarations of the Cases clear and convincing, as in *Pryn's*, *Bastwick's* and *Burton's*; his sentence milde and compassionate, as in *Waller's*; his resolution and justice ever making way to his mercy, and his mercy crowning his justice: Often did he confer with the ablest and most Orthodox Clergy, with the most experienced and knowing *Civilians*, with the most observing and reserved Courtiers, with the profoundest Lawyers, with the skilfullest and discreetest Mechanicks; out of all whose opinions the result was, his most exact judgement in any case that came before him at Court, or at *Lambeth*.

The roughness of his nature sent most men discontented from him: but so, that he would often of himself find ways and means to sweeten such as had any worth again, when they least looked for it.—Many were offended at his prudent zeal against the Jewish Sabbatism in his government, who were very well satisfied with the strictness of his observation of the Lords day in his person.—But let one great man express another; Bishop *Gauden*, Arch-Bishop *Laud*; whose thoughts lye so much the more levelled to his brave Sentiments, as his dignity did to his high place.

“As to his secret design of working up this Church by little and little to a Romish conformity and captivity, I do not believe (saith he) he had any such purpose or approved thought; because, beside his declared judgment and conscience, I find no secular Policy or Interest which he could thereby gain, either private or publick, but rather lose much of the greatness and freedom which he and other Bishops, with the whole Church


*K. Charis* had: without which temptation, no man in charity may be suspected to act contrary to so clear convictions, so deliberate and declared determinations of his Conscience and Judgement in Religion, as the Arch-Bishop expresses in his very excellent Book. I am indeed prone to think, that possibly he wished there could have been any fair close or accommodation between all Christian Churches, (the same which many grave and learned men have much desired:) And it may be his Lordship thought himself no unfit Instrument to make way to so great and good a work, considering the eminencies of his Parts, Power, and Favour which he had. Haply he judged (as many learned and moderate men have) that in some things between Papists and Protestants, differences are made wider, and kept more open, raw and sore than need be, by the private pens and passions of some men, and the Interests of some little parties, whose partial policies really neglect the publick and true Interest of the Catholick Church and Christian Religion; which consists much in peace as well as in purity, in charity, as in verity. He found that where Papists were silenced and convinced in the more grand and pregnant Disputes (that they are Novel, partial, and unconform to Catholick Churches in ancient times) than he found they recovered spirits, and contested afresh against the unreasonable transports, violences and immoderations of some professing to be Protestants; who, to avoid Idolatry and Superstition, run to Sacrilege and rudeness in Religion, denying many things that are just, honest, safe, true and reasonable, meerly out of an (*'Apetéix*) excessive Antipathy

Antipathy to Papists. Possibly the Arch-Bishop and some other Bishops of his mind did rightly judge, That the giving of an enemy fair play by just, safe, & honourable concessions, was not to yield the conquest to him, but the most ready way to convince him of his weakness; when no honest yieldings could help him any more, then they did endanger the true cause or courage of his Antagonist.

K. Charles

For my part, I think the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was neither *Calvinist*, nor *Lutheran*, nor *Papist*, as to any side or party; but all, so far as he saw, they agreed with the Reformed Church of *England*, either in Fundamentals, or innocent and decent Superstructures: Yet I believe he was so far a Protestant, and of the Reformed Religion, as he saw the Church of *England* did protest against the Errors, Corruptions, Usurpations, and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, or against the novel opinions and practices of any party whatsoever. And certainly he did with as much honour as justice so far own the Authentick Authority, Liberty and Majesty of the Church of *England* (in its reforming and settling of its Religion) that he did not think fit any private new Masters whatsoever, should obtrude any Foreign or Domestick Dictates to her, or force her to take her copy of Religion from so petty a place as *Geneva* was, or *Frankfort*, or *Amsterdam*, or *Wittenbergh*, or *Edenborough*; no nor from *Augsburg*, or *Arnheim*, nor any foreign City or Town, any more than from *Trent* or *Rome*; none of which had any Dictatorial Authority over this great and famous Nation or Church of *England*, further than they offered sober Counsels, or suggested good Reasons, or cleared true Reli-



*K. Charles*  gion by Scripture, and confirmed it by good Antiquity, as the best interpreter and decider of obscure places, and dubious cases.

Which high value, it is probable, as to his Mother the Church of *England*, and her Constitutions, was so potent in the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, that, as he thought it not fit to subject her to the insolency of the Church of *Rome*, so not to the impertinencies of any other Church or Doctor, of far less repute in the Christian world. No doubt his Lordship thought it not handsome in Mr. *Calvin* to be (Ἀλλοσειωμένων, rather than Ἐπισκοπῶν) so censorious of the Church of *England*, as to brand its Devotion or Liturgy with his *tolerabiles ineptia*, who knew not the temper of the Nation, requiring then not what was absolutely best, but most conveniently good: and such not only the Liturgy was, but those things which he calls tolerable toys. I having occasion to speak with him, he upon a time was pleased to grant me access, & some freedom of speech with him; and withal asked me the opinion of the people of him: I told him they reported his Lordship endeavoured to betray the Church of *England* to the *Roman* correspondency and communion. He at length very calmly and gravely thus replied; protesting with a serious attestation of his integrity before God's Omniscience, that however he might mistake in the mean and method, yet he never had other design than the glory of God, the service of his Majesty, the good order, peace and decency of the Church of *England*: that he was so far from complying with Papists, in order to confirm them in their Errors, that he rather chose such Methods to advance the honour of the reformed

reformed Religion in *England*, as he believed might soon silence the cavils of fiercer Papists, induce the more moderate *Refusants* to come in to us, as having less visible occasion given them by needless Distances and Disputes to separate from us; which he thought arose much from that popular Variety, Inconstancy, Easiness, Irreverence, and Uncomeliness, which might easily grow among us in the outward profession of Religion, for want of observing such uniformity and decency in Religion, as were required by the *Laws and Canons* of this Church and State. He added, that he had (further) a desire, as much as he could to relieve the poor and depressed condition of many Ministers, which he had to his grief observed in *Wales and England*, where their Discouragements were very great, by reason of the tenuity and incompetency of their Livings; that in his Visitations he had sometime seen it with grief, among twenty Ministers, not one man had so much as a decent Garment to put on, nor did he believe their other treatment of Life was better; that he found the fordid and shameful Aspect of Religion and the Clergy, gave great Advantages to those that were Popishly inclined, who would hardly ever think it best for them to joyn with that Church which did not maintain either its own Honour, or its Clergy to some competency and comeliness.

Much more discourses his Lordship was pleased to use at several times to this purpose, which commands my charity to clear him, as far as I can judge, of any tincture of Popery truly so called; or of any superstition, which placeth a Religion in the nature and use of that thing which God hath not ei-

*K. Charles* ther particularly commanded, or in general permitted. I suppose he thought, that where God hath allowed to his Church, and to every private Christian (so far as may consist with the Churches Order and Peace) a liberty of ceremonious and circumstantial decency as to God's worship; there neither himself was to be blamed, nor did he blame other men, if they kept within those discreet and inoffensive bounds, which either the Churches publick peace required, or its indulgence to promote Christians permitted.

The Uniformity he pressed was not more advantageous to Religion, which must of necessity have been propagated, when Controversies had been turned to devotion, than it was necessary for the State; which cannot be secure, as long as there is a mark of distinction, under which all Malecontents may shrowd themselves; a note of separation, whereby the Factions may reckon their parties, and estimate their strength, and a way open to popularity to the ambition of any whose interest or desperation shall adventure to make himself head of so great a party.

He was a person of so great abilities (which are the designations of nature to dignity and command) that they raised him from low beginnings to the highest Office the Protestant profession acknowledgeth in the Church, and he was equal to it: His learning appeared eminent in his Book against *Fisher*, and his piety illustrious in his Diary: He was of so publick a spirit, that both the Church and State have lasting Monuments of the virtuous use he made of his Principles; at his admittance into which, he dedicated

“ dicated all the future Emoluments of it to the *R. Charles*  
“ glory of God, and the good of men, by a proje-  
“ ction of many noble Works: most of which he  
“ accomplished, and had finished the rest, had not  
“ the fate of the Nation checked the current of his  
“ Design, and cut off the course of his Life. He  
“ was not contented by himself only to serve his  
“ Generation, (for so he might appear more gree-  
“ dy of fame, than desirous of the universal bene-  
“ fit) but he endeavoured to render all others as  
“ heroick, if they aimed at a capacity for his  
“ friendship: For (I have heard it from his Ene-  
“ mies) no great man was admitted to a confi-  
“ dence and respect with him, unless he made  
“ Address by some act that was for the common  
“ good, or for the ornament and glory of the  
“ Protestant faith. Learned men had not a better  
“ Friend, nor Learning itself a greater Advancer.  
“ He searched all the Libraries of *Asia*, and from  
“ several parts of the world purchased all the Or-  
“ naments and helps of Literature he could, that  
“ the *English* Church might have (if possible) by  
“ his care, as many advantages for knowledge,  
“ as almost all *Europe* did contribute to the gran-  
“ deur of that of *Rome*. The outward splendour  
“ of the Clergy was not more his care, than their  
“ honour, by a grave and pious conversation.  
“ He would put them into a power of doing more  
“ good, but was sore against their Vices and Va-  
“ nities. He scorned a private Treasure, and his  
“ friends were rather relieved, than raised to any  
“ greatness by him. In his election of friends,  
“ he was determined to the good and wise, and  
“ such as had both parts and desires to profit. The  
“ Church

*K. Charles* " Church had his closest embraces; if otherwise  
 " it happened, their frauds, not his choice deser-  
 " ved the blame. Both Papists and Sectaries  
 " were equally his Enemies; one party feared,  
 " and the other hated his Vertues. Some cen-  
 " sured his zeal for Discipline above the patience  
 " of the Times: but his greatest unhappiness was,  
 " that he lived in a factious Age, and corrupt  
 " State, and under such a Prince, whose Vertues  
 " not admitting an immediate approach for Ac-  
 " cusations, was to be wounded with those it  
 " did care for. But when Faction and Malice are  
 " worn out by time, Posterity shall engrave  
 " him in the *Albe* of the most excellent Prela-  
 " cy, the most indulgent Fathers of the Church,  
 " and the most injured Martyrs. His blood  
 " was accompanied with some tears that fell  
 " from those Eyes that expected a pleasure at  
 " his death; and it had been followed with Mife-  
 " ries, and the present Fears of Ruine exacted  
 " all the stock of Grief for other objects.

His very enemy *Sir Edward Deering* would con-  
 fess; *That let him dye when he would, St. Pauls*  
*would be his Monument, and his Book against Fisher*  
*his Epitaph.*

Observa-

*Observations on the Life of the Lord  
Keeper Littleton.*

**S**Ir Edward Littleton, the eldest son of Sir Edward Littleton, of *Mounslow* in *Shropshire*, one of the Justices of the Marches, and Chief-Justice of *North-Wales*, was bred in *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, where he proceeded Batchellor of Arts, and afterwards was one of the Justices of *North-Wales*, Recorder of *London*, and Solicitor to King *Charles*. From these places he was preferred to be Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, and made Privy-Councillor; thence advanced to be Lord-Keeper, and Baron of *Mounslow*, the place of his Nativity. He died in *Oxford*, and was buried in *Christs-Church* where he was bred:— Being a Member of the Parliament 1628. he had the management of the high presumption charged on the Duke of *Buckingham* about King *James* his death; wherein he behaved himself so discreetly between the jealousy of the People, and the honour of the Court, that Sir *John Finch* would say, *He was the only man for taking things by a Right handle.*—And Sir *Edward Cook*, that *He was a well-poized and weighed man*. His very name carried an Hereditary credit with it, much plaineth out the way to all great Actions: his virtue being authorizing by his nobility, and his undertakings ennobled by his birth, gained that esteem, which meaner men attain not without a large compass  
of

*K. Charles* of time and experience: worthless Nobility and ignoble worth lye under equal disadvantage. Neither was his extract so great as his parts; his judgement being clear and piercing; his Learning various and useful; his skill in the Maxims of our Government, the fundamental Laws of his Monarchy with its Statutes and Customs, *singular*; his *experience long and observing*; his *integrity unblemished and unbyassed*; his Eloquence powerful and majestick, and *all* befitting a Statesman and a Lord-Keeper:—set off with a resolved Loyalty that would perform the hardest service his Master could enjoyn him while he stayed at *London*, and follow the hardest fortune he could be in when at *York*, whither he went with the great Seal he knew made to stamp Royal Commissions, rather than authorize Rebellious Ordinances. At *Oxford* he did good service during the Session of Parliament by Accommodations there, and as good during their recess by his interest in the Country.

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*Observations on the Life of the Mar-  
quess Hamilton.*

A Preacher being at a loss what to say of a party deceased, concluded his Sermon with these words; *There is one good quality in this man, viz. That he was born, and that God made him: And another, viz. That he is dead, and we must speak nothing but good of the dead.*

I may say of this Noble-man, that I have two reasons to speak well of him. 1. That good King *Charles* honoured him; and 2. That his wicked Subjects beheaded him,—otherwise I must leave these Queries as I finde them.

*Qu. 1.* Why should Duke *Hamilton* post without leave into *Scotland*, when the Parliament was discontented, and the Duke of *Buckingham* murdered in *England*?

*Qu. 2.* Why should *Ramsay* the Dukes Messenger to the King of *Sweden*, play the Embassadour in *Germany*, and take place of all other persons there?

*Qu. 3.* What design was that which *Elphinston*, *Borthrick*, *Meldrum*, *Uchiltry*, &c. discovered one to another?

*Qu. 4.* What did *Ramsay* with the Pedigree of *Hamilton* derived from *James I.* King of *Scots* in Foreign parts?

*Qu. 5.* Why private Instructions had *Meldrum* to *Scottish* Officers in the *Swedish* Army?

*Qu. 6.* What was *Meldrum*, *Alexander Hamilton*, and other his Dependants, so preferred in the *Scots* Army?

*Qu. 7.* Why were there such Fears and Jealousies whispered in *Germany* of the *English* Government?

*Qu. 8.* Why was not *Ramsay* able to give a positive Answer at the Tryal by combat? And why did the Marquess take him off before the Controversie was decided?

*Qu. 9.* Why is *Huntsley* put by, and *Hamilton* made high Commissioner? Why is discontented  
*Balsanquet*



*K. Charles Balcanquhal* employed to pen Declarations? And why are the King's Papers, Letters, &c. taken out of his pocket, and betrayed to the *Scots*? And why did the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* (writing to the King) wish him not to trust his own pockets with the Letter?

*Qu. 10.* Why doth his Mother ride with pistols at her Saddle-bow, leading all her Kindred and Vassals for the Covenant?

*Qu. 11.* Why is that time spent in posting to and fro to patch up a base Pacification with the Rebels, that might have been employed in suppressing them?

*Q. 12.* Why did the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Breben*, Sir *Robert Spotswood*, Sir *John Hay*, the Earl of *Sterling*, ride post to *England* to intreat the King not to trust the Marquess?

*Qu. 13.* Why was there so much granted to the Covenanters in *Scotland*—yes and time given them to do their business?

*Q. 14.* Why did he forbear the Common-prayer at *Dalkieth*, and neglect to protest the Kings gracious Declaration; the justice and clemency whereof had without doubt allayed the commotions?

*Q. 15.* Why did he not set out the King's last Declaration before the Covenanters Protestation was out against it?

*Qu. 16.* Why was there nothing done with the Ships sent upon the coasts of *Scotland*?

*Qu. 17.* Why did he so carelessly covenanting Mother, that the *Scots* could say; *The son of so good a Mother could do them no harm*?

*Qu. 18.* Why had he a hand in most of the Monopolies and Projects of *England*?

*Q. 19.*

Q. 19. Why did he refuse to contribute as others had done to the *Scots Wars*?

Q. 20. Why did he intercede for *Lowndon's* release, notwithstanding the graterous Letter to the *French King* was his hand?

Qu. 21. How comes *Montrose* to be slighted by the gracious King at first? And when he offered his service again, how came his Letters into the *Covenanters* hands at *Newcastle*?

Qu. 22. Why did he and *Argyle* raise such Fears and Jealousies in *Scotland* and *England* by withdrawing suddenly from the Court, under pretence forsooth of danger to their persons?

Qu. 23. Why could not the King hear of the *Scots* design to invade *England*, 1643. before *Montrose* posted first to *Oxford*, and then to *Gloucester* to tell him of it, though the Marquess was all the while in *Scotland*?

Qu. 24. And yet why was that noble person mistrusted till the Kings interest was lost in that Country?

Qu. 25. Why was he and his brother imprisoned at *Oxford*? And why did the King say, *Nay, if Hamilton leads them, there is no good to be done for me?*

Qu. 26. Why did the King say, That he must dispose of the Master of the Horse place to the Earl of *N.* That my Lord *Cottington* was the fittest man for the Treasury, and that Sir *Edward Hyde* was the onely man he could trust with the Secretaries affairs? Being loth that *D. H.* should return to an opportunity of recozening them: Questions these, that shew, After-ages can scan great mens lives with the same liberty that they live them.

*Observa-*



## Observations on the Life of Sir Ralph Hopton.

Gentle was this excellent person's extraction in the West of England, and man-like his Education in the Low-Countries, that School of War, where Sir William Waller and he learned in one Camp; what they practised in two: The one being no less eminent for his service under his late Majesty of blessed memory, than the other was for his against him. The one was the best Soldier the King had; the other the most experienced that the pretended Parliament boasted of. None fitter to balance Sir Ralph Hopton's success; none likelier to understand his stratagems; none abler to undermine his designs, than his Fellow-soldier, Sir William, who understood his method as well as he was acquainted with his person. Both were equally active, both equally vigilant. But what better character of this Hero, than that which his Master gave him in his Patent for Baron, which is his history as well as his honour?

Exemplified by his  
Chaplain  
Tho. Fritter.

Carolus Dei Gratia Angliae, &c. Cum & Nominis nostri & Posteritatis interest, & ad clara Exempli propaganda utilissimè compertum, palam fieri omnibus premia, apud nos virtuti sita, nec perire fidelium subditorum officia, sed memori & benevolæ pectore fixissimè insidere: His præsertim temporibus

cum plurimum (quibus antehac nimium indulsumus) K. Charles remerata, aut suspecta fides, pretium aliorum constantia addidit. Cumq; nobis certo constat Radulphum Hopton Militem de Balneo splendidis & Antiquis Natalibus; tum in cetera sua vita integritatis & moris eximium, tum in hac novissima tempestate, fatalique Regni & rebeli motu, rari animi fideique exemplum edidisse, Regia dignitatis in eaq; publica contra utriusq; adversarios assertorem & vindicem acerrimum.

Quippe quia non solum nascenti huic Furori (nec dum omnibus manifesto) optimis consiliis fortis in curia Senator restiterit; sed insinuante se latius veneno, & crescente ferocia domum ad suos reversus fortior Miles in Agro suo Somersetensi & vicinis partibus omni ope & manu iniquissimam causam oppugnaverit, in Arce praesertim Sherborniana, sub Auspiciis Marchionis Hertfordiae egregiam operam navaverit. Mox ulterius progressus pollenti in Devoniam factionis Tyrannide, & munitissima civitate in sedes illata, & jam undique bonis subditis perniciem minante, ipse penè in illa Regione Hospes, contracto à Cornubia Milite, & primoribus statim impetum eorum repressit jacentesq; & afflictas nostras partes mirifica virtute recreavit. Et licet summis necessitatibus conflanti exigua pars Negotii hostes erant, tantum absuit ut vel illis, vel istis succumberet, ut contra copias auctiores, & bellico apparatu instructissimas, saepius signis Collatis in acie dimicans semper superior excesserit: Testis Launcestonia, Saltash, Braddock, aliaque obscura olim nomina & loca, nunc victoriis illius & perduellium cladibus Nobilitata Vix etiam ab his respiraverit, cum novus belli furor Lassas jam fere & continuos praeliis laxatas vires Numerocissime

*K. Charles* microſiſſimo exercitu adortus, ubi ceteros triumphandi  
 ~~~~~ dedit materiam. Cum ille in campis Strattoniæ, in  
 diſſicillimas licet Auguſtias redactus, inops militaris  
 instrumenti, & conſumpſio jam pulvere tormentario,  
 armatos inermis, Vallo munico inter ſola cauſa &  
 virtute animatus, ita recudit, concidit, caſtris  
 exiit, ut totam belli molem cum ipſis Authoribus  
 proſtigauit; Quicquid ſugæ illius reſiduum erat, in-  
 ter arbis unius Mœnia eaque arcta obſidione aſtrieta  
 conclaſo. Qua quidem pugna memorabili, præter  
 quod miſerum popellum, inſano intolerabili leuauerat,  
 ſedes ſuas expulſis, Eccleſias Paſtoribus, pacem omni-  
 bus, & Firmamentum pacis obſequium priſtinum  
 reſtituerit. Et jam ſequenti armorum noſtrorum fœ-  
 licitate qua partes Regni occidentales maturius ad  
 officium & verum Dominum redierunt, & viam appe-  
 ruiſſe & momentum ingens extitiſſe libentiſſimè proſi-  
 temur; In hac opera laudabili cum præſatus Radul-  
 phus perſiſteret adhuc in victo animo & induſtria inde-  
 feſſa nullo arduo quantumvis labore & periculo excu-  
 ſatus, cumque mille argumentis teſtatum fecerit, Ho-  
 norem ſalutemq; noſtram ſibi omni fortuna & capite  
 potiorem, nos virum fortiſſimum optimeque affectum  
 animum benigno ſtudio proſequi & amplius demereri  
 volentes, hunc & præconio merito ornandum, & pro-  
 piori ad nos gradu extollendum cenſuiſimus. Sciatis  
 igitur nos de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcien-  
 tia merito motu præſatum Radulphum Hopton ad ſtatum,  
 gradum, ſtylum, Dignitatem, Titulum anſi Honorem  
 Baronis Hopton de Stratton in Comitatu noſtro Cor-  
 nubix, &c. In cujus rei Teſtimonium hæc Literas  
 Noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes.

Teſte meipſo apud Oxon. quarto die Sep-  
 tembris, Anno Regni Noſtri Decimo  
 nono. His

His two great Actions, the one at *Liscard*, the *K. Charles* other at *Stratton*, cannot be better described than by an Eye-witness, whose words are these as he saith, out of a Manuscript corrected with Sir *Ralph's* own hand, communicated to him by his Secretary *Mr. Tredus*.

At *Liscard* a little before the Fight began, the King's party took it into seasonable consideration, that seeing by the Commission of the Lord *Mohun* brought from *Oxford*, four persons (*viz.* the said Lord *Mohun*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Berkley*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*) were equally empowered in the managing of all Military matters: And seeing such equality might prove inconvenient (which hitherto had been prevented with the extraordinary moderation of all parties) in ordering a Battel, it was fittest to fix the power in one chief; and general consent settled it in Sir *Ralph Hopton*: He first gave order that publick Prayers should be read in the head of every Squadron, and it was done accordingly; and the Enemy observing it, did stile it saying of Mass, as some of their Prisoners afterwards did confess. Then he caused the Foot to be drawn up in the best order they could, and placed a Forlorn of Musquetiers in the little Inlosures, winging them with the few Horse and Dragoons he had. This done, two small My-nion Drakes speedily and secretly fetched from the Lord *Mohun's* house, were planted on a little Barrough within random-shot of the Enemy; yet so, that they were covered out of their sight with small parties of Horse about them. These conceal-ed My-nions were twice discharged with such success, that the Enemy quickly quitted their ground:

K. Charles And all their Army being put into a rout; the King's Forces had the execution of them; which they performed very sparingly, taking 1250 prisoners, all their Cannon and Ammunition, and most of their Colours, and Arms; and after publick Thanks, taking their repose at *Liscard*.

*Saratton Fight succeeds on Tuesday the 16th of May, 1643.*

The King's Army wants Ammunition; and hath a steep hill to gain, with all disadvantage and danger: the Horse and Dragoons being not above five hundred, and the Foot two thousand four hundred.

The Parl. Forces were well furnished and barricadoed upon the top of the hill, their Foot 3400. and their Horse not many indeed, having dispatched 1200 to surprize the Sheriff and Commissioners at *Bodmin*.

On the King's side, order was given to force the passage to the top of the Hill by four several Avenues: the ascent was steep and difficult; resolutely did his Majesties Forces get up, and obstinately did the Enemy keep them down. The Fight continued doubtful, with many countenances of various events (from five in the Morning, till three in the Afternoon) amongst which most remarkable, the smart charge made by M. G. *Chudleigh*, with a stand of Pikes on Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, who fell nobly himself, and had lost his Squadron, had not Sir *John* (now Lord *Berkley*, who led up the Musquetiers on each side of Sir *Bevil*) seasonably relieved it, so resolutely reinforcing the Charge, that Major-General *Chudleigh* was taken Prisoner.

Betwixt

Between three and four of the Clock the Commanders of the King's Forces, who embraced those four several ways of ascent, met to their mutual joy almost at the top of the hill, which the routed enemy *confusedly* forsook. In this service, though they were Assaultants, they lost very few men, and no considerable Officer, killing of the Enemy about three hundred, and taking seventeen hundred prisoners, all their Cannon (being thirteen pieces of brass Ordnance) and Ammunition (seventy barrels of powder) with a Magazine of Bisket and other provision proportionable. For this victory publick Prayer and Thanksgiving was made on the hill; then the Army was disposed of to improve their success to the best advantage.—Nothing had sunk this great spirit, but the fate of Kingdoms, with whose ruine only he was contented to fall, and disband his brave Soldiers upon honourable terms. Five things made my Lord *Hopton* so eminently serviceable. 1. His great insight into the designs, and prudent foresight of the events of present Councils; which when most doubred and wavered, gave him that resolution that undertook great difficulties, and bore up against greater. 2. His experience of War in general, and his acquaintance with that seat of it committed to him in particular. 3. His renown all over the Kingdom for piety and moderation, and within his own association for hospitality, civility, and charity. 4. His name among the Enemies, as considerable for his generousness and justice, as for his valour and conduct. 5. His Estate, that set him above mercenariness; and his care for money, that set his Soldiers above need, the occasion of mutiny-



*K. Charles* ing among themselves, or of incivilities towards others.

### *Observations on the Life of the Earl of Carnarvan.*

**R**obert Dormer Ar. was on the tenth of June 1615. made Baronet by King James, and on the 30 day of the same month was by him created Baron Dormer of Wing in Buckinghamshire. His Grand-child Robert Dormer was by K. Charles in the 4th of his Reign created Viscount Ascot, & Earl of Carnarvan. He lost his life fighting for him who gave him his honour, at the first Battel of Newbury. Being sore wounded, he was desired by a Lord, to know of him what suit he would have to his Majesty in his behalf, the said Lord promising to discharge his trust in presenting his request, and assuring him, that his Majesty would be willing to gratifie him to the utmost of his power. To whom the Earl replied, *I will not dye with a Suit in my mouth to any King, save to the King of Heaven.* By Anne daughter to Philip Earl of Pembroke & Montgomery, he had Charles, now Earl of Carnarvan. From his noble Extract, he received not more honour than he gave it: For the blood that was conveyed to him through so many illustrious veins, he derived to his Children more matured for renown, and by a constant practice of goodness more habituated to vertue. His youth was prepared for action by study, "Without which even the most emi-

"nent

“*gent parts of Noble-men seem rough and unplea-* K. *Charl.*  
“*sant, in despite of the splendor of their fortune :*  
“*But his ripe years endured not those retire-*  
“*ments, and therefore brake out into manlike*  
*exercises at home, and travel abroad. None more*  
*noble, yet none more modest; none more valiant,*  
*yet none more patient.—A Physician at his Father-*  
*in-Law's Table gave him the Lye; which put the*  
*company to admire on the one hand the man's im-*  
*pudence, and on the other my Lord's mildness,*  
*until he said, I'll take the Lye from him, but I'll*  
*never take Physick of him—He may speak what doth*  
*not become him, I'll not do what is unworthy of me—*  
A vertue this! not usual in Noble-men, to whom  
the limits of Equity seem a restraint, and therefore  
are more restless in Injuries. In the midst of  
horror and tumults his soul was serene and calm.  
As humble he was as patient. Honour and nobility,  
“to which nothing can be added, hath no better  
“way to increase, than when secured of its own  
greatness, it humbleth it self, and so at once ob-  
ligeth love, and avoideth envy. His carriage was as  
condescending as heroick, and his speech as weighty  
as free. He was too great to envy any mans parts  
and vertues, and too good not to encourage them.  
Many a time would he stoop with his own spirit, to  
raise other mens.—He neglected the minute and  
little circumstances of compliance with vulgar hu-  
mors, aiming at what was more solid and more  
weighty: Moderate men are applauded, but the  
*Heroick are never understood.*

Constant he was in all that was good: this was  
his heroick expression when solicited by his Wives  
Father to desist from his engagement with the King;

*K. Charles* *Leaveme to my Honour and Allegiance.* No security to him worth a breach of Trust; no interest worth being unworthy. His conduct was as eminent in War, as his carriage in Peace; many did he oblige by the generosity of his mind, more did he awe with the hardness of his body; which was no more softened to sloath by the dalliances of a Court, than the other was debauched to a carelessness by the greatness of his *Fortune*. His prudence was equal to his valour, and he could entertain dangers as well as despise them; for he not only undeceived his enemies surmises, but exceeded his own friends opinion in the conduct of his soldiers, of whom he had two cares; the one to discipline, the other to preserve them. Therefore they were as compleatly armed without, as they were well appointed within; that surviving their first dangers; they might attain that experience & resolution which is in vain expected from young and raw soldiers. To this conduct of a General, he added the industry of a *Soldier*, doing much by his performances, more by his example, that went as an active soul to enliven each part, & the whole of his brave *Squadron*. "But there is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the justice of publick engagements. "Nor doth God account every Gallant a fit instrument to assert in the way of war a righteous cause; "the event can never state the justice of any cause, "nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eternal fate of their souls.

They were no doubt Martyrs who neglected their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world, having no advantageous design by any innovation, but were religiously sensible of those eyes to God, the

the Church; their King, their Countrey; which *K. Charles* lay upon their souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

“God could, and I doubt not but he did  
“through his mercy crown many of them with eter-  
“nal life, whose lives were lost in for good a cause :  
the destruction of their bodies being sanctified as a  
means to save their souls.

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*Observations on the Life of the Lord  
Herbert of Cherbury.*

**E***Edward Herbert*, son of *Richard Herbert Esq;*  
and *Susan Newport* his Wife, was born at  
*Montgomery-Castle*, and brought to Court by  
the Earl of *Pembroke*, where he was Knighted  
by *K. James*, who sent him over Ambassador into  
*France*. Afterwards *K. Charles* the first created  
him Baron of *Castle-Island* in *Ireland*, and some  
years after Baron of *Cherbury* in *Montgomeryshire*.  
He was a most excellent Artist and rare Linguist,  
studied both in Books and Men, and himself the  
Author of two Works most remarkable, viz. A  
Treatise of Truth, written in *French*, so highly  
prized beyond the Seas, and (they say) it is ex-  
tant at this day with great Honour in the Popes Va-  
tican; and an History of King *Henry* the Eighth;  
wherein his Collections are full and authentick; his  
observation judicious; his connexion strong and  
coherent, and the whole exact. He married the  
Daughter & sole Heir of Sir *William Herbert* of St.  
*Julians* in *Monmouth-shire*, with whom he had a  
large

*K. Charles* large Inheritance in *England* and *Ireland*; and died in *August*, *Anno Dom.* 1648. having designed a fair Monument of his own invention to be set up for him in the Church of *Montgomery*, according to the model following;

Upon the ground a Hath pace of fourteen foot square, on the midst of which is placed a Dorick Column, with its right of Pedestal Basis, and Capitols fifteen foot in height; on the Capitol of the Column is mounted an Urn with a Heart Flamboy, supported by two Angels. The foot of this Column is attended with four Angels, placed on Pedestals at each corner of the said Hath-pace, two having Torches reversed, extinguishing, the Motto of Mortality; the other two holding up Palms, the Emblems of Victory.

When this noble person was in *France*, he had private Instructions from *England* to mediate a Peace for them of the Religion; and in case of refusal, to use certain menaces.—Accordingly being referred to *Luynes* the Constable and Favourite of *France*, he delivereth him the Message, reserving his threatenings till he saw how the matter was resolved.—*Luynes* had hid behind the Curtain a Gentleman of the Religion, who being an Ear-witness of what passed, might relate to his friends “what little expectations they ought to entertain “from the King of *England*’s intercession.

“*Luynes* was very haughty, and would needs “know what our KING had to do with their affairs:

affairs: Sir Edward replied; *It's not you to whom* *K. Charles*  
*the King my Master oweth an account of his atti-*  
*ons; and for me, it's enough that I obey him. In the*  
*mean time I must maintain, That my Master hath*  
*more reason to do what he doth, than you to ask*  
*why he doth it? Nevertheless, If you desire me in*  
*a gentle fashion, I shall acquaint you further.*

Whereupon *Luyne* bowing a little, said,  
*Very well.* The Ambassador answered; That  
*it was not on this occasion only, that the*  
*King of Great Britain had desired the Peace and*  
*prosperity of France, but upon all other occasi-*  
*ons, when ever any War was raised in that*  
*Countrey; and this he said was his first reason.*  
*The second was, That when a Peace was settled*  
*there, his Majesty of France might be better*  
*disposed to assist the Palatinate in the affairs of*  
*Germany.* *Luyne* said, *We will have none of your*  
*advices.* The Ambassador replied, That he took  
*that for an Answer, and was sorry only that the*  
*affection and the good will of the King his Master*  
*was not sufficiently understood; and that since*  
*it was rejected in that manner, he could do no*  
*less than say, That the King his Master knew well*  
*enough what he had to do.* *Luyne* answered; *We*  
*are not afraid of you.* The Ambassador smiling a  
*little, replied, If you had said you had not loved us,*  
*I should have believed you, and made another an-*  
*swer: In the mean time, all that I will tell you*  
*more is, That we know very well what we have to*  
*do.* *Luyne* hereupon rising from his Chair, with  
*a fashion and countenance a little discomposed,*  
*said, By God, If you were not Monsieur the Embas-*  
*sador, I know very well how I would use you.* Sir  
 Edward

*K. Charles Edw. Herbert* rising also from his Chair, said ; *That as he was his Majesty of Great-Britain's Ambassador, so he was also a Gentleman, and that his Sword whereon he laid his hand, should do him reason if he had taken any offence.* After which *Luynes* replying nothing, the Ambassador went on his way toward the door ; and *Luynes* seeming to accompany him, he told him there was no occasion to use such Ceremony after such Language ; and so departed, expecting to hear further from him : But no Message being brought him from *Luynes*, he had in pursuance of his Instructions a more civil Audience of the King at *Coignac*, where the Marshal of *St. Geran* told him he had offended the Constable, and he was not in a place of security here : whereunto he answered ; *That he held himself to be in a place of security wheresoever he had his Sword by him.*

*Luynes* resenting the affront, got *Cadenet* his brother, Du. of *Chauv.* with a ruffling train of Officers (whereof there was not one, as he told *K. James*, but had killed his man) as an Ambassador extraordinary to mis-report their Traverses so much to the disparagement of *Sir Edw.* that the Earl of *Cardisle*, sent to accommodate *Le Mal Entendu* that might arise between the 2 Crowns, got him called home ; until the Gentleman behind the Curtains, out of his duty to truth and honour, related all circumstances so, as that it appeared, that though *Luynes* gave the first affront, yet *Sir Edward* kept himself within the bounds of his Instructions and Honour, very discreetly and worthily.—Insomuch that he fell on his knees to King *James* before the Duke of *Buckingham*, to have a Trumpeter, if not an Herald

rald sent to Monsieur *Luyues*, to tell him, that he had made a false Relation of the passages before-mentioned, and that Sir *Edward Herbert* would demand reason of him with Sword in hand on that point.—The King answered, he would take it into consideration: But *Luyues* a little after died, and Sir *Edward* was sent Ambassador to *France* again, and otherwise employed so, that if it had not been for Fears and Jealousies, the bane of publick services, he had been as great in his Actions, as in his Writings; and as great a Statesman, as he is confessed a Scholar.

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*Observations on the Life of the Lord  
Capel.*

**H**is privacy before the War was passed with as much popularity in the Country, as his more publick appearance in it was with valour and fidelity in the Field: In our too happy time of Peace none more pious, hospitable, charitable and munificent: In those more unhappy of our Differences none more reserved, Loyal, and active. The people loved him so well, that they chose him one of their Representatives; and the King esteemed him so much, that he sent for him as one of his Peers in that Parliament, wherein the King and people agreed in no one thing, save a just kindness for my Lord *Capel*, who was one of those excellent Gentlemen, whose gravity and discretion (the King saith) he hoped would allay and fix the Faction



*K. Charles Faction to a due temperament (guiding some mens well-meaning Zeal by such rules of moderation, as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms) keeping to the dictates of his conscience, rather than the importunities of the people; to what was just, than what was safe, save only in the Earl of Strafford's case, wherein he yielded to the publick Necessity with his Royal Matter, but repented with him too, sealing his contrition for that miscarriage with his blood, when he was more troubled for his forced consent to that brave person's death, than for losing his own life; which he ventured throughout the first War, and lost by his Engagement in the second. For after the surrender of Oxford, he retired to his own house, but could not rest there, until the King was brought home to his; which all England endeavouring as one man, my Lord adventured himself at Colchester to extremity, yielding himself upon condition of Quarter, which he urged by the Law of Arms, that Law that (as he said on the Scaffold) governeth the world, and against the Laws of God and Man (they are his own words) for keeping the fifth Commandment, dying on the Scaffold at Westminster, with a courage that became a clear conscience, and a resolution befitting a good Christian; expressing that judicious piety in the Chamber of Meditation at his death, that he did in his *Book of Meditation* in his life: a piety that (as it appeared by his dismissal of his Chaplain, and the formalities of that time's devotion, before he came to the Scaffold) was rather his inward frame and habit, than outward ostentation or pomp; from the noble Sentiments whereof (as the Poet (not unhappily alluding*

ding to his Arms; *A Lyon rampant in a Field Gules between three crosses*) expresseth it)

*Our Lyon-like Capel undaunted stood,  
Beset with Crosses in a Field of blood.*

as one that affrighted death, rather than was affrighted by it—It being very observable, that a learned Doctor of Physick present at the opening and embalming of this noble Lord, and Duke Hamilton, delivering at a publick Lecture, that the Lord Capel's was the least heart, and the Duke's the greatest that ever he saw; agreeable to the observation in Philosophy, that the spirits contracted within the least compass, are the cause of the greater courage. Three things are considerable in this incomparable person. 1. His uninterrupted Loyalty keeping pace with his Life; for his last breath was spent in proclaiming K. Charles the II. in the very face of his Enemies, as known to him to be a vertuous, noble, gentle, just, and great Prince; a *Perfect Englishman in his inclination.* 2. His great merits and modesty, whereof K. Charles I. writes thus to his excellent Queen; *There is one that doth not yet pretend, that doth deserve as well as any, I mean Capel; Therefore I desire thy assistance to find out something for him before he ask.* 3. The blessing of God upon his noble, but suffering Family, who was a Husband to his excellent Widow, and a Father to his hopeful Children, whom not so much their birth, beauty, and portion (though they were eminent for these) as their Vertues, married to the best Bloods and Estates in the Land, even when they and the Cause they suffered for were at the lowest.

It's

*K. Charles* It's the happiness of good men, though themselves miserable, that *their seed shall be mighty, and their Generation blessed.*

### *Observations on the Life of Bishop Andrews.*

**I** Have much to do to prevail with my own hand to write this excellent Prelate a Statesman of England, though he was Privy-Councillor in both Kingdoms: For I remember that he would say when he came to the Council-Table; *Is there any thing to be done to day for the Church?* If they answered *Yea*, then he said, *I will stay*—If *No*, he said, *I will be gone*.—Though yet this be an instance of as much prudence as any within the compass of our Observation: So safe is every man within the circle of his own place, and so great an argument of abilities hath it been always confessed, to know as well what we *ought*, as what we *can*, especially in Clergy-men, whose over-doing doth abate their reverence, and increase their *envy*, by laying open those defects and miscarriages, which are otherwise hallowed, or at least concealed in the mystick sacredness of their own function. Not but that men of that gravity and exactness, of that knowledge and experience, of that stayedness and moderation, of that sobriety and temperance, of that observation and diligence as Bishops are presumed to be, were in all Governments judged as fit to manage publick affairs, as men of any other professions

professions whatever, without any prejudice to the Church; which must be governed as well as taught,—and managed as well as a society dwelling in the world, as under the notion of a peculiar people taken out of it.—His successful skill in dealing with the Papists under my Lord of *Huntington* President of the *North*; and with the Puritans under Doctor *Cosin*, an Ecclesiastical Officer in the *South*, recommended him to Sir *Francis Walsingham's* notice, as a person too useful to be buried in a Country-Living; who thereupon intended to set up his Learning in a Lecture at *Cambridge*, to confute the Doctrine of *Rome*; until Queen *Eliz.* resolved to set up his prudence in other Employments at Court, to countermine its policy: where I know not whether the acuteness of his Sermons took most with the most Learned; the devotion of them with the most pious; or the prudence of them with the most Wise—(it hath been one thing always to Preach learnedly, and another thing to preach wisely) for to the Immensity of his Learning, he added excellent Principles of politicke prudence, as a governour of the Church, and a Councillor of State, wherein he was conspicuous; not for the crafty projects and practices of policy, or for those sinister ways of Artifice and subtility, or the admired depths of Hypocrisie called reason of State; nor the measures and rules of his Politicks and Prudentials were taken from the great experience he had gotten, and many excellent observations he had made out of all Histories, as well *Humane* as *Divine*: though he always laid the greatest weight upon the grounds and instances of holy Scripture, which gives the truest judgement of

*K. Charles* wisdom or folly; considering the mixture of State-affairs, with those of the Church in *Christian* Common-wealths, and the fitness of sober and discreet Clergy-men for those of the State in *all*. It's a wonder how Clergy-men come to be excluded publick Councils at any time: but observing Bishop *Andrews* his insight into the Fundamental constitution of our State, as appears from his Speech in the Countess of *Shrewsbury's* Case: His distinct foresight of the consequences of Affairs, evident in his speech against *Thraske*: His circumspect care of the Publick, visible in his Petition to King *James* then sick at *New-Market*; that the Prince then under Scotch *Tutors* be educated by well-principled men, the occasion that King *James* took to bring him up himself so exactly in the Doctrine and Discipline of our Church, that it's a question whether he was more by his *Pen* or *Sword*, his Scepter or his Style, *The Defender of the Faith*:—His wonderful skill in the government of this Church, discerned by the excellent King *Charles*, in that he sent so many Bishops to consult with him, 1625, what was to be done for the Church in that Parliament: His caution and moderation, in that he never, unless upon great considerations, innovated in his Church, but left things in the same decency and order he found them (knowing that all alterations have their dangers) I am astonished to think, that Bishops should be forbidden secular employment in our time.—Who hath more amplexness and completeness (saith Bishop *Gauden*) for a good man, a good Bishop, a good Christian, a good Scholar, a good Preacher, and a good Counsellor, than Bishop *Andrews*, a man of an astonishing excellency both at home and abroad?

*Obser.*

*Observations on the Life of Henry Mountague Earl of Manchester.*

"**H**enry Earl of Manchester, third son to Sir Edward Mountague, Grand-child to Sir Edward Mountague Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench in King Edward the sixth's time, was born at Boughton in Northampton-shire. One skillful in mysterious Arts, beholding him when a School-boy, foretold that by the pregnancy of his parts, he would raise himself above the rest of his Family; which came to pass accordingly: He being bred first in Christs-Colledge in Cambridge, then in the Middle Temple, where he attained to great Learning in the Laws; passed through many preferments, as they are reckoned up, viz.

"1. Sergeant at Law.

"2. Knighted by K. James, July 23. 1603.

"3. Recorder of London.

"4. Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, Novemb. 18. 1616.

"5. Lord Treasurer of England, Decemb. 16. 1620.

"6. Baron of Kimbolton.

"7. Viscount Mandevile.

"8. President of the Council, Sept. 29. 1631.

"9. Earl of Manchester.

"10. Lord Privy-Seal.

"He wisely perceiving that Courtiers were but

K. Charles

as Counters in the hands of Princes, raised and depressed in valuation at pleasure, was content-ed rather to be set for a smaller sum, than to be quite put up into the box. Thus in point of place and preferment, being pleased to be what the King would have him (according to his Motto, *Movendo non mutando me*) he became almost what he would be himself, finally advanced to an Office of great Honour. When Lord Privy-Seal, he brought the Court of Requests into such repute, that what formerly was called the Alms-Basket of the Chancery, had in his time well-nigh as much meat, and guests about it (I mean Suits and Clients) as the Chancery itself. His Meditations of Life and Death, called *Manchester Al mondo*, written in the time of his health, may be presumed to have left good impressions on his own soul, preparatory for his dissolution, which happened 164—

The Office of Lord Treasurer was ever beheld as a place of great charge and profit. My Lord being demanded what it might be worth *per ann.* made this answer; *That it might be some thousands of pounds to him (who after death would go instantly to heaven) twice as much to him who would go to Purgatory, and a Nemo scit to him who would adventure to a worse place.* But indeed, he that will be a bad husband for himself in so advantagious a place, will never be a good one for his Sovereign.

Observa



*Observations on the Life of Sir Henry  
Wotton, with some Account of his  
Relations.*

Sir Henry Wotton first having read of his Ancestor Sir Robert Wotton, the noble Lieutenant of Guisnes, and Comptroller of Calais, in King Edward the fourth's days, His Grand-father Sir Edward Wotton, that refused to be Chancellor of England in King Henry the Eighth's time. 2. Having known his Father Sir Thomas Wotton, one of the most Ingenuous modesty, the most Ancient freedom, plainness, single-heartedness, and integrity in Queen Elizabeth's Reign: His Brothers Sir Edward Wotton, the famous Comptroller of Queen Eliz. and K. James his Court, since Lord Wotton, & Baron Morley in Kent; Sir James Wotton (with R. Earl of Essex, Count Lodowick of Nassau, Don Christophoro, son of Antonio King of Portugal, &c.) Knighted as an excellent Soldier at Cadiz; Sir John Wotton the accomplished Traveller and Scholar, for whom Queen Eliz. designed a special favour: — His Uncle Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, nine times Embassador for the Crown of England (he that was one of King Henry's Executors, King Edward's Secretary of State, Queen Mary's right hand and (that refused the Arch-Bishoprick of Canterbury in Queen Eliz. days.) 3. Being bred 1. In Winche-



K. Charles

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
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*K. Charles* ster, that eminent School for Discipline and Order.  
 3. In New-Colledge and Queens, those famous Colledges for the method of Living by rule, could promise no less than he did in his solidly sententious, and discreetly humoured Play at *Queens*, called *Tancredo*, in his elegant Lecture of the nobleness, manner, and use of *Seeing*, at the Schools (for which the learned *Athericus Gentilis* called him, *Henricus Mi Ocelle*, and communicated to him his *Mathematic*, his *Law*, and his *Italian learning*) in his more particular converse with Doctor *Donne* and Sir *Richard Baker* in the University, and his more general conversation with Man-kind in travels for one year to *France* and *Geneva*, (where he was acquainted with *Theodore Beza*, and *Isaac Casanbon*, at whose Fathers he lodged) for eight years in *Germany*, for five in *Italy*, whence returning balanced with Learning and Experience, with the Arts of *Rome*, *Venice*, and *Florence* (*Picture*, *Sculpture*, *Chimistry*, *Architecture*) the Secrets, Languages, Dispositions, Customs, and Laws of most Nations, set off with his choice shape, obliging behaviour, sweet discourse, and sharp wit, he could perform no less than he did. 1. In the unhappy relation he had to the Earl of *Essex*, first of *Friend*, and afterward of *Secretary*. 2. In his more happy Interest by his Secretary *Vietta* (upon his flight out of *England* after the Earl's apprehension) with the Duke of *Tuscany*, then the greatest patron of Learning and Arts in the world; who having discovered a design to poison King *James*, as the known successor of Queen *Elizabeth*, sent Sir *Henry Wotton* with notice of the plot, and preservatives against the poison, by the way of *Norway* into *Scotland*,

land, under the borrowed name of *Ostasio Baldi*; *K. Charles* where after some suspicion of the *Italian* message, discovering himself to the King by *David Lindsey's* means, he was treated with much honour, complacency, and secrecy for three months. After which time he returned to *Florence*, staying there till King *James* enquiring concerning him of my Lord *Wotton* the Comptroller; the great Duke advised his return to congratulate his Majesty, as he did; the King embracing him in his arms, & calling him the best, because the honestest Dissembler that he met with: and Knighting him by his own name. Adding withal; "That since he knew he wanted neither Learning nor Experience; neither Abilities nor Faithfulness, he would employ him to others, as he was employed to him; which accordingly he did to *Venice*, the place he chose as most suitable to his retired Genius, and narrow Estate; where, 1. Studying the dispositions of the several Dukes and Senators. 2. Sorting of fit Presents, curious, and not costly Entertainments, sweetned with various and pleasant discourse, particularly his elegant application of Stories: He had such interest, that he was never denied any request; whereby he did many services to the Protestant interest (with his Chaplain Bishop *Biddle*, and *Padre Panlo*'s assistance) during the Controversie between the Pope and the *Venetians*, especially intransmitting the History of the Council of *Trent*, sheet by sheet to the King and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* as it was written: And in his three Embassies thither, gained many Priviledges for the *English* along all those Coasts. In the second of which Embassies, calling upon the Emperour, he

*K. Charles* had brought Affairs to a Treaty, had not the Emperours success interposed; whereupon he took his leave, wishing that Prince to use *his Victory* soberly; an advice his carriage endeared to his Majesty, together with his person, so far, that he gave him a Diamond worth above a thousand pounds, which he bestowed on his Hostess, saying, *He would not be the better by a man that was an open Enemy to his Mistress*, so the Queen of Bohemia was pleased he should call her:—Onely while abroad, and writing in the *Album* that friends have this sentence, *Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mendiandum reipublica causa*, whereof *Scioppius* made a malicious use in his Books against King *James*. He lost himself a while for using more freedom abroad than became his Employment, until his ingenuous, clear, and choicely eloquent Apologies recovered him to more respect and cautiousness, until he writ *Invidia Remedium* over his Lodgings at *Eaton-Colledge*, the Provostship whereof he obtained in exchange for the reversion of the Mastership of the Rolls, and other places promised him; Where looking upon himself in his Surplice, as *Charles 5.* or *Philip 2.* in Cloysters, his Study was divine Meditations, History and Characters: His recreation Philosophical conclusions, and Angling; which he called his idle time not idly spent, saying, he would rather live five *May months*, than forty *Decembers*: His Table was exquisite, where two youths attended, upon whom he made the observations that were to furnish his designed discourse of Education: His Histories and Observations remarkable, his Apophthegms sage and quick.

1. Being in a Popish Chappel, a merry Priest that

that knew him, sent a Paper to him, with this question; *Where was your Religion before Luther?* Under which he writ; *Where yours is not, in the written word of God.*

2. Being asked, whether a Papist could be saved? He replied; *You may be saved without knowing that: look to your self.*

3. Hearing one rail against *Arminius* & Popery, he answered, *Sir, he has understands amiss, concludeth worse:—If you had studied Popery so much as I have, and knew Arminius so well as I did; how terrified, how strict, and how rare a man he was, you would not fall so foul on his person, nor think that the further you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to God.*

4. One pitched upon for Embassador, came to *Eaton*, and requested from him some Experimental rule for his prudent and safe carriage in his Negotiation; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible Aphorism: *That to be in safety himself, & serviceable to his Country, he should alwayes, and upon all occasions speak the truth; For (said he) you shall never be believed; and by this means your truth will secure your self, if you shall ever be called to any account: and it will also put your Adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings.*

5. And when he made his Will two years before he died, out of policy to let the King understand his Debts and Arrears (to which end he bestowed in that Will on his Majesty, *Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's* Papers of Negotiation in Queen *Elizabeth's* dayes: on the Queen, *Dioscorides* in *Tuscany*, with  
the

*K. Charles* the Herbs naturally coloured: on the Prince, the Queen of *Bohemia's* picture: on my Lord of *Canterbury*, the picture of *Divine love*: to my Lord of *London*, high Treasurer, *Heracitus* and *Democritus*; and to Secretary *Windebanke* old *Bastano's* four Seasons) he directed that this onely should be written on his plain Marble:

*Hic jacet hujus sententia primus auctor;  
Disputandi Pruritus sit Ecclesiarum Scabies:  
Nomen aliàs quare:*

7. Going yearly to *Boston* for the connaturalness of that Air, and to *Winchester* or *Oxford* for Recreation, he would say to his friends; How useful was that advice of a holy Monk, who perswaded his friend to perform his customary devotion in a constant place, where his former thoughts might meet him; for (said he) at my being at that School, seeing the place where I sat when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember my youthful thoughts; sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixture of cares, and those to be enjoyed when time (which I thought slow-paced) changed my youth to man-hood; and now there are a succession of Boys using the same recreation, & questionless possessed with the same thoughts. Thus one generation succeeds another both in their Lives, Recreations, Hopes, Fears, and Deaths.

8. There are four things that recommend Sir *Henry Wotton* to posterity: 1. That King *Charles* took great pleasure in corresponding with him in Letters,

Letters. 2. That my Lord Bacon took great pains in collecting his Apophthegmes. 3. That Sir Richard Baker, who submitted most of his Writings to his Censure, said of him; That the Kingdom yielded not a fitter man to match the Capriciousness of the Italian wits. And 4. That his work of Architecture is translated into *Latine*, printed with *Vitruvius*, and this Elogy prefixed:

Henricus Wottonus *Anglo-Cantianus* Tho. optimi viri Filius Natus minimus a serenissimo Jacobo I. Magnæ Britannix, &c. Rege in Equestrem titulum ascitus, ejusdemque iter ad Remp. Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad Confederatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Julienſi Negotio; bis ad Carolum Emanuelem Subaudia ducem: Semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbronensi. Postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittenbergensem, Civitates Imperiales Argentinam, Ulmamque, & ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum II. Legatus Extraordinarius Tandem hoc Dedit.

*Animas sapientiores fieri quiescendo.*

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*Observations on the Lives of the Lord Wilmot, and Sir Tho. Roe.*

THESE honourable persons are united not so much in their own relation or character, as in my unhappiness, who was promised Observations on the life of the first, but never had them;



*K. Charles* them; and *had* some on the life of the second, but *lost* them.

1. My Lord *Wilmot* I finde *acting* like a *Statesman*, when *Commissary* in the expedition against the *Scots*; and *speaking* like a *Soldier*, when a Member of the Parliament that was for them: in the first capacity speaking with my Lord *Conway*, he saw the King would be overcome by the *English* at home, if he overcame not the *Scots* abroad. In the second, whispering with some Army-Officers, he said; *If the Scots Army were paid in the North, the King's Army would be paid in the South.*—A wise and brave speech, that had almost rallied all the Army against the Parliament, as soon as that Parliament had rallied their multitude against the King; but that *treachery* got easily into the bosom of that brave Prince, that had nothing but *honesty* in his heart.

Yet since he could not awe the counsels of the faction in the City, he went to suppress their Rebellion in the Field; being voted a Traitor by the Rebels, because he endeavoured they should not be so. What he performed in the Wars, all the Kingdom knows; what he did at *Oxford*, the King's Letters intimate; what he negotiated in *Germany*, acted in *Scotland*, endeavoured at *Worcester*, and other places for the King's Majesties escape and restauration, posterity shall celebrate while he lives, as renownedly in History, as he doth nobly in his son the most hopeful Earl of *Rocheſter*.

2. Sir *Thomas Roe*—understood the dispositions of men so exactly, could suit their humours so fitly, observe opportunities and seasons of actions

so

so punctually, keep correspondence so warily, *K. Charles* wade through difficulties so handsomly, wave the pinch of a business so dexterously, contrive Interests so suitably, that he was advised with concerning the most important Affairs of the Kingdoms he resided in abroad, and admitted of the Privy-Council while he lived at home—Where his speech against the debasing of the Coyn at the Council-Table will last as long as there is *reason of State* in the world; His settlement of Trade as long as this is an Island; and his Eastern *MS S.* as long as there are Books to furnish Libraries, or Libraries to preserve Books. Three of the noblest *English* actions beyond Sea are these. 1. That Sir *Thomas Roe* pardoned the *Dutch* Merchants thrice in *Persia* and *Turkey* at his mercy. 2. That my Lord *Wilmot*, when Ambassador in *Germany*, refused the assistance of the Popes Nuncio, or *Turkish* Aga; judging his great Master, when at lowest, above those suspected Auxiliaries. 3. That my Lord *Culpeper* having offered him in *Muscovy* all the *English* goods there, refused them, declaring his Royal Master a Father of his Country, though kept out of it by Traitors; and a merciful Prince to his People, when cast off by the Rebels.



*Observations on the Life of Arch-Bishop Juxon.*

**W**illiam Juxon, born at *Chichester* in *Sussex*, was bred Fellow in *St. John's* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he proceeded Bachelor of Law; very young, but very able for that Degree: afterwards becoming Doctor in the same Faculty, and President of the Colledge, was one in whom Nature had not omitted, but Grace had ordered the Terrarch of humours, being admirably Master of his Pen and Passion. For his Abilities, he was successively preferred by King *Charles* the first, Bishop of *Hereford* and *London*, and for some years Lord Treasurer of *England*: wherein he had Religion to be honest, and no self-interest to be corrupt. A troublesome place in those times, being expected he should make much Brick (though not altogether without, yet) with very little straw allowed unto him: Large then the Expences, low the Revenues of the Exchequer. Yet those Coffers he found empty, he left filling, and had left full, had Peace been preserved in the Land, and he continued in his Place. Such the mildness of his temper, that Petitioners for money (when it was not to be had) departed well pleased with his Denials; they were so civilly languaged. It may justly seem a wonder, that whereas few spake well of Bishops at that time, and Lord Treasurers at all Times are liable to the complaints

of discontented people; though both Offices met *K. Charles* in this man, yet with *Demetrius* he was well reported of all men, and of the truth it self. He lived to see much shame and contempt undeservedly poured on his Function, and all the while possessed his own soul in patience.

Nor was it the least part of this Prelate's honour, that amongst the many worthy Bishops of our Land, King *Charles* the first selected him for his Confessor at his Martyrdom, when he honoured him with this testimony; *That good man.* He formerly had had experience [in the case of the Earl of *Strasford*] that this Bishop's Conscience was bottom'd on piety, not policy, the reason that from him he received the Sacrament, good comfort and counsel just before he was murdered. I say, just before the Royal Martyr was murdered; a Fact so foul, that it alone may confute the Error of the *Pelagians*, maintaining that all sin cometh by imitation, the Universe nor formerly affording such a Precedent, as if those Regicides had purposely designed to disprove the observation of *Solomon*, that *there is no new thing under the Sun.*

King *Charles* the second preferred him Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* 1660. He died in the year of our Lord, 1663. and with great solemnity was buried in *St. John's Colledge in Oxford*,—to which he was a great Benefactor, though a greater to *Pauls* and *Lambeth*; and greatest of all to the Church which his eminence adorned, and his temper secured in those times, wherein roughness enraged that humour, which delay and moderation broke: a discreet yielding to the multitude is the securest way of *Conquest*: They that hold together  
by

*K. Charles* by opposition, languish and moulder away by indulgence: In his duty, this good man went along with *Conscience*, in Government, with Time and Law. He had the happiness, that *K. James* admired in a Statesman of his time, to do all things *suavibus modis*: He referred his Master in the Earl of *Strafford's* case, as he did himself in all cases, to his own *Conscience* for matter of fact, and to the Judges for matter of Law; who according to their Oath ought to carry themselves indifferently between the King and his Subjects.—The King was not more happy in this faithful servant, than he was in his followers, among whom there was no uncivil Austerity to disoblige the Subjects, nor base Corruption to incense them. They need not keep state, they had so much real power; nor extort, they had so much allowed advantage. His care was his servants, and their care his business: His preferments were his burthen rather than his honour; advanced by him, rather than advancing him—and therefore he was more ready to lay them down, than others to take them up: Witness his Treasurers Place; which when he parted with (like those that scatter their Jewels in the way, that they may debar the violence of greedy pursuers) no less than four durst undertake; when his single self sufficed for the two greatest troubles of this Nation, the *Treasureship of England*, and the *Bishoprick of London*.

Religion was the inclination and composure as well as care of his soul; which he used not as the artifice of pretence or power, but as the ornament and comfort of a private breast, never affecting a pompous piety, nor a magnificent virtue, but approving

proving himself in secret to that God who would *K. Charles* reward him openly. His devotion was as much above other mens, as his Calling; his meditations equal with his cares; and his thoughts *even* and free between his Affairs and his Contemplations, which were his pleasures; as well as his duty, the uniform temper and pulse of his Christian soul. Neither was his Religion that of a man only, but that of a Bishop too, that made his Piety as universal as his Province, by such assistances of power, as brought carnal men, if not to an *obedience*, yet to such a degree of *reverence*, that if they did not honour, they might not despise it. His justice was as his Religion, clear and uniform; First, the ornament of his heart, then the honour of his action. Neither was Justice leavened with rigour or severity, but sweetened with clemency and goodness; that was never angry but for the publick, and not then so much at the person, as the offence: So ambitious of that great glory of Moderation, that he kept it up in spite of the times malignity, wherein he saw all change without himself, while he remained the self-same still within the Idea of *sobriety* and *temperance*, vertues that he put off only with his life: Neither was this a defect of spirit, but the temper of it; that though it never provoked troubles, yet it never feared them: His minde was always *great*, though his *fortune* not so: Great to suffer, though not always able to act: so good his temper, and so admirable his humility, that none ever went discontented from him:—Never courting, but always winning people, having a passage to their hearts through their brain; and making them first *admire*, and then love him. He

*K. Charles*

was slow, not of speech, as a defect; but to speak, out of discretion: because when speaking, he plentifully paid the *Principal* and *Interest* of his Auditors expectation.

In a word, his government as a Bishop was gentle, benigne, and paternal: His management of the Treasury was such, that he served his Prince faithfully, satisfied all his friends, and silenced all his enemies; of which he had enough as a Bishop, Greatness is so invidious and suspected; though none as a man, goodness is so meek and inoffensive. The *most* thought the worse of Dr. Juxon for the Bishops sake, the *best* thought the better of the Bishop for Dr. Juxon's sake.

### *Observations on the Life of John Lord Culpeper.*

I Find nothing promoting him to his first preferment of Chancellor of the Exchequer, but his *pure merit*; nor any thing advancing him to his after-honours, but his steady *Loyalty*;—which when others stuck to *London* (in compliance with that Maxim; *In all Divisions keep your self to the Metropolis, the chief City being for the most part preserved, who-ever prevaleth, in a Civil Commotion, abounding in Money and Friends, the readiest Commodities to purchase Quiet*) carried him after a persecuted Sovereign for twenty years together, by the strong obligation of a well-principled Conscience, and the well-weighed observa-

tion of the natural Affection of all "*Englishmen* K. *Charles*  
 "to their lawful Sovereign; from whom, though  
 "the Arts and Impulses of seditious Demagogues  
 "may a while estrange and divorce their minds,  
 "yet their Genius will irresistibly at last force them  
 "to their first love.

It was the resolution of a great States-man;  
*That if the Crown of England were placed but on an*  
*Hedge-stake, he would be on that side the Crown was.*  
 His first service was to discover his Sovereign to  
 his deluded People, worthy not only of their o-  
 bedience, but their lives and fortunes. His next  
 was, to lay open his Enemies in all their *Intrigues*  
 and *Reserves*, being most happy in all the Treaties  
 he was engaged in, in discerning the bottom of  
 his own Parties Interest, and their Adversaries  
 pretensions discoveries! that prevailed on all that  
 was either noble or but ingenuous in the Nation,  
 especially whither my Lord came with his indefa-  
 tigable Industry, his obliging Converse, and po-  
 tent Eloquence, excepting *London* its self, whi-  
 ther he was sent from *Nottingham*, with the Earls  
 of *Sonthampton* and *Dorset*, and Sir *William We-*  
*dale* Knight, the very day the King set up his  
 Standard there. The Principle he went upon was,  
*That the Faction at Westminster was no Parliament;*  
 A Principle most safe on all hands: For which and  
 the rest of his judicious Sentiments, he hath the  
 honour to be enrolled among those that Traitors  
 durst not pardon; which he could not choose but  
 smile at, knowing (as he used to say) "*That*  
 "*Treason is always within five years weary of its*  
 "*self, the People being more impatient of their own*  
 "*Libertinism, than of the strictest and most heavy*



*K. Charles*

*government.* His way of Intelligence from *London* by *Mistress E. P.* friend to *J. M.* puts me in minde of a passage in *Queen Elizabeths* Reign; who being presented with an Overture out of *Spain*, so secretly managed by the Councel there, as the first news of its approach came with its self: the Messengers (out of fear of a surprizal) dispensing the Ceremonies commonly used in the behalf of Embassadors (something strange, considering the haughtiness of that Nation) did much inflame the Lord Treasurer's desire to know the farthest extent "of the Negotiation, as conducing "to a present advantage, that such an Answer might "be made as should in some proportion quadraté "with the demand of the Catholique King, at that "time standing upon Terms little different from "those of an Enemy. And being informed from "the ordinary Espials he kept about his Person, "that the attempt was something difficult, if not "impossible; the Don out of distrust still carrying "his Instructions in his bosom: *Burleigh* caused "such a Jesuite to be apprehended, as by reason "of former miscarriages could not expect mercy; "and imparts his desires to him under as large "promises if he brought them about, as threats "to be revenged on him and his Associates, if he "found himself abused. All which, though with "some reluctancy he undertook: and performed, "through the meditation of a *fair Lady* that first "took away his Commission, and then again laid "it under his Pillow whilst he slept.

His early endeavours for Peace by Addresses to *London*, *Scotland*, *Cornwal*, speak his integrity, and his prudence. Every inconsiderable person may be

be powerful at disturbances: but to form Peace, *K. Charl.* requires much wisdom and great vertues) and his observations upon the division of the great Faction to two parties, *Independent* and *Presbyterian*. His care and watchfulness; none of their clashes escaping his reach, which was ready to accommodate as occasion served their respective Interests, in their New-models and alterations; making as good use of Fears and Jealousies between them, as they had done between the King and his People; being one of those brave spirits that made much of good Soldiers and Subjects, notwithstanding their ill success if they continued their good affections [*careat successibus opto quisquis ab eventus exitus acta probat*] as the *Romans* gave thanks to *Terentius Varro* after he had lost the great battel of *Canna* by his own default, because he did not despair of the *Commonwealth*, always valuing his estate in *England*, during the usurpation, as much as he did during the King's just possession: As the *Romans* would not sell the ground that *Hannibal* encamped upon, cheaper than if it had been in time of peace, which was one thing that discouraged that great Captain from continuing the siege of *Rome*. These and other his services recommended him to the attendance of his most excellent Majesty when Prince, in the perfecting of the Western Association, when it was thought fit to put the happiness and hope of the Kingdom in two bottoms, with whom he continued with a constant fidelity in all difficulties, performing several Embassies during their banishment with honour (particularly one to the Emperour, who had great respects for his Master, and an awful regard of his Cause) till it pleased

*K. Charles* God to bring his Majesty by his and others counsel to his Father's Throne; which he just saw, and dyed Master of the Rolls, *June 1660.* From one of whose Relations I have these Notes and Postils, containing some of the policy of the late Times, from 1642. to 1659.—which I set down nakedly, as I finde them; not supposing they are his, but that they were among his Papers.

1. It is against the experience of the wisest Princes of *France* and *England*, to leave their chief City in times of tumult;—yet it was necessary for the King to do so, as well to break the fury of the worst people there by distance and time, as to dis-abuse the best abroad by his presence and time:—and indeed it had been a shame for him to have perished in a tumult.

2. It was urged, that the King should not delay any longer the War—but besides that nothing could persuade his gracious Majesty to a War, but pure necessity. It's usually observed, that if *Bou-refeu's* make not the feud irreconcilable by a desperate action, Rebels cool, consider, break, suspect, fear, and fall off to nothing.

3. The repulse of *Hotham* did the King excellent service, by alarming all the Loyal in the Kingdom with their designed plot.

4. Especially when the Country saw the King so unwilling to engage, that he discharged their guards several times.

5. It was thought unfit to send to the Faction from *Nottingham*, until it was rejoyned that men of understanding and fidelity are usually employed to those persons against whom a War is to be managed,

to

to discover their design, humour, forces, succours, *K. Charles* and what ever might succour or strengthen them; which none but they who were secured with the privilege of Agents might do; and none were judged fitter than they that were best acquainted with the knowing Ladies, and the talkative Lords.

6. It was offered that Intelligence should be written to satisfy the people, and make the vulgar pretences ridiculous: But *quare*, whether it is possible for the *Arcana Imperii* to remain always under so exact a discipline as may admit a thorough-inspection of the multitude without danger.

7. When it was urged as the fundamental Principle the King should proceed upon, that the Faction at *Westminster* was no Parliament, the King being firm to his promise (as there was not a juster man alive) not to dissolve them without their leave—it was judged that self-preservation being the first principle in nature, that concession which wisdom saw then, and experience since, so contrary to that principle, was rather to be repented of, than performed.

8. It is a very great advantage to the King's Cause, that his Messages of Peace were sent always after his Victories; and his Enemies after their defeats: And that his Declarations were natural, easy, as grounded upon obvious principles of Scripture, Law, and Reason; and theirs harsh, forced, and wilde, as grounded only upon Pretences and Fancies.

9. It's a probable opinion, that it is in vain to treat with the Rebels, who can never trust the King with their guilty heads.

10. It is in vain to yield them any thing, since

*K. Charles* all Concessions have no other issue than either or both of these two inconveniences. 1. That they make the Faction so insolent, that the King should not be able to deny nor grant them any thing. 2. That they justified former proceedings, and laid the blame upon the King for not granting that sooner, which he thinks fit to grant now. Besides, it's more fit Propositions come to the King, than from him.

11. It may be wondered that the King doth not cut off the chief of the Rebels, as they fall into his hands, according to the usual Maxim in that case; but that his inclination to clemency is inexpressible—and that the principle he goeth upon is sure, though deep, *viz.* That so much are Man-kinde in general, and the *English* in particular obliged by fair usages, that the generality of this Nation returned nine times in 1300 years after long intervals of Usurpation, out of gratitude as well as duty unto their Allegiance to the posterity of *good, pious, merciful, but unhappy* Princes.

12. When it was urged against the King's going to *London* upon the *success* in the *West*, that the City would pour out fresh men upon him, as at *Brainford*; It was replied, that the City and Country were not under such strong delusions as then, but were more sensible of the miseries they had been repanned into. Besides, there was a more miraculous power of conversion went along with the King's presence where-ever he came, convincing all he conversed with.

13. Whether the King being so wise and able, it were not convenient to contrive it so, that the people might see how well he acted by himself,—

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provided he had sufficient security?

14. Whether it being dangerous that the Rebels should seize (as God forbid they should) on the whole Court at once, it were not convenient that his Majesty and the Prince did part, that the Kingdom might know its *hope* as well as its *happiness*; and that their interest when separated, might be more spreading than when together?

15. It was judged prudence to let the success wherein their souls were unequal, overthrow the Faction by mutual Jealousies and Animosities, till it dissipated all pretences, and the people saw none oppressed them in their Estates, Liberties, Consciences, more than the pretended Patrons of them all. An Indemnity without regard to any Faction, being most likely to render the misdeeds as jealous for the King, as they had been against him.

16. It were to be wished that the Parliament did draw into entire Propositions their design, that his Majesty and his People might make a clearer judgement of it in order to an accommodation.

17. His Majesty must be secured of the *Militia*, and against tumults, and all persons invested in their first right without any controversy—As to other matters, a full debate may settle them, with such explanations and qualifications as may satisfy all parties.

18. It's thought his Majesty may concur with the Parliament about the *Presbyterian* Government for three years, the time allowed by themselves; and that at the three years end the very Kingdom will throw it off as inconsistent with the *English* temper, and unsuitable with the *Brittish* Monarchy:—And so likewise in other things which look plausible

*K. Charles* plausible in the general, but are unpracticable in the particular.

19. Though many things are necessary to avoid jealousies, which are inconvenient, yet they may be allowed, upon the respect of the likelihood that all things will in time return to their proper channel—only a general Act of indemnity is the best bond of Peace, whereby the numerous discontents of many persons and families otherwise exposed to ruine, might not become Fuel to new disorders, or Seeds to future troubles, with particular regards to the privileges of the City, notwithstanding *non-user, mis-user, abuser*, and the interest of the Army—an indulgence that would help the world to see clearly the Kings intentions in matter of future government.

20. No Act to pass till the Peace be concluded, lest what his Majesty *grants*, may be an argument to urge what he must *deny*; so that he cannot treat in *Honour, Freedom, or Safety*.

21. Time is the best cure of Faction.

22. When the Treaty is broken off, so that neither side could reassume it without a seeming yielding, it should be renewed upon the Queens motion, provided always that her name was not used or intimated till the Rebels willingness to *compliance were pressured*.

But stay, I am fallen upon mine own *knowing* time, wherein I am fitter to read others Observations, than to write my own: and it becomes me rather to be instructed, than to instruct. Industry and Curiosity bid me begin this *Collection* where Sir *W. F.* Sir *R. N.* Sir *J. H.* Characters end: and modesty enjoyns me to *finish* it, where my Contemporaries

poraries own knowledge *begins*,—with whom I *K. Charles*  
 shall quietly pass my time, observing how far the  
 affairs I see or hear of agree with those I have read  
 of. Having gained thus much (if no more) by this  
*Essay*; That by looking into the Intrigues of former  
 times, I have learned a great deal of reason to bless  
 GOD I was born in these: being assured, that  
 murmurs, discontents, complaints, whisperings,  
 speaking evil of Dignities; the common, but unrea-  
 sonable faults of this Age, are kept up only because  
 men are ignorant of the Ages foregoing: And as my  
 Lord Bacon saith of the Schoolmen in the Church,  
 so of many of our troublesome persons in the State; that  
 they are so, because they know nothing beyond  
 their own time: whereas if the most discontented  
 person did but compare his own dayes with those  
 before, he must confess, that there wants nothing  
 in the general frame of our Government (particu-  
 lar persons miscarriages must be always allowed)  
 to make us most happy, but thankfulness, content,  
 and the continuance of these blessings under our  
 dread Sovereign, for whom it's as much our inte-  
 rest as our duty to pray according to St. Chrysostoms  
 Liturgy, that God would give him strength, victory,  
 health, safety, length and tranquillity of dayes: or  
 in Tertullian's form; Long life, a secure government,  
 safe Court, valiant Army, faithful Senate, good Peo-  
 ple, quiet world, & what-ever he can desire as a King,  
 or as a man. Or once more, in Lactantius his words,  
 That God will keep him, who is the keeper of all things  
 in his Dominions, to his Felicity, and our Tran-  
 quillity.



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**The End of the Observations upon  
the Lives of the Statesmen and  
Favourites of *England*, in the  
Reign of K. *Charles I.***

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